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# International Journal of American Linguistics

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## INTRODUCTORY

THE INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF AMERICAN LINGUISTICS will be devoted to the study of American aboriginal languages. It seems fitting to state briefly a few of the problems that confront us in this field of research.

It is not necessary to set forth the fragmentary character of our knowledge of the languages spoken by the American aborigines. This has been well done for North America by Dr. Pliny Earle Goddard,<sup>1</sup> and it is not saying too much if we claim that for most of the native languages of Central and South America the field is practically *terra incognita*. We have vocabularies; but, excepting the old missionary grammars, there is very little systematic work. Even where we have grammars, we have no bodies of aboriginal texts.

The methods of collection have been considerably improved of late years, but nevertheless much remains to be done. While until about 1880 investigators confined themselves to the collection of vocabularies and brief grammatical notes, it has become more and more evident that large masses of texts are needed in order to elucidate the structure of the languages.

The labors of Stephen R. Riggs, James Owen Dorsey, and Albert S. Gatschet marked a new era in the development of linguistic work. Besides these, should be mentioned the "Library of Aboriginal Literature," edited and published by Daniel G. Brinton, which contains largely older material of a similar character. During the following decades, texts were published on a quite extended scale, but largely brought together by the same methods. They were obtained by

dictation from a few informants, and taken down verbatim by the recorder. In later years the example of James Owen Dorsey, who published texts written by natives, has been adapted to the recording of aboriginal literature; and quite a number of collections of folk-lore have been published in Indian languages, the originals of which have been written by the natives themselves.

Marked differences in stylistic character exist between tales thus recorded and those written by investigators who are not in perfect command of the language, who often have to acquire it by means of the collected text material. The slowness of dictation that is necessary for recording texts makes it difficult for the narrator to employ that freedom of diction that belongs to the well-told tale, and consequently an unnatural simplicity of syntax prevails in most of the dictated texts. When, on the other hand, a native has once acquired ease in the use of the written language, the stylistic form becomes more natural, and refinements of expression are found that are often lost in slow dictation.

Nevertheless the writing of single individuals cannot replace the dictated record, because the individual characteristics of the writer become too prominent, and may give a false impression in regard to syntactic and stylistic traits; even the variability of grammatical form may be obscured by the one-sidedness of such records. Whenever it is possible to train several writers, many of these difficulties may be overcome. Where a native alphabet exists, as among the Cherokee, Fox, and Cree, and where for this reason many persons write with ease, a serviceable variety of stylistic and syntactic expression may be secured. Excellent examples of native texts recorded naively by

<sup>1</sup> Anthropology in North America (New York, G. E. Stechert & Co., 1915), pp. 182 *et seq.*



natives are contained in the Eskimo publications printed in Greenland, which are devoted both to topics of daily interest and to ancient folk-lore. Similar conditions prevail in the Cherokee material collected by James Mooney, and in some of the daily papers printed in aboriginal languages. Even when good written records are available, control by means of the spoken language is necessary, because the expression of the written language may differ considerably from the spoken form.

Up to this time too little attention has been paid to the variety of expression and to the careful preservation of diction. We have rather been interested in the preservation of fundamental forms. Fortunately, many of the recorded texts contain, at least to some extent, stereotyped conversation and other formulas, as well as poetical parts, which give a certain insight into certain stylistic peculiarities, although they can seldom be taken as examples of the spoken language.

An added difficulty in the use of texts written by natives is that most are written by Indians who have had a modern school education. It may be observed in all parts of America that the native languages are being modified by the influence of European languages, not only in vocabulary, but also in phonetics and grammar. The far-reaching influence of these causes may be observed in a most striking manner in modern Mexican and other Central American languages, that have been under Spanish influence for centuries, and which not only have lost large parts of their vocabularies, that have disappeared with the ancient ideas, but which have also developed a new syntax, and, in part at least, new morphological forms. Modifications of this type are common in those regions where the intercourse between Indian and white is intimate, and particularly where the children are segregated from the parents. On the Pacific coast, for instance, the articulation of the glottalized fortis loses much of its strength, old words disappear, and new

syntactical forms develop. Even the old facility of composition of stems tends to disappear. It is therefore necessary to obtain text material also from the older generation, because it is required for the study of the recent development of the languages.

On account of the difficulties and expense involved in the collection of texts, collectors have not only hesitated to obtain similar material from different individuals, but they have also confined themselves largely to the collections of native traditions. In some cases, native poetry has been included in the collections. Albert Gatschet recognized the need of varied material and collected texts on diverse topics in his studies of the Klamath, and J. Owen Dorsey published a collection of letters. The contents of the Eskimo publications and the native newspapers previously referred to also form a notable exception to this rule. Among later collectors, Drs. Goddard and Sapir have given particular attention to the collection of texts of varied contents. On the whole, however, the available material gives a one-sided presentation of linguistic data, because we have hardly any records of daily occurrences, every-day conversation, descriptions of industries, customs, and the like. For these reasons the vocabularies yielded by texts are one-sided and incomplete.

Notwithstanding the progress that during the last few decades has been made in the character of the material recorded, both as regards the accuracy of phonetic transcription and the character of the matter recorded, there is ample room for improvements of method.

With the extent of our knowledge of native languages, the problems of our inquiry have also assumed wider and greater interest. It is quite natural that the first task of the investigator was the registering and the rough classification of languages. It appeared very soon that languages are more or less closely related, and that comparison of brief



vocabularies was sufficient to bring out the most striking relationships. The classification of North American languages, that we owe to Major J. W. Powell, which will form the basis of all future work, was made by this method. Further progress on these lines is beset with great difficulties, that are common to America and to those continents in which we cannot trace the development of languages by means of historical documents. The results of the historical and comparative studies of Indo-European languages show very clearly that languages that have sprung from the same source may become so distinct, that, without documents illustrating their historical development, relationships are difficult to discover; so much so, that in some cases this task might even be impossible. We are therefore permitted to assume that similar divergences have developed in American languages, and that quite a number of languages that appear distinct may in a remote period have had a common origin.

Here lies one of the most difficult problems of research, and one in which the greatest critical caution is necessary, if we wish to avoid the pitfalls that are besetting the path of scientific inquiry. The method of investigation has to take into account possibilities of linguistic growth, in regard to which generalized data are not available. Modern languages have developed by differentiation. In so far as this is true, the establishment of a genealogical series must be the aim of inquiry. On the other hand, languages may influence one another to such an extent, that, beyond a certain point, the genealogical question has no meaning, because it would lead back to several sources and to an arbitrary selection of one or another as the single ancestral type. Our knowledge of linguistic processes is sufficiently wide to show that lexicographic borrowing may proceed to such an extent, that the substance of a language may be materially changed. As long, however, as the inner form remains unchanged, our judgment is

determined, not by the provenience of the vocabulary, but by that of the form. In most Indian languages etymological processes are so transparent, that borrowing of whole words will be easily detected; and, on the whole, the diffusion of words over diverse groups does not present serious difficulties, provided the borrowed material does not undergo radical phonetic changes.

The matter is different when we ask ourselves in how far phonetics and morphological features may have been borrowed. In these cases our experience does not permit us to give a definite answer. The system of sounds of a language is certainly unstable; but in how far inner forces and in how far foreign influence mould its forms, is a question not always easy to answer. In America we can discern various areas that have common phonetic characteristics; like the areas of prevalence of nasalization of vowels, of glottalized fortis, of superabundant development of laterals, of absence of bi-labials or of labio-dental spirants, or of trills. These areas do not coincide with any morphological groupings, and are apparently geographically well defined. If we are dealing here with phenomena of late assimilation, a disturbing element is introduced that will make it more difficult to assign a language to a definite genealogical line, much more so than is the case in the borrowing of words. The conditions favoring such phonetic influence must have been much more numerous in primitive America than they were in the later development of European languages. The number of individuals speaking any given American dialect is small. Many women of foreign parentage lived in each tribe, and their speech influenced the pronunciation of the young; so that phonetic changes may have come about easily.

Still more difficult is the problem presented by the distribution of morphological traits. Even with our imperfect knowledge of American languages, it may be recognized that certain morphological types have a



wide continuous distribution. This is true of morphological processes as well as of particular psychological aspects of American languages. Thus the incorporation of the nominal object, which in former times was considered one of the most characteristic features of American languages, is confined to certain areas, while it is foreign to others. The tendency to qualify generalized verbal terms by means of elements which express instrumentality is characteristic of some areas. The occurrence of various specific elements that define locality of an action, as affecting objects like "hand," "house," "water," "fire," or other special nominal concepts, is characteristic of other regions. Classification of actions or of nouns according to the form of the actor or of the object also belong to several groups of languages. Nominal cases are present in some languages, absent in others. In a similar way we find present in some regions, absent in others, processes like that of reduplication or of vocalic or consonantic modification of stems.

Attempts to classify languages from these distinct points of view do not lead to very satisfactory results. Not only would the purely morphological classifications be contradictory, but in many cases where a close morphological agreement exists, it remains highly unsatisfactory to co-ordinate vocabularies and the phonetic equivalents of similar morphological ideas. On the basis of Indo-European experience, we should be very much inclined to seek for a common origin for all those languages that have a far-reaching morphological similarity; but it must be acknowledged, that, when the results of classifications based on different linguistic phenomena conflict, we must recognize the possibility of the occurrence of morphological assimilation. The problem is analogous to that of the relation between Finnish and Indo-European languages, which Sweet assumed as established, while the observed relations may also be due to other causes.

Owing to the fundamental importance of these questions for the solution of the problem of the historical relationship between American languages, it seems particularly important to attempt to carry through these classifications without prejudging the question as to the genealogical position of the various groups. It is quite inconceivable that similarities such as exist between Quileute, Kwakiutl, and Salish, should be due to a mere accident, or that the morphological similarities of Californian languages, which Kroeber and Dixon have pointed out, should not be due to a definite cause. The experience of Aryan studies might induce us to agree that these must be members of single linguistic stocks; but this assumption leaves fundamental differences unaccounted for, and neglects the possibility of morphological assimilation, so that at the present time the conclusion does not seem convincing. We ought to inquire, first of all, into the possibility of mutual influences, which will be revealed, in part at least, by lack of correspondence between lexicographic, phonetic, and detailed morphological classifications.

We do not mean to say that the investigation may not satisfactorily prove certain genealogical relationships; but what should be emphasized is, that, in the present state of our knowledge of primitive languages, it is not safe to disregard the possibility of a complex origin of linguistic groups, which would limit the applicability of the term "linguistic family" in the sense in which we are accustomed to use it. It is certainly desirable, and necessary, to investigate minutely and carefully all suggestive analogies. The proof of genetic relationship, however, can be considered as given, only when the number of unexplained distinct elements is not over-large, and when the contradictory classifications, to which reference has been made before, have been satisfactorily accounted for.



It is quite evident, that, owing to the lack of knowledge of the historical development of American languages, convincing proof of genealogical relationship may be impossible to obtain, even where such relation exists; so that, from both a practical and a theoretical point of view, the solution of the problems of genetic relationship presents a large number of attractive problems.

Considering the complexity of this question, and the doubts that we entertain in regard to some of the principles to be followed in our inquiry, it seems probable that a safer basis will be reached by following out dialectic studies. Very little work of this kind has been done on our continent. James Owen Dorsey was able to point out a few phenomena pertaining to the inter-relation of Siouan dialects. Similar points have been made in regard to the Salish languages and in a few other cases, but no penetrating systematic attempt has been made to clear up the processes of differentiation by which modern American dialects have developed. It is fortunate for the prosecution of this study that quite a number of linguistic families in America are broken up into numerous strongly divergent dialects, the study of which will help us the more in the investigation of the relations between distinct languages, the more markedly they are differentiated. Siouan, Algonquin, Muskhogean, Salishan, Shoshonian, Wakashan, Caddoan, are languages of this type. They present examples of divergence of phonetic character, of differences in structure and vocabulary, that will bring us face to face with the problem of the origin of these divergent elements.

The more detailed study of American languages promises rich returns in the fields of the mechanical processes of linguistic development and of the psychological problems presented by languages of different types. In many American languages the etymological processes are so transparent, that the mechanism of phonetic adaptation

stands out with great clearness. Contact-phenomena, and types of sound-harmony that affect more remote parts of words, occur with great frequency. Phonetic shifts between related dialects are easily observed, so that we can accumulate a large mass of material which will help to solve the question in how far certain phonetic processes may be of more or less universal occurrence.

Remotely related to this problem is the question that was touched upon by Gatschet, in how far the frequent occurrence of similar sounds for expressing related ideas (like the personal pronouns) may be due to obscure psychological causes rather than to genetic relationship. Undoubtedly, many hitherto unexpected types of processes will reveal themselves in the pursuit of these studies.

The variety of American languages is so great, that they will be of high value for the solution of many fundamental psychological problems.

The unconsciously formed categories found in human speech have not been sufficiently exploited for the investigation of the categories into which the whole range of human experience is forced. Here, again, the clearness of etymological processes in many American languages is a great help to our investigation.

The isolation of formal elements and of stems, or of co-ordinate stems,—whichever the case may be,—is easily performed, and the meaning of every part of an expression is determined much more readily than in the innumerable fossilized forms of Indo-European languages.

Lexicographic differentiation corresponds to the morphological differentiation of languages. Where ideas are expressed by means of separate stems or by subordinate elements, generalized stems will be found that express a certain action regardless of the instrument with which it has been performed; while, in languages that are not provided with these formal elements, a number of separate words



will take the place of the modified general stem. In languages that possess a full equipment of adverbial and locative formative elements, generalized words of motion may be qualified by their use; while, wherever these elements are absent, new stems must take their place. The same is true of grammatical elements that designate form or substance. Where these occur, the languages may lack words expressing predicative ideas relating to objects of different form and consisting of different substances (like our words "to lie," "to sit," "to stand," "to tear," "to break").

A lexicographic analysis based on these principles of classification promises important results, but requires a much more accurate knowledge of the meaning of stems than is available in most cases.

No less interesting are the categories of thought that find expression in grammatical form. The older grammars, although many of them contain excellent material, do not clearly present these points of difference, because they are modelled strictly on the Latin scheme, which obscures the characteristic psychological categories of Indian languages. Thus the idea of plurality is not often developed in the same sense as in Latin, but expresses rather the idea of distribution or of collectivity. The category of gender is rare, and nominal cases are not common. In the pronoun we find often a much more rigid adherence to the series of three persons than the one that we apply, in so far as the distinction is carried through in the pronominal plural and in the demonstrative. Furthermore, new ideas—such as visibility, or position in regard to the speaker in the six principal directions (up, down, right, left, front, back), or tense—are added to the concept of the demonstrative pronouns. In the numeral the varied bases of numeral systems find expression. In the verb the category of tense may be almost suppressed or may be exuberantly developed. Modes may include many ideas that we express by means of

adverbs, or they may be absent. The distinction between verb and noun may be different from ours. In short, an enormous variety of forms illustrates the multifarious ways in which language seizes upon one or another feature as an essential of expression of thought.

Besides the greater or lesser development of categories that are parallel to our own, many new ones appear. The groups of ideas selected for expression by formative elements are quite distinctive, and they belong to the most important features in the characterization of each language. In some cases they are poorly developed, but most American languages possess an astonishing number of formative elements of this type.

In some cases their number is so great, that the very idea of subordination of one element of a word under another one loses its significance; and we are in doubt whether we shall designate one group as subordinate elements, or whether we shall speak of the composition of co-ordinate elements. While in some languages, as in Algonquin or Kutenai, this may be a matter of arbitrary definition, it involves a problem of great theoretical interest; namely, the question whether formative elements have developed from independent words, as has been proved to be the case with many formal suffixes of European languages.

The objectivating tendency of our mind makes the thought congenial, that part of a word the significance of which we can determine by analysis must also have objectively an independent existence; but there is certainly no *a priori* reason that compels us to make this assumption. It must be proved to be true by empirical evidence. Although the history of American languages is not known, and therefore cannot furnish any direct evidence for or against this theory, the study of the etymological processes will throw light upon this problem, because in many cases the very phonetic weakness of the constituent elements, their internal



changes, and the transparency of the method of composition, make it clear that we are performing here an analytical process, that does not need to have as its counterpart the synthesis of independent elements. The same question may also be raised in regard to phonetic modifications of the stem, which may be secondary, and due to the influence of changing accents in composition or to vanished component elements, while they may also be primary phenomena.

This problem is in a way identical with the whole question of the relation between word and sentence. Here also American languages may furnish us with much important material that emphasizes the view that the unit of human speech as we know it is the sentence, not the word.

The problems treated in a linguistic journal must include also the literary forms of native production. Indian oratory has long been famous, but the number of recorded speeches from which we can judge their oratorical devices is exceedingly small. There is no doubt whatever that definite stylistic forms exist that are utilized to impress the hearer; but we do not know what they are. As yet, nobody has attempted a careful analysis of the style of narrative art as practised by the various tribes. The crudeness of most records presents a serious obstacle for this study, which, however, should be taken up seriously. We can study the general structure of the narrative, the style of composition, of motives, their character and sequence; but the formal stylistic devices for obtaining effects are not so easily determined.

Notwithstanding the unsatisfactory character of the available material, we do find cases in which we may at least obtain a glimpse of the intent of the narrator. In many cases metaphorical expressions occur that indicate a vigorous imagination. Not much material of this character is available, but what little we have demonstrates that the type of metaphor used in different parts of the continent

shows characteristic differences. It would be interesting to know in how far these expressions have become purely formal without actual meaning, and in how far they reflect an active imagination.

Evidence is not missing which shows that the sentence is built up with a view of stressing certain ideas or words by means of position, repetition, or other devices for securing emphasis. There are curious differences in the tendency to fill the discourse with brief allusions to current ideas difficult to understand for any one who is not versed in the whole culture of the people, and the enjoyment of diffuse, detailed description. Collectors of texts are fully aware that in the art of narrative there are artists and bunglers in every primitive tribe, as well as among ourselves. At present there is hardly any material available that will allow us to characterize the tribal characteristics of the art of narrative.

The most promising material for the study of certain aspects of artistic expression are the formal elements that appear with great frequency in the tales of all tribes. Most of these are stereotyped to such an extent, that little individual variation is found. Even in poorly recorded tales, written down in translation only, and obtained with the help of inadequate interpreters, the sameness of stereotyped formulas may sometimes be recognized. Conversation in animal tales and in other types of narrative, prayers and incantations, are probably the most important material of this character.

Attention should also be paid to the existing forms of literature. The narrative is of universal occurrence, but other forms show a much more irregular distribution. The psychological basis of the trivial American anecdote is not easily understood. The connotation of meaningless syllables that occur in songs, the frequent use of distorted words in poetry, and the fondness for a secret language, including obsolete, symbolic, or arbitrary



terms, deserve the most careful attention. Here belong also the peculiar modes of speech of various personages, that are recorded in many tales, and which Dr. Sapir has found so fully developed among the Nootka, and Dr. Frachtenberg among the Quilleyute. The fixity of form of the recitative used by certain animals, to which Dr. Sapir has called attention in his studies of the Paiute, also suggests an interesting line of inquiry.

Equally important is the absence of certain literary forms with which we are familiar. The great dearth of proverbs, of popular snatches, and of riddles, among American aborigines, in contrast to their strong development in Africa and other parts of the Old World, requires attentive study. The general lack of epic poetry, the germs of which are found in a very few regions only, is another feature that promises to clear up certain problems of the early development of literary art. We are able to observe lyric poetry in its simplest forms among all tribes. Indeed, we may say that, even where the slightest vestiges of epic poetry are missing, lyric

poetry of one form or another is always present. It may consist of the musical use of meaningless syllables that sustain the song; or it may consist largely of such syllables, with a few interspersed words suggesting certain ideas and certain feelings; or it may rise to the expression of emotions connected with warlike deeds, with religious feeling, love, or even to the praise of the beauties of nature. The records which have been accumulated during the last few years, particularly by students of primitive music, contain a mass of material that can be utilized from this point of view.

Undoubtedly the problems of native poetry have to be taken up in connection with the study of native music, because there is practically no poetry that is not at the same time song. The literary aspects of this subject, however, fall entirely within the scope of a linguistic journal.

Let us hope that the new journal may be able to contribute its share to the solution of all these problems!

FRANZ BOAS



EL DIALECTO MEXICANO DE POCHUTLA, OAXACA<sup>1</sup>

Por FRANZ BOAS

POCHUTLA, capital del distrito del mismo nombre del Estado de Oaxaca, está ubicada al Oeste de Tehuantepec y al Sur de Oaxaca, aproximadamente a tres leguas del Océano Pacífico. En todas las poblaciones que están al rededor de Pochutla se hablaba el Zapoteca, pero entre los vocabularios recogidos por el eminente sabio Sr. Doctor Antonio Peñafiel, quien bondadosamente me dió permiso de hacer uso de sus importantísimas colecciones, se encuentra un vocabulario como de 80 vocablos de Pochutla, los cuales muestran claramente que allí se habla el idioma náhua o mexicano. El vocabulario lo recogieron en 1888 y en ese año ya iba desapareciendo el idioma. Los datos, aunque muy imperfectos, indican que el idioma se diferencia mucho del mexicano clásico y que su fonetismo se parece al de los dialectos del Sur.

A mi modo de ver, la cuestión de la distribución antigua de los dialectos mexicanos es importantísima y creí que valía la pena visitar el pueblo y recoger todo lo que se pudiera sacar.

Llegué a Pochutla en enero de 1912, y quedé allí hasta fines de febrero, cuando ya no se podía conseguir más de los pocos individuos que conocen parte del idioma. Son mujeres casi todas las personas que todavía se acuerdan de algunos vocablos y frases, y no hay más que una que lo pueda hablar, conociendo, como conoce, un número bastante grande de palabras y teniendo

<sup>1</sup> El estudio del dialecto de Pochutla se hizo cuando desempeñaba el cargo de Director de la Escuela Internacional de Arqueología y Etnología mexicanas. La publicación iba a hacerse en los Anales del Museo Nacional de México. A causa de las condiciones políticas y económicas del país el manuscrito original se perdió y no es probable que siga la impresión que ya se había principiado.

dominio sobre las formas gramaticales. Se llama Sabina Martínez y es una anciana como de 75 años. Desgraciadamente no fué posible explicarle que para apuntar las formas se necesita una pronunciación clara y lenta y la repetición de las mismas frases. Siempre cambiaba ella la forma de las frases y por esa razón fué muy difícil recoger un buen acopio de datos. Después de unos cuantos días empezó a creer que hablar lentamente era repetir la primera sílaba del vocablo despacio y después pronunciar toda la palabra o toda la frase muy de prisa. Aunque otras mujeres, con las cuales estaba trabajando, le explicaron muchas veces lo que quería y hasta le enseñaron como se debía hablar, fué imposible lograr una buena pronunciación. Por esa razón siempre me acompañaban Mauricia Riquel, anciana muy inteligente que recuerda muchos vocablos y que me ayudó repitiendo los vocablos pronunciados por Sabina, cuando ella se acordaba de ellos. Mauricia y María Trinidad son las que tienen los mejores conocimientos del idioma, después de Sabina. Son como de 65 y 70 años de edad. Otras que conocen bastantes vocablos son: Feliciano, Francisca, Joaquina y Paula Nicha, ancianas como de 75 años, Ines Vázquez, como de 60 años y Eleuteria Avesilla, quien no tiene más de 50 años. Muy escasos son los conocimientos de Andrea Castillo, señora como de 50 años, quien siempre se interesaba en el idioma, y aunque su madre no lo hablaba, había aprendido muchos vocablos y frases.

Pocos son los hombres que recuerdan el idioma. Estanislao y Epifanio Pina, hombres como de 50 años, me comunicaron un pequeño número de vocablos; Pedro Marcelino Pastor, hombre como de 60 años, es el que tiene los mayores conocimientos, relativamente al idioma mexicano, entre los hombres.



Otros individuos que, según lo que se dice, hablan el idioma mexicano, han sido examinados, pero no tienen conocimientos útiles. Se dijo que había un vocabulario escrito, pero es muy claro que eso se refiere al vocabulario del Sr. Dr. Peñafiel, el cual ha sido escrito por el Sr. Apolonio Rosario.

La Sra. Ines Vázquez tiene fama de saber de memoria una carta que un tal Pepe escribió en el dialecto a su madre, cuando estaba preso en Oaxaca, pero la carta estaba casi toda escrita en castellano.

—Mamá Florentina, *nebá* <sup>(1)</sup> *ntzichuá* <sup>(2)</sup> mandar las expresiones que *nquet* <sup>(3)</sup> en la prisión con cabal salud. *Titéz* <sup>(4)</sup> con mucho cariño a *nob'lugám* <sup>(5)</sup>. *Az xichué* <sup>(6)</sup> perder la esperanza que *nen quicéz* <sup>(7)</sup> de la prisión. *Tixchuá* <sup>(8)</sup> contestar todo lo más pronto que puedas. *Nebá* <sup>(1)</sup> *ntzichuá* <sup>(2)</sup> unos abrazos para *noyé* <sup>(9)</sup> Florentina.—Don Pepe.

El dialecto mexicano de Pochutla es uno del grupo de dialectos meridionales del nahua, cuyo fonetismo se diferencia mucho del nahua clásico. Ese grupo de dialectos incluye los de la América Central y la mayoría de los de Tabasco, Vera-Cruz, probablemente de Chiapas y también el dialecto de Jalisco. Sus rasgos más importantes son la ausencia de consonantes africativas, antes de otras consonantes, y la substitución de la *t* en vez de la *tl*.

El fonetismo del dialecto de Pochutla tiene otros caracteres importantes. Hay grupos de consonantes al principio de las palabras y también grupos de más de dos consonantes, los cuales nunca se encuentran en el mexicano del Valle de México y de las regiones vecinas. También hay cambios regulares de las vocales. Casi siempre el acento está en la última y parece que la elisión de vocales y el origen de grupos de consonantes se deben en parte al cambio del acento.

Las noticias que recogí sobre la gramática de Pochutla, son muy incompletas. Sin

- |               |               |              |
|---------------|---------------|--------------|
| (1) aquí      | (2) te hago   | (3) estoy    |
| (4) guardarás | (5) mis hijos | (6) no haz   |
| (7) saldré    | (8) hazme     | (9) mi madre |

embargo, parece que hay unas cuantas formas, tal vez más antiguas que las del mexicano clásico, como la terminación del plural en *quit*; terminación *u* del posesivo, y la forma *na* del artículo.

El vocabulario es muy semejante al del mexicano clásico y se reconocen fácilmente muchos vocablos. Hay unas diferencias interesantes. El vocablo *ciuat*, mujer, no se encuentra, sino *g'last*, que es la forma de Pochutla para *quilaztli*, la diosa mexicana.

### FONETISMO

#### CONSONANTES

	Explosivas	Continuas	Africativas	Nasales
Labiales . . .	(b) p	—	—	m
Dentales . . .	(d) t	z (ç)	tz	n
	—	x	ch	—
Paladales . . .	(g) c (qu)	h	—	ñ
Laterales . . .	—	l	—	—
Semivocales . .	(gu) (u)			

#### VOCALES

a e i o u

La *e* y la *o* son muy semejantes a las del castellano. Creo que no hay vocales largas en Pochutla. Las vocales terminales tienen aspiración fuerte.

En el mexicano clásico todas las explosivas son insonoras, sin aspiración, mientras que en Pochutla las explosivas iniciales siempre principian sonoras y nazarizantes. Después hay oclusión lenta del conducto nasal y se pierde el carácter sonoro. Por eso la *p* inicial se pronuncia como la transición *mbp*, la *t* inicial como *ndt*, la *c* inicial (antes de *o* y *u*) como *ñgc*. El carácter nasal es más débil en la *p* inicial que en las otras consonantes explosivas.

- patéc* se pronuncia *mbpade'c*, ancho  
*pib'lúc* se pronuncia *mbpib'lu'c*, envolver  
*pinaua'* se pronuncia *mbpinaua*, tener vergüenza  
*tot* se pronuncia *ndlotn*, piedra  
*te* se pronuncia *ndte*, ¿qué?  
*caxaní* se pronuncia *ñgcaxaní'*, está sanando



La explosiva, cuando se encuentra entre dos vocales, es muy suave. La *p*, en esa posición tiene casi siempre el carácter de la *b* castellana (continua); la *t* también es muy suave y la articulación laringeal de la vocal precedente continúa hasta que se forme la oclusión de la dicha *t*. Por esa razón, cuando la palabra se pronuncia aprisa, la *t* es muy semejante a la *d*, y también así la *c* es semejante a la *g*.

*lapotúc* se pronuncia como *ndlavodúc*: está contando  
*tequét* se pronuncia como *ndteguén*, hombre

Las consonantes sonoras influyen de la misma manera sobre las explosivas que las siguen y preceden.

*unti'* se pronuncia *undi'*, borracho

Las explosivas sonoras tienen un carácter muy distinto del de las insonoras, cuando una vocal sin acento ha desaparecido entre la explosiva y otra consonante sonora. En ese caso, siempre tienen el carácter sonoro, cuya pronunciación nunca cambia:

POCHUTLA		MEXICANO DEL VALLE
<i>ug'lo'm</i>	<	<i>ocuilín</i> gusano
<i>pig'lia'</i>	<	<i>(piqui?)</i> golpear
<i>b'tet</i>	<	<i>pettall</i> petate
<i>g'lazt</i>	<	<i>quilaztli</i> mujer

Cuando la vocal se pierde delante de una insonora, la primera consonante explosiva sigue insonora:

*cize* < *quetsá* levantar

Las linguales, cuando se encuentran en posición terminal, son insonoras y requieren la oclusión linguo-paladial mientras se abre la nariz, saliendo el aire por ella. Por esa razón tienen el carácter de consonantes insonoras explosivas nasales. La *z* terminal tiene el mismo carácter, es decir, que al terminar se abre la nariz y el aliento sale por ella.

La *ñ* se encuentra solamente delante de las *g* y *c* (o *qu*) y es la *n* modificada por las consonantes paladiales.

La *x* es distinta de la del mexicano. En ese dialecto se articula formando una estrecha hendedura entre el paladar y la punta de la

lengua, que se aplana y se pega al primero, y con otra estrechez entre el paladar y el dorso de la lengua; así es que el sonido de la *x* mexicana se forma de dos clases de vibraciones, las unas anteriores y semejantes a las de la *sh* inglesa, las otras posteriores y semejantes a las de la *j* castellana. Un sonido de esa clase se encuentra también en el zapoteco de Oaxaca. En Pochutla, cada vez que la he oído, era igual a la *sh* inglesa pura.

Mientras que en el mexicano moderno del Valle de México todas las consonantes terminales son insonoras, hasta las nasales y la *l*, en Pochutla las nasales terminales y la *l* quedan sonoras.

En el dialecto de Pochutla faltan unos cuantos sonidos del mexicano clásico, que son el saltillo y la consonante *hui*, o sea una continua paladial que principia con resonancia de la *u* (carácter labial) y termina con resonancia de la *i* (carácter paladial). El fonetismo del mexicano moderno del Valle de México demuestra que, no obstante el cambio de la resonancia, el sonido corresponde a una sola consonante, porque se encuentra muchas veces en posición terminal, en la que no se permite más de una consonante. Tampoco hay la *h*, consonante continua paladial con estrechez en la región de la *c* (*ca*, *co*, *cu*), como la *hui*, pero solamente con resonancia de la *i* (paladial). Ya he mencionado que no hay la *tl* del mexicano, en lugar de la cual la *t* se encuentra siempre.

Los grupos de consonantes de Pochutla son distintos de los del Valle de México. Las africativas no se pueden poner antes de otras consonantes, así como en el dialecto de Jalisco,<sup>1</sup> aunque en el mexicano clásico y también en el mexicano moderno del Valle de México, hay todas las combinaciones de africativas y otras consonantes:

<sup>1</sup> Gerónimo Thomas de Aquino, *Arte, Vocabulario y Confesionario en el idioma mexicano, como se usa en el obispado de Guadalupe*, 1765, pp. 5, 6.

Fr. Juan Guerra. *Arte de la lengua mexicana*. Guadalajara, 1900, p. 9.



POCHUTLA	MEXICANO DEL VALLE
ç, z < lz	
uzti'	otzi embarazada
ui'zti	uitzi espina
mezt	metzli luna
id'ponta'c	tepuzli sus espaldas
ozc	(uetzi) cayó
x < ch	
oco'xt	oquichtli hombre
oxque't	ichcatt algodón
noquexque'm	quechquemill mi huipil
totomo'xt	totomochli mazorca

En ciertas formas gramaticales, cuando la africtiva se pone delante de otra consonante, también cambia y llega a ser una continua:

moztemutu'c	<	moztemutu'c	andan buscándote
motzapi'zc	<	motzapi'tzc	te parió
tixnamig'li	<	tichnamig'li	véndeme
nixmexti'c	<	nichmexti'c	me enseñó
taxpo'l	<	tachpol	perrito

En el mexicano moderno del Valle las explosivas no se pueden poner delante de otras consonantes. Cuando se encuentran en esa posición se les da una aspiración fuerte con resonancia paladial, y los sonidos se pueden escribir *pi*, *ti*, *qui*. Muchas veces la *c* llega a ser una continua paladial (*h*). En Pochutla las explosivas se encuentran delante de todas las otras consonantes.

Se permiten también grupos de consonantes al principio y al fin de las palabras, cosa imposible en el mexicano clásico, del que muchas irregularidades se expliқан. La *l* se encuentra al principio de la palabra. Hay combinaciones de tres consonantes, pero parece que se forman solamente en palabras compuestas.

Entre el dialecto de Pochutla y el del Valle de México hay un número de cambios fonéticos regulares:

1. *ā* (larga) del mexicano se vuelve *a* en Pochutla:

POCHUTLA	MEXICANO
ayu't	āyull tortuga
apa'zt	āpastli olla
ame't	āmatt papel
at	āll agua

POCHUTLA	MEXICANO
ato'mt	ātemill piojo
aci'	āci encontrar
ac	āc quien
aque't	ācatt carrizo

2. *à* del mexicano se vuelve *a* en Pochutla:

laca'	tlāca medio día
tatenli'	tlātlani preguntar

3. *a* del mexicano se vuelve *e* en Pochutla:

ame't	āmatt papel
etu'l	atolli atole
iye'c	īyac huele
(yeque't)	yacatt nariz
ozle't	iztatl sal
tepu'	tlapoa abrir
tepo'xt	tlapechlli cama
teque't	tlacatt hombre
teloā	tlaloā correr

4. *e* del mexicano, con acento, se vuelve *o* en Pochutla:

ato'mt	ātemill piojo
pot	pellatt petate
mot	mellatt metate
tepo'xt	tlapechlli cama
tot	teḷl piedra
toço'	tēci <sup>1</sup> moler
toxt	texlli harina
noxt	nexlli cenizas
çon	centli mazorca
coxqui	(quequexquia) comezón
cocxt	quechlli pescuezo

En unos cuantos vocablos se encuentran dos formas, una en *o*, otra en *e*; pero parece que la forma en *o* es mucho más frecuente:

b'tet y pot	pellatt petate
quext y coxt	quechlli pescuezo

5. La *e* y la *i*, sin acento, del mexicano corresponden a una oclusión de la glotis:

at'bet	altepell pueblo
d'potz	teputzli espalda
noā'mu'z	temo voy a bajar
n'qui	nequi querer
z'li	celic tierno
xmactze'	(quetza) ¡párate!
ig'ti'	iquili tejer
ptzec	pitzauac delgado

<sup>1</sup> Según Carochi la *e* en *teci* es larga.



POCHUTLA	MEXICANO
<i>enopib'lu'c</i>	( <i>pipíloa</i> ) me envolví
<i>nob'lu'</i>	( <i>nopiltzin</i> ) mi hijo
<i>xiub'lu'</i>	( <i>píloa</i> ) ¡cuélgalo!
<i>mexti'c</i>	( <i>machitla</i> ) enseñó
<i>tixnamig'li'</i>	<i>namiquiltla</i> ¡véndeme!
<i>xtactze'</i>	( <i>llaquetz</i> ) ¡habla!
<i>g'lasti</i>	<i>quilaztli</i> mujer

6. La *i* del mexicano se vuelve *o* en Pochutla:

<i>ecgo'c</i>	<i>icucic</i> maduro
<i>icoci'</i>	( <i>tlanquiquici</i> ) chiflar
<i>ozte't</i>	<i>istatl</i> sal
<i>oxque't</i>	<i>ichcatl</i> algodón
<i>opque't</i>	<i>icpall</i> hilo (metatesis de la <i>cp</i> )
<i>oco'xt</i>	<i>oquichtli</i> hombre
<i>uluni'</i>	<i>olinia</i> menear
<i>ntapoxque'z</i>	( <i>píxca</i> ) voy a pizcar
<i>moc</i>	<i>mic</i> muerto
<i>ilo'c</i>	<i>itlic</i> adentro
<i>oxi</i>	<i>izteli</i> uña
<i>namochi'</i>	<i>namiquia</i> casarse
<i>tzucua'zi</i>	<i>tzicanaztli</i> peine
<i>choch</i>	<i>chichi</i> escupir
<i>micho'm</i>	<i>michin</i> pescado

Sin embargo hay muchas *i* que no cambian:

<i>aci'</i>	<i>aci</i> encontrar
<i>iue</i>	<i>icuilt</i> hermana
<i>ixqu</i>	<i>ixquia</i> asar
<i>ig'li</i>	<i>iquiti</i> tejer
<i>yuli'c</i>	<i>yolic</i> poco a poco
<i>ui'tz</i>	<i>uits</i> venir

Casi todas las *i* que se vuelven *o* son breves. Parece que la *i* larga del mexicano casi siempre es *i* en Pochutla:

<i>ic</i>	<i>ic</i> a donde
<i>ixt</i>	<i>ixtli</i> cara

7. La *ui* sin acento del mexicano corresponde a una oclusión de la glotis:

<i>tag'lutu'c</i>	( <i>cuíloa</i> ) está escribiendo
<i>ug'lo'm</i>	<i>ocuilin</i> gusano

8. La *u* del mexicano se vuelve *o* en Pochutla:

<i>ozc</i>	( <i>ouetx</i> ) cayó
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9. La *ō* (larga) del mexicano se vuelve *e* en Pochutla. Parece que ese fenómeno tiene lugar solamente en la *ō* del preterito:

<i>emo'c</i>	<i>ōmic</i> murió
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10. Las *aua* del mexicano se vuelven *e* en Pochutla:

POCHUTLA	MEXICANO
<i>pate'c</i>	<i>pallauac</i> ancho
<i>ptzec</i>	<i>pitzauac</i> delgado
<i>chique'c</i>	<i>chicauac</i> duro

11. La *tl* del mexicano se vuelve *t* en Pochutla:

<i>tzique't</i>	<i>tzicatl</i> hormiga
<i>xucho't</i>	<i>xochitl</i> flor
<i>con</i>	<i>centli</i> mazorca
<i>noxt</i>	<i>nextli</i> ceniza
<i>neque't</i>	<i>nacatl</i> carne
<i>til</i>	<i>tilli</i> negro del humo
<i>teque't</i>	<i>tlacatl</i> hombre
<i>tel</i>	<i>tleil</i> fuego
<i>tepo'xt</i>	<i>tlapachtli</i> cama
<i>teyu'l</i>	<i>tlayolli</i> maíz
<i>te</i>	<i>tle</i> ¿qué?
<i>tal</i>	<i>tlalli</i> tierra
<i>tayua'</i>	<i>tlayoa</i> oscuro

## ACENTO

El acento cae casi siempre en la última sílaba.

En todas las formas que no tienen la vocal de la sílaba terminal que es característica de las formas del mexicano clásico, el acento cae en la misma sílaba en los dos dialectos:

<i>apa'zt</i>	<i>apastli</i> olla
<i>apoto'ct</i>	<i>ipotoctli</i> humo
<i>ale'n</i>	<i>atenli</i> río
<i>ato'mt</i>	<i>atemitl</i> piojo
<i>quexque'mt</i>	<i>quechquemitl</i> huipil
<i>etu'l</i>	<i>atolli</i> atole
<i>teyu'l</i>	<i>tlayolli</i> maíz

Cuando la última sílaba no pierde la vocal, el acento no cae en las mismas sílabas en los dos dialectos:

<i>teque't</i>	<i>tlacatl</i> hombre
<i>quagu't</i>	<i>quauitl</i> árbol
<i>micho'm</i>	<i>michin</i> pescado
<i>emo'c</i>	<i>omic</i> murió
<i>momai'</i>	<i>moma</i> tu mano

Hay un pequeño número de palabras cuyo acento cae en la penúltima sílaba. Parece que el acento de todas las palabras que tienen



*eu* en las últimas sílabas cae en la *e*. Son las formas posesivas en *eu*, como:

<i>noat'be'u</i>	mi pueblo
<i>nogüe'u</i>	mi marido

También:

<i>cye'uc</i>	cansado
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El acento de palabras que terminan en *ai* y *oi*: cae en la penúltima:

<i>otca'i</i>	dulce
<i>noxo'i</i>	mi pié

Otras palabras que tienen el acento en la penúltima sílaba son:

<i>tu'chi</i>	pequeño
<i>te'ipo</i>	lagarto
<i>a'mpa</i>	porque
<i>ui'zti</i>	<i>uiztli</i> espina

El último vocablo conserva su vocal terminal. La forma de los demás sustantivos que terminan en *ili* en el mexicano clásico terminan en *t* en Pochutla.

## GRAMÁTICA

### FORMAS DEL SUSTANTIVO

En el mexicano clásico no se permiten grupos de más de dos consonantes, ni la terminación de la palabra con dos consonantes. Las raíces que terminan con una consonante o con dos consonantes tienen terminaciones particulares: la mayoría de las que terminan con una consonante toman *ili*; las que terminan con dos consonantes toman una vocal auxiliar y *tl*. En Pochutla las palabras pueden terminar con grupos de dos consonantes, y, por esa razón, no hay formas distintas de nombres en *t* (que corresponde a la *tl* del mexicano).

Raíces que terminan con una vocal:

POCHUTLA	MEXICANO
<i>at</i>	<i>ätl</i> agua
<i>tet</i>	<i>tlätl</i> fuego
<i>tot</i>	<i>tetl</i> piedra
<i>cue't</i>	<i>coatl</i> culebra

Raíces que terminan con una consonante:

POCHUTLA	MEXICANO
<i>apa'zt</i>	<i>äpaztli</i> olla
<i>apoto'ct</i>	<i>ipotoctli</i> humo
<i>eyu't</i>	<i>aydli</i> calabaza
<i>ezt</i>	<i>eztli</i> sangre
<i>mezt</i>	<i>metztli</i> luna
<i>tepo'xt</i>	<i>tlapechtli</i> cama
<i>noxt</i>	<i>nextli</i> ceniza

Después de la *n* no se oye la *t* terminal:

<i>ten</i>	<i>tentli</i> boca
<i>ate'n</i>	<i>atentli</i> río
<i>nixtu'n</i>	(— <i>tontli</i> ) pequeño
<i>tzon</i>	pelo

Apolonio Rosario escribe:

<i>adem</i>	río
<i>sont</i>	pelo

Después de la *l* desaparece la *t*, probablemente a causa de la antigua asimilación entre la terminación *ili* y la *l*:

<i>etu'l</i>	<i>atolli</i> atole
<i>mil</i>	<i>milli</i> campo
<i>tal</i>	<i>tlalli</i> tierra
<i>teyu'l</i>	<i>tlayolli</i> maíz
<i>nenepi'l</i>	<i>nenepilli</i> lengua

Ese fenómeno es muy importante, porque demuestra que la *t* de Pochutla procede de dos elementos fonéticos (*t* y *tl*). A lo menos hay la combinación de *l+t* sin asimilación en *chilto't* piedra para moler (<*chil+tot*). No encontré otros ejemplos que muestren claramente si se conserva la *l* antes de la *t*. En el dialecto de Guadalajara en el cual también falta la *tl* hay la misma combinación, como:

*tallicpac* mundo (l. c., p. 142)

Encontré una palabra que tiene la terminación *ti* como los nombres del mexicano cuya raíz termina con una sola consonante:

<i>ui'zti</i>	<i>uiztli</i> espina
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Las raíces que terminan con dos consonantes toman una vocal auxiliar (o conservan una vocal antigua de la raíz):

<i>oque't</i>	<i>icpatl</i> hilo
<i>ozte't</i>	<i>iztatl</i> sal
<i>oque't</i>	<i>ichcatl</i> algodón



Es probable que en esos casos también persiste una condición más antigua, en la cual se encuentra todavía el dialecto del Valle de México.

Las raíces que terminan con una *t* tienen dos formas; las unas terminan con una vocal auxiliar, las otras no tienen terminación. La última clase es más frecuente:

POCHUTLA	MEXICANO
<i>b'tet y bot</i>	<i>petlatl</i> petate
<i>mot</i>	<i>metlatl</i> metate
<i>(oxt)</i>	<i>ixtēl</i> uña
<i>cute't</i>	<i>cuillatl</i> mierda

En el mexicano clásico muchas raíces que terminan con consonantes que no pueden formar el primer elemento de un grupo de consonantes tienen vocales auxiliares (o conservan vocales antiguas de la raíz). Los sonidos más importantes de esa clase son la *c* y la *m* (aunque las raíces en *m* tienen formas en *-nli*).

Las raíces que terminan en *c* tienen también vocales auxiliares en Pochutla:

<i>teque't</i>	<i>tlacatl</i> hombre
<i>neque't</i>	<i>nacatl</i> carne
<i>ceque't</i>	<i>çacatl</i> zacate
<i>tzique't</i>	<i>tzicatl</i> hormiga

Las raíces que terminan en *m* no tienen vocal auxiliar, y corresponden a las formas clásicas en *tlī*:

<i>ato'mt</i>	<i>atemitl</i> piojo
<i>quexque'mt</i>	<i>quechquemitl</i> huipil
<i>cumt</i>	<i>comitl</i> cántaro
<i>xamt</i>	<i>(xamitl?)</i> tortilla

Se saca:

<i>ot</i>	<i>omitl</i> hueso
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Hay una clase de nombres que terminan en *om* o *em*. Los nombres de ciertos animales pertenecen a esa clase:

<i>achiquelo'm</i>	— camarón
<i>ug'lo'm</i>	<i>ocuilin</i> gusano
<i>tacho'm</i>	— perro
<i>micho'm</i>	<i>michin</i> pescado
<i>cuixo'm</i>	— iguana
<i>picho'm</i>	— ?

POCHUTLA	MEXICANO
<i>todolem</i> (Apolonio Rosario)	<i>tolotlīn</i> guajalote
<i>ome'm</i>	<i>ome</i> dos
<i>quisco'm</i>	<i>(quezqui)</i> cuantos
<i>mixco'm(?)</i>	— nixtamal
<i>huhio'm</i>	<i>(uey)</i> grande
<i>eyo'm</i>	<i>yei</i> tres
<i>nayo'm</i>	<i>naui</i> cuatro

Tal vez esa terminación corresponda a la *in* del mexicano clásico. No cabe duda que no forma parte de la raíz, porque se encuentra *taxpo'l*, perrito, de *tacho'm*; pero es posible que corresponda al plural *me*.

#### PLURAL

No encontré formas distintas del plural en la mayoría de los nombres. Puede ser que eso se deba a que con adjetivos que expresan el plural no se usan formas distintas o a que ya se hayan olvidado las formas. En pocas palabras encontré la reduplicación:

SINGULAR	PLURAL
<i>g'last</i>	<i>quig'lastqui't</i> mujer
<i>cone't</i>	<i>cocone't</i> niño
<i>conebo'l</i>	<i>coconebo'l</i> criatura
<i>teque't</i>	<i>teletequetqui't</i> hombre

La terminación *quit* que tienen dos de las palabras que mencioné, corresponde a *que* del mexicano clásico y es terminación del plural del verbo que se halla frecuentemente:

<i>liquazqui't</i>	comemos
<i>quaguzqui't</i>	vamos á leñar
<i>tmotezqui't</i>	nos veremos
<i>ecmochiqui't</i>	le mataron

#### FORMAS POSESIVAS

Son muy irregulares las formas posesivas. La terminación *uh* del mexicano corresponde a la terminación *u* en Pochutla. A mi parecer esa era la terminación antigua del posesivo. Se pronuncia *hui* sonido que se ha descrito (p. 11). En Pochutla es vocal y siendo la última sílaba, como es, siempre lleva el acento. Solamente cuando la raíz termina en *e* el acento está en la penúltima.



Formas en *u* con acento en la *u*:

POCHUTLA	MEXICANO
<i>nob'lu'</i>	<i>nopillo</i> mi hijo
<i>notecu'</i>	<i>notēcuiyo</i> mi padre
<i>notulu'</i>	— mi atole
<i>nogüelu'</i>	— mi esposa
<i>nochibilu'</i>	— tu vulva
<i>noholu'</i>	— mi hermano
<i>noqualu'</i>	— mi lado
<i>nocomalu'</i>	<i>nocomal</i> mi comal
<i>nopanü'</i> (castel- lano)	— mi pan
<i>notilanu'</i>	— mi gallina
<i>notuminu'</i> (y <i>notumi'n</i> )	— mi dinero
<i>noznu'</i> (de çon)	— mi mazorca
<i>noxamu'</i> y <i>noxa'm</i>	<i>noxan</i> mi tortilla
<i>nopayu'</i>	— mi rebozo
<i>nolyu'</i>	<i>noyollo</i> mi corazón
<i>nomelegu'</i>	<i>nomalac</i> mi huso
<i>nopcu'</i>	( <i>nopcauh</i> ) mi hilo
<i>noxcu'</i>	<i>nochcauh</i> mi algodón
<i>notachu'</i> (de <i>tacho'm</i> )	— mi perro

Formas en *u* con acento en la penúltima sílaba:

<i>noat'be'u</i> ( <i>nat'- be'u</i> )	<i>naltpeuh</i> mi pueblo
<i>nogüe'u</i>	— mi marido
<i>nomeche'u</i>	— mi machete
<i>nocumpale'u</i> (castellano)	— mi compadre

## Formas sin terminación:

<i>moxt</i>	<i>miste, mozte</i> tu uña
<i>moi'x</i>	<i>mix</i> tu cara
<i>noxca'z</i>	— mi jicara
<i>noye'c</i>	<i>noyac</i> mi nariz
<i>ixi'c</i>	<i>ixic</i> su ombligo
<i>notzo'c</i>	— mi camisa
<i>nomo't</i>	<i>nomell</i> mi metate
<i>nob'te't, nopo't</i>	<i>nopell</i> mi petate
<i>mocu'm</i>	<i>mocon</i> tu cántaro
<i>noquexque'm</i>	<i>noquexquen</i> mi huipil
<i>notipe'n</i>	<i>nitipan</i> mi pecho
<i>note'n</i>	<i>noten</i> mi boca
<i>notumi'n</i>	— mi dinero
<i>notentzo'n</i>	<i>notentzon</i> mi barba
<i>mod'po'ts</i>	<i>moteputs</i> tu espalda
<i>nocha'n</i>	<i>nochan</i> mi casa
<i>nob'ltzi'n</i>	<i>nopiltzin</i> mi ahijado
<i>notaltzi'n</i>	<i>notàtzi'n</i> mi padrino
<i>nonantzi'n</i>	<i>nonantzin</i> mi madrina

## POCHUTLA

*totolzi'n*  
*noquaxa'xt*  
*notepo'xt*  
*moco'ch*  
*icho'ch*  
*noquanco'ch*  
*noneque's*  
*nonenepi'l*  
*noce'l*  
*notupi'l*  
*nomi'l*  
*niciu'l*  
*noibe'*  
*iye'*  
*nopima'*  
*nomai'*  
*noquai'*  
*nocue'i*  
*noxo'i*  
*nixtotolu'*

## MEXICANO

— nuestro cura  
 — mi faja  
 (*notlapech*) mi cama  
*moquech* tu pescuezo  
*ichichi* su saliva  
 — mi costal  
*nonacas* mi oído, oreja  
*nonenepil* mi lengua  
 — mi pene  
 — mi tenate  
*nomil* mi milpa  
 — mi nombre  
 — mi hermana  
 — su madre  
 — mi hermana  
*nomà* mi mano  
*noqua* mi cabeza  
*nocue* mi enagua  
*noxo* mi pié  
*nixtelolo* mi ojo

Segun la lista de vocablos parece que los sustantivos en *tzin* no tienen la terminación en *u*, y que no es frecuente en raíces que terminan en *n*. Sustantivos cuyas raíces terminan en una vocal no pierden la *i* en las formas posesivas.

La contracción de la vocal del pronombre con la vocal inicial del sustantivo se encuentra cuando el sustantivo principia con la *o*:

<i>opque't</i> hilo	<i>nopcu'</i> mi hilo
—	<i>moxt</i> tu uña
<i>oxque't</i> algodón	<i>noxcu'</i> mi algodón

Los sustantivos que principian con otras vocales no forman contracciones sino que son irregulares, encontrándose formas con contracción que son raras, y otras sin contracción que son más frecuentes:

<i>at'be't</i> pueblo	<i>noat'beu</i> mi pueblo
—	<i>mat'beu</i> tu pueblo
<i>ixt</i> cara	<i>moix</i> tu cara
—	<i>mixcuay</i> tu frente (Apo- lonio Rosario)
<i>ixtotolu'</i> ojo	<i>mixtotolu'</i> , } tu ojo <i>moxtotolu'</i> }
<i>etu'l</i> atole	<i>motolu'</i> tu atole
—	<i>noapa's</i> mi olla
—	<i>noachu'</i> mi semilla
—	<i>noibe'</i> mi hermana



El plural de las formas posesivas tiene el sufijo *gam* (mex. *huan*). Una vez oí *gan*, seis veces *gam*.

*mocholuga'm* tus hermanos  
*mob'luga'm* tus hijos

#### COMPOSICIÓN DE LOS NOMBRES

El diminutivo más frecuente es *pol* (mex. *pulh*).

*cayupo'l* caballito (de *cay'u'*)  
*taxpo'l* perrito (de *tacho'm*)  
*g'laspo'l* muchacha (de *g'lazt*)  
*conepo'l* criatura (de *cone't*)

El diminutivo *tun* (mex. *ton*, *tonli*) se encuentra solamente en

*nixtu'n* pequeño

El reverencial es *tzin* (mex. *tzin*, *tzinli*)

*totoltsi'n* el cura  
*motaltsi'n* tu padrino  
*monantsi'n* tu madrina  
*mob'ltsi'n* tu ahijado

Encontré pocas postposiciones:

-c en

POCHUTLA	MEXICANO
<i>toque'lc</i>	( <i>iti'c calco</i> ) en la casa
<i>ato'lc</i>	— fuera

Las otras se encuentran solamente con pronombres posesivos:

<i>ito'c</i>	<i>itic</i> en
<i>ipe'n</i>	— sobre
<i>ile'nc</i>	<i>ilan</i> debajo
<i>ixna'c</i>	<i>ixnauac</i> frente
<i>tacpa'c</i> , <i>icpa'c</i>	<i>icpac</i> sobre

#### PRONOMBRES

Los pronombres del verbo intransitivo son:

yo <i>n—</i>	nosotros <i>t—</i>
tú <i>t—</i>	vosotros ?
él —	ellos —

Los pronombres del verbo reflexivo son:

yo—me	<i>no—</i> , <i>nmo—</i>
tú—te	<i>to—</i> ?
él—se	<i>mo—</i>
nosotros—nos	<i>tmo—</i>

Los pronombres del verbo transitivo son:

tu—me	<i>tich—</i>
él—me	<i>nich—</i>
yo—te	<i>ntz—</i>
él—te	<i>motz—</i>
yo—le	<i>nc—</i>
tú—le	<i>ti—</i>
él—le	<i>c—</i>

Las formas de la segunda persona del imperativo son:

Verbo intransitivo	tú	<i>x—</i>
Verbo reflexivo	tú	<i>xo—</i> , <i>xmo—</i>
Verbo transitivo	tú—me	<i>tich—</i>
	tú—le	<i>x—</i>

Es un rasgo característico del dialecto de Pochutla, que, con los pronombres transitivos no se usan los sujetos del intransitivo, sino que formas compuestas indican la combinación particular del sujeto y del régimen pronominal. Combinaciones de esta clase se encuentran en muchos idiomas americanos y, por esa razón, no es de suponerse que las formas de Pochutla se desarrollaron por contracción reciente.

<i>tich</i> < <i>t</i> + <i>nech</i>	<i>ntz</i> < <i>n</i> + <i>mitz</i>
<i>nich</i> < <i>nech</i>	<i>motz</i> < <i>mitz</i>

En el verbo reflexivo tampoco se usan los sujetos del verbo intransitivo, sino sujetos particulares del verbo reflexivo. Sin embargo, lo mismo que en el mexicano clásico, hay otras formas del verbo reflexivo las cuales tienen el prefijo *mo* con los sujetos del verbo intransitivo.

Entre el pronombre y el verbo se encuentran ligaduras que no se explican fácilmente. En muchos verbos no hay ligadura; en otros se explica la ligadura por el fonetismo del dialecto, pero es claro que hay otras causas que la determinen.

Se pueden dar las reglas siguientes:

La *t* de la segunda persona toma una ligadura antes de las consonantes dentales y paladales. Casi siempre la ligadura es *i*.

( <i>lamota'</i> ) tirar	<i>litamote'c</i> tiraste
<i>tali'</i> poner	<i>litali'z</i> pondras
<i>temoa'</i> buscar	<i>titemoa'</i> buscas
( <i>luca'</i> ) sembrar	<i>etituque'c</i> sembraste



<i>namocti'</i> casarse	<i>tinamocti'</i> te casas
<i>nutza'</i> llamar	<i>tinutza'</i> llamas
<i>nqui</i> querer	<i>tinqui'</i> quieres
<i>(tsecue')</i> cerrar	<i>titsecue'</i> cierras
<i>(tzoma')</i> coser	<i>titzome'z</i> coserás
<i>chua'</i> hacer	<i>tichue'</i> haces
<i>quiça'</i> salir	<i>tiquiça'</i> sales
<i>qua'</i> comer	<i>tiqua'z</i> comes
<i>cua'</i> comprar	<i>ticua'z</i> compras

La *x* del imperativo toma una ligadura antes de las consonantes dentales, continuas y aspiradas, y antes de las paladales. Casi siempre la ligadura es *i*.

<i>(çalu')</i> comprar	<i>xicalu'</i> ¡cómpralo!
<i>(tsecue')</i> cerrar	<i>xitsecue'</i> ¡ciérralo!
<i>(tsupcua')</i> cortar	<i>xitupcue'</i> ¡córtalo!
<i>tzulua'</i> sacudir	<i>xitlulu'</i> ¡sacúdelo!
<i>che</i> esperar	<i>xiche'</i> ¡espera!
<i>chua'</i> hacer	<i>xichue'</i> ¡haz!
<i>quiça'</i> salir	<i>xiquice'</i> ¡sal!
<i>quixi'</i> sacar	<i>xiquixi'</i> ¡sácalo!
<i>cua</i> comprar	<i>xicue'</i> ¡cómpralo!
<i>hulu'</i> pepenar	<i>xihulu'</i> ¡pepénalo!

En otros verbos no se puede dar suficiente explicación.

<i>pechua'</i> apretar	<i>xipechu'</i> ¡apriétalo!
<i>po</i> contar	<i>xipo'</i> ¡cuéntalo!
<i>(mo?)</i> traer	<i>ximoti'</i> ¡anda, tráelo!
<i>mociti'</i> matar	<i>ximociti'</i> ¡mátalo!
	<i>ximanli'</i> ¡rie!

pero

—	<i>xmamui'</i> ¡baña!
—	<i>xmoleque'</i> ¡acuéstate!
—	<i>xmetze'</i> ¡siéntate!

La *c*, régimen de la tercera persona, nunca toma la ligadura *i*, sino *o*. Las demás formas transitivas excepto *t* y *x* toman la misma ligadura. No se pueden dar reglas que indiquen cuando se toma la *o*. Los verbos que toman la *o* toman la ligadura *i* en la segunda persona del indicativo y del imperativo, y en la primera del plural.

<i>bia'</i> tener	<i>ncobia'</i> lo tengo	<i>tibia'</i> lo tienes
		<i>tibialu't</i> tenemos
<i>pua'</i> limpiar	<i>encopu'c</i> lo limpie'	<i>xipue'</i> ¡limpialo!
<i>ma</i> tomar	<i>motzuma'</i> le tomo	<i>xima'</i> ¡tómalo!
	<i>nichuma'c</i> me tomé	
<i>mama'</i> cargar	—	<i>timama'c</i> lo cargaste
<i>tepoa'</i> abrir	<i>ncotepe'c</i> lo abrí	<i>xitepu'</i> ¡ábrela!
<i>tuca'</i> sembrar	<i>encotuque'c</i> lo sembré	<i>etitutque'c</i> sembraste

<i>tqui</i> llevar	<i>ncotqui'</i> lo llevé	<i>xitco'</i> ¡llévalo!
<i>nqui</i> querer	<i>nconqui'</i> quiero	<i>tinqui'</i> quieres
<i>che</i> esperar	<i>ntsochetuc'</i> estoy	<i>xiche'</i> ¡espera!
	esperándote	
<i>chua'</i> hacer	<i>entsuchu'c</i> me hiciste	<i>xichue'</i> ¡haz!
<i>cua'</i> comprar	<i>encocu'c</i> lo compré	<i>xicue'</i> ¡cómpralo!
		<i>ticue'z</i> comprarás
<i>ctze</i> parar	<i>ncotze'c</i> lo paré	
<i>hulu'</i> pepenar	<i>encuhulu'c</i> lo pepené	<i>xihulu'</i> ¡pepénalo!

Sácanse

<i>ma</i> tomar	<i>cmac</i> lo tomó
<i>che</i> esperar	<i>tixche'</i> ¡espérame!
	<i>nches</i> voy a esperar
<i>chua'</i> hacer	<i>nixchua'</i> me hace

Dos verbos cuyas raíces principian probablemente con *i* toman la *o* en la misma posición.

<i>ita'</i> ver	
<i>nichote'c</i> él me ve	<i>tite'c</i> lo viste
<i>tichota'</i> me ves	<i>xite'</i> ¡mira!
<i>ecote'c</i> lo vió, etc.	
<i>ilpi'</i> atar	
<i>encolpi'c</i> lo até	<i>tilpi'c</i> tú lo ataste
	<i>xilpi'</i> ¡átalo!

El verbo *meca'*, dar siempre toma la *i*.

<i>ntzimeca'</i> te doy	<i>motzimequi't</i> te dieron
<i>tichimeque'</i> ¡dame!	<i>tímece'</i> das
<i>nichime'c</i> él me dió	<i>ximeque'</i> ¡dáselo!

No estoy seguro si es de la misma clase

<i>coxqui'</i> comézón
<i>nicoxqui'</i> tengo comézón

Un número pequeño de verbos tiene la ligadura *a*.

<i>(peca')</i> lavar
<i>encape'c</i> lo lavé
<i>xapeque'</i> ¡lávalo!
<i>(pelua')</i> lamer
<i>encapelu'c</i> lo lamí
<i>xapelu'</i> ¡lámelo!
<i>(pitsa')</i> parir
<i>motzapi'zc</i> te parió (pero <i>xipitze'</i> ¡sopla!)
<i>pig'li'</i> golpear
<i>capig'li'c</i> lo golpeó
<i>napig'le'z</i> voy á golpear
<i>ntzapig'le'z</i> voy á golpearle
<i>tichapig'li'</i> ¡golpéame!
<i>xapig'li'</i> ¡pégalo!
<i>(queua')</i> guardar
<i>caqueue'z</i> ¡ve a guardarlo!
<i>(quana')</i> rascar
<i>xaquane'</i> ¡ráscale!



Excepto las formas en *a* que acabo de mencionar, la *n* de la primera persona nunca toma ligadura.

Hay un número de verbos que tienen la ligadura *o* en la segunda persona. Parece que todos son intransitivos, pero no es clara la causa que produce la *o*. No creo que sea indicación de una forma reflexiva.

<i>tochuca'</i> tú lloras	<i>totactze'</i> hablas
<i>toquequi'</i> tú oyes	<i>toeue'a'</i> estás viejo
<i>totaqua'c</i> tú comiste	<i>tounti'</i> estás borracho

Ejemplos de formas sin ligadura son:

<i>au'e'c</i> se mojó	<i>naue'c</i> me mojé
<i>ape'c</i> entró	<i>napeco'z</i> entraré
<i>aci'</i> encontrar	<i>tichaci'</i> me encuentras
<i>iti'</i> decir	<i>ntzeti'c</i> le dije
<i>ixmeli'</i> conocer	<i>nquixmeli'</i> lo conozco
<i>(ya)</i> ir	<i>nias</i> iré
	<i>tia'z</i> irás
<i>(penoa')</i> pasar	<i>epenu'c</i> pasaste
<i>pelebi'</i> ayudar	<i>mozpelebi'c</i> te ayudó
<i>pechoa'</i> apretar	<i>tixpechu'</i> ¡apriétame!
<i>ma</i> tomar	<i>cmac</i> lo tomó
<i>meti'</i> saber	<i>cmeli'</i> lo sé
<i>mexli'</i> enseñar	<i>nmexli'z</i> enseñaré
	<i>nixmexli'c</i> me enseñó
<i>metza'</i> sentarse	<i>xmetze'</i> ¡siéntate!
<i>mochi'</i> matar	<i>ecmochiqui't</i> lo mataron
<i>mamui'</i> bañar	<i>xmānu'i'</i> ¡baña!
<i>tapeca'</i> lavar	<i>ntapeque'z</i> lavaré
<i>tamota'</i> tirar	<i>xtamote'</i> ¡tírelo!
	<i>enclamote'c</i> lo tiré
<i>tatenli'</i> preguntar	<i>ntatenli'z</i> preguntaré
	<i>xtatenli'</i> ¡pregúntale!
<i>tati'</i> quemar	<i>xtati'</i> ¡quémalo!
<i>tacui'c</i> pagó	<i>enixtacui'c</i> me pagó
<i>temi'</i> acabar	<i>enclemi'c</i> lo acabé
	<i>xtemi'</i> ¡acábalo!
<i>tecu'</i> subir	<i>ntecu'z</i> subiré
	<i>xtecu'</i> ¡sube!
<i>namig'li'</i> vender	<i>tixnamig'li'</i> ¡véndeme!
<i>namoct</i> casarse	<i>enclamochi'c</i> lo casé
<i>tzaua'</i> hilar	<i>ntzaue'z</i> hilaré
<i>tzupini'</i> picar	<i>nitzupini'c</i> me picó
<i>tzulu'</i> sacudir	<i>entzulu'c</i> sacudí
<i>che</i> esperar	<i>nches</i> voy á esperar
<i>chua'</i> hacer	<i>nixchua'</i> me hace
<i>chua'</i> llorar	<i>nchua'</i> lloro
<i>qua</i> comer	<i>nguas</i> comeré
<i>guala'c</i> venir	<i>nola'c</i> vine
	<i>tola'c</i> veniste

Ejemplos de los pronombres reflexivos y transitivos siguen:

Reflexivos; primera forma:

<i>enopi'b'lu'c</i> me envolví	<i>xopi'b'lu'</i> ¡envuélvete!
<i>nopina'</i> tengo frío	—
—	<i>xotepu'</i> ¡ábrete!
<i>nocyeni'</i> estoy cansado	—
<i>noqute'c</i> tengo miedo	—
<i>noxixe'z</i> voy a mear	—
<i>nococoa'</i> estoy enfermo	—
—	<i>xucochoti'</i> ¡vete a dormir!
<i>enoya'c</i> me escondí	—
<i>nod'mu'z</i> voy a bajarme	<i>xod'mu'</i> ¡bájate!

Reflexivos; segunda forma:

<i>enmoteque'c</i> me acosté	<i>xmoteque'</i> ¡acuéstate!
<i>enmohue'c</i> <i>nen</i> me bañé	—
<i>nmoqute'</i> me espanté	—
<i>enmoco'zc</i> me levanté	<i>xmochtze'</i> ¡levántate!
—	<i>xmoyane'</i> ¡escóndete!

Transitivos:

tú—me

<i>tichimeque'</i> ¡dámelo!	<i>tixpechu'</i> ¡apriétame!
<i>ticheti'c</i> dijiste	<i>tixpelebi'</i> ¡ayúdame!
<i>ticholmeque'</i> ¡pásamelo!	<i>tixnamig'li'</i> ¡véndemelo!
<i>tichapig'li'</i> ¡pégame	<i>tixche'</i> ¡espérame!
un golpe!	

él—me

<i>nichuma'c</i> me cogió	<i>nixmexli'c</i> me enseñó
<i>nichime'c</i> me lo dió	<i>nixmochi'c</i> me mató
<i>nichimequi't</i> me dieron	<i>enixtacui'c</i> ya me pagó
<i>nichota'</i> me mira	<i>nixtzupini'c</i> me picó
<i>nicheti'c</i> me dijo	

yo—te

<i>ntzaci'</i> te encuentro	<i>ntzimeca'</i> te doy
<i>ntzapig'le'z</i> voy á pegar	<i>ntzoche'</i> te espero
te un golpe	<i>ntzeti'c</i> te dije

él—te

<i>motzapizc</i> te parió	<i>moztemutu'c</i> están
<i>motsuma'</i> te coge	buscándote
<i>mozmeti'</i> te enseñó	<i>motzeti'c</i> te dijo
<i>motzimequi't</i> te dieron	

yo—lo

<i>ncobia'</i> lo tengo	<i>encapelu'c</i> lo lamé
<i>ncolepo'c</i> lo abrí	<i>enclemi'c</i> lo acabé
<i>ncotqui'</i> lo llevé	<i>enclamote'c</i> lo tiré
<i>encape'c</i> lo lavé	<i>nconqui'</i> lo quiero

tú—lo

<i>timama'c</i> lo cargaste	<i>limeca'</i> se lo das
<i>tingui'</i> lo quieres	<i>tichua'</i> lo haces
<i>ticue'z</i> comprarás	<i>tiqua'z</i> lo comes
<i>tite'c</i> lo viste	



él—lo

*ecote'c* lo vió                      *cmac* lo tomó  
*caqueue's* va a guardarlo   *ecmoctiqui't* lo mataron

## EL PLURAL DEL VERBO

Ya se han mencionado los plurales en *quil* (p. 15).

Hay otra forma que se encuentra solamente en la primera persona del plural. Me parece muy probable que esa sea la forma impersonal que tiene el sufijo *lo* en el mexicano clásico.

*tibialu't* tenemos  
*tuilu't* nos vamos  
*tuitzelu't* venimos  
*untilu't* estamos borrachos  
*tichulu't* haremos

## FORMACIÓN DEL PRETÉRITO

Los verbos del mexicano clásico que terminan en el pretérito con el sonido final de la raíz, añaden en el dialecto de Pochutla *c* a la raíz.

POCHUTLA Y MEXICANO		MEXICANO
Raíz	Pretérito	Presente
<i>pils-</i>	<i>pisc</i> ( <i>pils</i> ) nacer	<i>pilsa</i>
<i>ma-</i>	<i>mac</i> ( <i>ma</i> ) tomar	<i>ma</i>
<i>mama'</i>	<i>mama'c</i> ( <i>mama</i> ) cargar	<i>mama</i>
<i>lom-</i>	<i>lomc</i> ( <i>lon</i> ) desatar	<i>loma</i>
<i>quis-</i>	<i>quisc</i> ( <i>quis</i> ) salir	<i>quica</i>
<i>colz-</i>	<i>colzc</i> y <i>clsec</i> ( <i>quets</i> ) levantar	<i>quetza</i>
<i>cyeu-</i>	<i>cy'e'uc</i> ( <i>ciauh</i> ) cansar	<i>ciaui</i>
<i>cu-</i>	<i>cuc</i> ( <i>couh</i> ) comprar	<i>coa</i>
<i>pu-</i>	<i>puc</i> ( <i>pouh</i> ) limpiar	<i>poui</i>
<i>chu-</i>	<i>chuc</i> ( <i>chiuh</i> ) hacer	<i>chiua</i>
<i>otz-</i>	<i>ozc</i> ( <i>uetz</i> ) caer	<i>uetzi</i>
<i>coch-</i>	<i>coxc</i> ( <i>coch</i> ) dormir	<i>cochi</i>
<i>quec-</i>	<i>quec</i> ( <i>cac</i> ) oír	<i>cachi</i>
<i>patan-</i>	<i>pata'nc</i> ( <i>patlan</i> ) volar	<i>patlani</i>
<i>molun-</i>	<i>molu'nc</i> ( <i>molon</i> ) hervir	<i>moloni</i>
<i>xaman-</i>	<i>xama'nc</i> ( <i>xaman</i> ) quebrar	<i>xamani</i>
<i>caxan-</i>	<i>caxa'nc</i> ( <i>caxan</i> ) sanar	<i>caxani</i>
<i>temi-</i>	<i>temc</i> ( <i>tlan</i> ) acabar	<i>tlami</i>
<i>moyan-</i>	<i>moya'c</i> ( <i>yan</i> ) esconderse	<i>yana</i>
<i>apec-</i>	<i>apec</i> entrar	

En esa clase se encuentran los verbos en *oa* del mexicano clásico cuyas raíces terminan en *ò*, y los en *ia* cuyas raíces terminan en *ì*.

*pelu-*                      *pelu'c* (*palo*) lamer                      *paloa*  
*pib'lu-*                      *pib'lu'c* (*pipilo*) envolver                      *pipiloa*

## POCHUTLA Y MEXICANO

## MEXICANO

Raíz	Pretérito	Presente
<i>polu-</i>	<i>polu'c</i> ( <i>polo</i> ) perder	<i>poloa</i>
<i>tepu-</i>	<i>tepo'c</i> ( <i>tlapo</i> ) abrir	<i>tlapoa</i>
<i>tzulu-</i>	<i>tzulu'c</i> ( <i>tzolo</i> ) sacudir	<i>tzoloa</i>
<i>hulu-</i>	<i>hulu'c</i> pepenar	
<i>ixque'</i>	<i>ixque'c</i> ( <i>ixqui</i> ) asar	<i>ixquia</i>
<i>mexli'</i>	<i>mexli'c</i> ( <i>maxti</i> ) enseñar	<i>maxtia</i>
<i>mochi'</i>	<i>mochi'c</i> ( <i>michi</i> ) matar	<i>mictia</i>
<i>mamui'</i>	<i>mamui'c</i> bañar	
<i>tati'</i>	<i>tate'c</i> ( <i>tlati</i> ) quemar	<i>tlatia</i>
<i>tali'</i>	<i>tali'c</i> ( <i>tlali</i> ) poner	<i>tlalia</i>
<i>temi'</i>	<i>temi'c</i> ( <i>tlami</i> ) acabar	<i>tlamia</i>
<i>namochi'</i>	<i>namochi'c</i> ( <i>namicti</i> ) casarse	<i>namictia</i>
<i>tzupini'</i>	<i>tzupini'c</i> ( <i>tzupini</i> ) picar	<i>tzupinia</i>
<i>quixi'</i>	<i>quixi'c</i> sacar	
<i>ilpi'</i>	<i>ilpi'c</i> ( <i>ilpi</i> ) atar	<i>ilpia</i>
<i>iti'</i>	<i>iti'c</i> ( <i>ilo</i> ) decir	<i>itoa</i>

Los verbos cuyas raíces terminan en *à* son también de esa clase:

*qua*                      *quac* (*qua*) comer                      *qua*

Los verbos cuyas raíces terminan en *c* y que toman *ac* en mexicano, no toman sufijo en Pochutla.

*pec-*                      *pec* (*pac* y *pacac*) lavar                      *paca*  
*mec-*                      *mec* (*macac*) dar                      *maca*

y talvez

*apec-*                      *apec'c* entrar

Los verbos del mexicano clásico que añaden *c* a la *a* del presente, o a la *o* (sin saltillo) de la raíz, añaden en Pochutla *c* a la *e* del imperativo.

Imp.	Pretérito	Presente
—	<i>çute'c</i> ( <i>çollac</i> ) vomitar	<i>çollta</i>
<i>mole'</i>	<i>mole'c</i> ( <i>mollac</i> ) tirar	<i>molla</i>
<i>mohue'</i>	<i>mohue'c</i> bañar	
—	<i>tayue'c</i> ( <i>tlayoac</i> ) oscurecer	<i>tlayoa</i>
<i>ile'</i>	<i>ile'c</i> ( <i>illac</i> ) ver	<i>illa</i>
<i>teque'</i>	<i>teque'c</i> ( <i>tecac</i> ) acostarse	<i>leca</i>
—	<i>tuque'c</i> ( <i>tocac</i> ) sembrar	<i>toca</i>
—	<i>nuque'c</i> decir	
<i>çute'</i>	<i>çute'c</i> ( <i>çollauac</i> ) espantarse	<i>çollaua</i>
—	<i>penu'c</i> ( <i>panoc</i> ) pasar	<i>pano</i>
<i>d'mu</i>	<i>d'muc</i> ( <i>temoc</i> ) bajar	<i>temo</i>

Verbos que en el mexicano clásico terminan en *i* y toman la *c*, en Pochutla cambian la *i* que llega a ser *o*.

POCHUTLA Y MEXICANO		MEXICANO
Presente	Preterito	Presente
<i>aci</i>	<i>aco'c</i> ( <i>acic</i> )	encontrar
—	<i>eco'c</i> ( <i>icucic</i> )	cocer
<i>tatzi'</i>	<i>tatzo'c</i> ( <i>tzatzic'</i> )	gritar
<i>cug'li'</i>	<i>cug'lu'c</i>	hace frío

## FORMACIÓN DEL PRESENTE

Los verbos que terminan en *a* en el mexicano clásico, tienen la misma terminación en Pochutla.

Raiz	Presente	
<i>tom-</i> ( <i>tom-</i> )	<i>toma'</i> ( <i>toma</i> )	desatar
<i>nulz-</i> ( <i>notz-</i> )	<i>nulza'</i> ( <i>notza</i> )	llamar
<i>mec-</i> ( <i>mac-</i> )	<i>meca'</i> ( <i>maca</i> )	dar
<i>tayu-</i> ( <i>tlayo-</i> )	<i>tayua'</i> ( <i>tlayoa</i> )	obscurer
<i>it-</i> ( <i>itt-</i> )	<i>ita'</i> ( <i>itta</i> )	ver
<i>nuc-</i>	<i>nuca'</i>	decir
<i>chu-</i> ( <i>chiuh-</i> )	<i>chua'</i> ( <i>chiua</i> )	hacer
<i>chuc-</i> ( <i>choc-</i> )	<i>chuca'</i> ( <i>choca</i> )	llorar
<i>quiz-</i> ( <i>quiz-</i> )	<i>quiza'</i> ( <i>quiza</i> )	salir
<i>cuis-</i>	<i>cuisca'</i>	tirar
<i>cotz-</i> ( <i>quetz-</i> )	<i>ctza</i> ( <i>quetza</i> )	levantar
<i>temo-</i> ( <i>temò-</i> )	<i>temoa'</i> ( <i>temoa</i> )	buscar
<i>teto-</i> ( <i>tlàtò-</i> )	<i>tetoa'</i> ( <i>tlàtoa</i> )	bramar
<i>tag'lu-</i> ( <i>cuilò-</i> )	<i>tag'lua'</i> ( <i>cui loa</i> )	escribir
<i>cu-</i> ( <i>couh-</i> )	<i>cua'</i> ( <i>coa</i> )	comprar

Raíces que terminan en *à* no toman *a* en el presente.

Raiz	Presente	
<i>ma-</i> ( <i>mà-</i> )	<i>ma</i> ( <i>ma</i> )	tomar
<i>mama-</i> ( <i>mamà-</i> )	<i>mama</i> ( <i>mama</i> )	cargar
<i>qua-</i> ( <i>quà-</i> )	<i>qua</i> ( <i>qua</i> )	comer

Las raíces en *ì* que toman *a* mexicano, no tienen sufijo en Pochutla.

Raiz	Presente	
<i>machtì-</i>	<i>mextì</i> ( <i>machtia</i> )	enseñar
<i>namictì-</i>	<i>namoctì'</i> ( <i>namictia</i> )	casarse
<i>tsopini-</i>	<i>tsupini'</i> ( <i>tsopinia</i> )	picar
<i>tsilini-</i>	<i>tsilini'</i> ( <i>tsilinia</i> )	sonar

Otros verbos cuyas raíces terminan en *i* y *o* sin saltillo no tienen sufijos, ni en el mexicano clásico ni en Pochutla.

POCHUTLA	MEXICANO
<i>aci'</i>	<i>aci</i> encontrar
<i>tatzi'</i>	<i>tsatzi</i> (?) gritar

POCHUTLA	MEXICANO
<i>yequi'</i>	— llover
<i>nqui</i>	<i>nequi</i> querer
<i>tqui</i>	( <i>tequiti</i> ) llevar
<i>calamqui'</i>	— acordarse
<i>d'mu</i>	<i>temo</i> bajar

Los verbos cuyas raíces terminan con una consonante y que toman *i* en el mexicano clásico, toman el mismo sufijo en Pochutla.

Raiz	Presente	
<i>caxan-</i> ( <i>caxan-</i> )	<i>caxani'</i> ( <i>caxani</i> )	sanar
<i>quec-</i> ( <i>cac-</i> )	<i>quequi'</i> ( <i>caqui</i> )	oir

Los en *e* en el dialecto de Pochutla no toman sufijos aunque en el mexicano clásico tomen *a*.

POCHUTLA	MEXICANO	
<i>che</i>	<i>chia</i>	esperar
<i>gule'</i>	<i>gallaua</i>	espantarse

## FORMACIÓN DEL IMPERATIVO Y DEL FUTURO

El imperativo de todos los verbos cuyo presente toma el sufijo *a*, toma *e*; y el futuro se forma anadiéndole *z* al imperativo.

POCHUTLA		MEXICANO	
Imperativo	Futuro	Presente	
—	<i>apilze'z</i>	<i>apilza</i>	purgar
<i>moyane'</i>	<i>moyane'z</i>	<i>yana</i>	escondese
<i>peque'</i>	<i>peque'z</i>	<i>paca</i>	lavar
<i>pilze'</i>	—	<i>pilza</i>	soplar
—	<i>poque'z</i>	<i>pixca</i>	pizar
<i>metze'</i>	<i>metze'z</i>	—	sentarse
<i>meque'</i>	—	<i>maca</i>	dar
<i>mote'</i>	<i>mote'z</i>	<i>molla</i>	tirar
<i>mohue'</i>	<i>mohue'z</i>	—	bañar
<i>tachapane'</i>	—	<i>tlachpana</i>	barrer
<i>ile'</i>	<i>ile'z</i>	<i>illa</i>	ver
<i>teque'</i>	<i>teque'z</i>	<i>teca</i>	acostarse
<i>tome'</i>	<i>tome'z</i>	<i>toma</i>	desatar
—	<i>tuque'z</i>	<i>toca</i>	sembrar
—	<i>nuque'z</i>	—	decir
—	<i>xixe'z</i>	<i>xixa</i>	mear
—	<i>tzaue'z</i>	<i>tsaua</i>	hilar
—	<i>tzome'z</i>	<i>tsoma</i>	coser
<i>che</i>	<i>chez</i>	<i>chia</i>	esperar
<i>chue'</i>	—	<i>chiua</i>	hacer
<i>quane'</i>	—	—	rascar
<i>queue'</i>	<i>queue'z</i>	—	guardar
<i>quice'</i>	<i>quice'z</i>	<i>quiza</i>	salir
<i>cuique'</i>	—	<i>cui ca</i>	cantar
<i>ctze</i>	<i>ctzez</i>	<i>quetza</i>	levantar



Verbos cuyas raíces terminan en *o*, *ð*, *i* en el mexicano clásico no toman sufijo en el imperativo, y añaden *z* a la raíz en el futuro.

POCHUTLA		MEXICANO	
Imperativo	Futuro	Presente	
—	<i>paxalu'z</i>	—	pasearse
<i>pechu'</i>	—	<i>pechoa</i>	apretar
<i>pelu'</i>	—	<i>paloa</i>	lamer
<i>pið'lu'</i>	—	<i>pipiloo</i>	envolver
<i>lepu'</i>	—	<i>llapoa</i>	abrir
—	<i>telu'z</i>	<i>llaloo</i>	correr
<i>tzulu'</i>	—	<i>tsoloo</i>	sacudir
<i>hulu'</i>	—	—	pepenar
<i>tecu'</i>	<i>tecu'z</i>	<i>llèco</i>	subir
<i>d'mu</i>	<i>d'muz</i>	<i>temo</i>	bajar
<i>petebi'</i>	—	—	ayudar
<i>pig'li'</i>	<i>pig'le'z</i>	—	golpear
—	<i>mexli'z</i>	<i>machtia</i>	enseñar
<i>mochi'</i>	—	<i>mictia</i>	matar
<i>mamui'</i>	—	—	bañar
<i>tatenli'</i>	<i>tatenli'z</i>	<i>tlàllania</i>	preguntar
<i>tati'</i>	—	<i>tlatia</i>	quemar
<i>tali'</i>	<i>tali'z</i>	<i>tlalia</i>	poner
<i>temi'</i>	—	<i>tlamia</i>	acabar
<i>totoqui'</i>	—	<i>toquia</i>	atizar
<i>namig'li'</i>	—	<i>(namaquiltia)</i>	vender
—	<i>namochi'z</i>	<i>namictia</i>	casarse
<i>quixi'</i>	<i>quixi'z</i>	<i>quixia</i>	sacar
<i>ilpi'</i>	<i>ilpi'z</i>	<i>ilpia</i>	atar
—	<i>xamani'z</i>	<i>xamani</i>	quebrar

Los verbos cuyas raíces terminan con una consonante y toman *i* en el presente, tienen el sufijo *z* en el futuro. No pude apuntar imperativos de ese grupo.

POCHUTLA	MEXICANO	
Futuro	Presente	
<i>pata'nz</i>	<i>pallani</i>	volar

Los verbos cuyas raíces terminan en *i* sin saltillo la cambian en *o* en el imperativo y futuro (véase el mismo cambio en el pretérito, p. 20).

POCHUTLA				MEXICANO
Presente	Imp.	Futuro	Pretérito	Presente
—	—	<i>ig'to'z</i>	—	<i>iquili</i> tejer
<i>yequi'</i>	—	<i>yeco'z</i>	—	— llover
—	<i>mecço'</i>	—	<i>ecço'c</i>	<i>icuci</i> cocer
<i>tatsi'</i>	—	—	<i>tatso'c</i>	<i>tzàtsi?</i> gritar
—	<i>toço'</i>	<i>toço'z</i>	—	<i>teci</i> moler
<i>tqui</i>	<i>ico</i>	—	—	<i>(tequili)</i> llevar
<i>nqui</i>	—	<i>ncoz</i>	—	<i>nequi</i> querer

POCHUTLA				MEXICANO
Presente	Imp.	Futuro	Pretérito	Presente
<i>calamqui'</i>	—	<i>calamco'z</i>	—	— acordarse
—	—	<i>cocho'z</i>	—	<i>cochi</i> dormir
<i>cug'li'</i>	—	—	<i>cug'lu'c</i>	— hacer frío
<i>(apequi')</i>	<i>apeco'</i>	<i>apeco'z</i>	<i>ape'c</i>	— entrar

#### FORMACIÓN DEL IMPERFECTO

El imperfecto se forma añadiendo el sufijo *ya* al imperativo.

<i>nuca'</i>	<i>nuqueya'</i>	decía
<i>aci'</i>	<i>nisaçoya'</i>	te encontraba
<i>(otzi')</i>	<i>otsoya'</i>	cala
<i>nqui</i>	<i>nconcoya'</i>	lo quería
<i>ili'</i>	<i>nichitiya'</i>	me decía
<i>bia'</i>	<i>ncobeya'</i>	lo tenía

#### FORMAS COMPUESTAS CON LOS VERBOS DE IR, VENIR Y ESTAR

Encontré dos formas del "Gerundio" con "ir," el imperativo y el pretérito. El imperativo tiene el sufijo *ti* (mexicano *ti*).

<i>ximoti' at</i>	<i>i</i> trae agua!
<i>xlag'luti'</i>	<i>i</i> vete a escribir!
<i>xtemuti'</i>	<i>i</i> anda, buscalo!
<i>xlaquati'</i>	<i>i</i> vete a comer!
<i>xicueli'</i>	<i>i</i> vete a comprar!
<i>xucochoti'</i>	<i>i</i> anda, duerme!

El pretérito tiene el sufijo *tu* (mexicano *to*).

<i>tyac paxalutu'</i>	fuiste a pescar
<i>yac tapequetu'</i>	fué a lavarlo
<i>yac mamuitu'</i>	fué a bañar

Tengo solamente el imperativo del gerundio con "venir," que tiene el sufijo *qui* (mexicano *qui*).

<i>xtaquaqui'</i>	<i>i</i> vente a comer!
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En el perfecto siempre se usa el gerundio con "ir" en vez del con "venir."

<i>enola'c ntzimequetu'</i>	vine a darte
<i>enola'c tixtacuetu'</i>	vine para que me pagues

Las formas en *tuc* (mexicano *ti* + *oc*) se usan mucho.

<i>ntlapotu'c</i>	estoy contando
<i>tatsotu'c</i>	está gritando
<i>tag'lutu'c</i>	está escribiendo

mozlemulu'c están buscándote  
 nlatzontu'c estoy cosiendo  
 cocoxtu'c está durmiendo  
 enquig'tolu'c estoy tejéndolo  
 tilzintu'c está naciendo  
 ntzocheu'c estoy esperándote  
 quistu'c está saliendo  
 ntacuiquetu'c está cantando  
 tacostu'c está platicando  
 moluntu'c está hirviendo

Todas las formas añaden el sufijo al imperativo.

#### PREFIJO DEL PRETÉRITO

El pretérito toma el prefijo *e* (mexicano *o*) el cual prefijo no se junta firmemente con el verbo.

enopib'lu'c ya me cubrí  
 elapig'le'c golpeó  
 encup'u'c lo limpié  
 enola'c vine  
 enclamote'c ya lo tiré  
 ecmociqui't ya lo mataron

#### REDUPLICACIÓN

Ya se mencionaron los plurales de sustantivos que reduplican la primera sílaba. Ejemplos de verbos frecuentativos con reduplicación son:

pi'b'loa envolverse  
 toloqui' atizar  
 tutuca' correr  
 cocoxtu'c está durmiendo

También debemos mencionar

yulicyuli'c despacio

#### VERBOS IRREGULARES

Encontré las formas siguientes del verbo irregular *ui* irse.

POCHUTLA	MEXICANO
nui'	niah me voy
tui'	tiah te vas
ui'	yauh se va
tui'	tiaui, tiui nos vamos
ui'	yauhi, iuh se van
unya'c	onia me fui
tia'c, tui'c	otia te fuiste
uya'c	oya se fué

POCHUTLA	MEXICANO
nyaz	niaz iré
tui'z	tiaz irás
xue'	ma xiauh ¡vete!
nuaya'	niaya iba
tuelu't	(de ui'loa) vamos
euelu't	ya se fueron
nyan	vaya yo

#### Por ejemplo

nen nyan cocho'z vaya yo a dormir  
 nyan togo'z vaya yo a moler  
 anya'n patani' vaya él a volar

Encontré pocas formas del verbo *ui'tz*, venir.

nui'tz	ninuitz vengo
tui'tz	tiuitz vienes
ui'tz	uiiz viene

#### VERBO GUALAC, VENIR

nola'c	oniuala vine
tola'c	otiula veniste
guala'c	ouala vino
tolaqui't	otiualaque venimos
leca'	(xinalacan ?) ¡vente!

#### COMPOSICIÓN

Encontré un número pequeño de vocablos que demuestran que los métodos de composición del dialecto de Pochutla y del de México eran iguales.

POCHUTLA	MEXICANO
<b>Sustantivos</b>	
quaxilu't	
(< quagut + xilu't)	coaxilotl plátano
tentzo'n	
(< ten + tzon)	tentzonlli barba
eluxa'mi	
(< elu't + xami)	— tortilla de elote
tequagu't	
(< tel + quagu't)	— tizón
at'be't <sup>1</sup>	
(< atl + t'bet)	altepetl pueblo
ixquai'	
(< ixt + quait)	ixquaitl frente
<b>Sustantivos y verbos</b>	
ixmeli'	
(< ixt + meli')	iximati conocer
taquechua'	
(< tequet + chua)	tlacachiua parir

<sup>1</sup> No oigo yo la *l*, aunque en el vocabulario de Apolonio Rosario se encuentra.



POCHUTLA	MEXICANO
Verbos y adverbios	
<i>olmeti'</i>	
( <i>&lt; ol + meti</i> )	<i>ualmati</i> irse á ver
<i>olmeca'</i>	
( <i>&lt; ol + meca'</i> )	— pasar, dar (movi- miento por acá)
Verbos	
<i>quaconqui'</i>	
( <i>&lt; quas + nqui</i> )	<i>quasnequi'</i> quiero comer, tengo hambre
<i>calamqui'</i> (?) <i>+ nqui</i>	— acordarse

## VOCABULARIO

## ABREVIATURAS

A	Andrea Castillo	M	Mauricia Riquel
El	Eleuterio Avesilla	Mr	Maria Trinidad
Ep	Epifanio Pina	P	Paula Nicha
Es	Estanislao Pina		
F	Feliciana	Pe	Pedro Marcelino
Fr	Francisca		Pastor
I	Ines Vázquez	S	Sabina Martínez
Jo	Joaquina		
pr.	presente	imp.	imperativo
p.	pretérito	impf.	imperfecto
f.	futuro	ger.	gerundio

## POCHUTLA-CASTELLANO

*ayago'* (mex. *ayac*) no hay F M P S  
*az nui' Uetu'l ampa ayago' tumi'n* no me  
 voy a Huatulco porque no hay dinero F M  
*quineba' ayagoai'* no está aquí S  
*ayago' nintega'* no hay nada F M  
*¿te ayago' moye'?* ¿no está tu madre? S  
*ayut'* (mex. *āyotl*) tortuga F M  
*ay te'* (mex. *aya tle*) ¡no! A I Es Mr P S  
 (*hayte* Apolonio Rosario)  
*ay te', tiome'n* no, después I  
*ay te', az nui'* no, no me voy A  
*ay te', az nococoa'* no, no estoy enfermo  
 Mr S  
*ay te', COMPADRE J* ¡buenos días, com-  
 padre! (?)  
*aué'c* (véase mex. *uacqui*) mojarse M Mr S.  
 Véase *uac*. Según esa forma la *a* de

*uācqui* SECO es larga, la de *uaqui* MOJARSE  
 breve  
*aço'c aué'c* mucho se mojó S  
*naue'c* me mojé S  
*auque't* (mex. *ahuacatl*) aguacate S  
*apa'zt* (mex. *āpaztli*) olla A F Fr Jo M Mr P S  
*noapa'z* mi olla Fr Jo  
*exama'nc napa'zt* se quebró la olla S  
*apeco'*, imp.; *eyape'c*, *ape'c*; *apeco'z* entrar  
 A F M Mr P S  
*ape'c ce ui'zti noxo'i* me entró una espina  
 en el pié.  
*eyape'c ito'c quagu't* ya entró en la cárcel P  
*eyape'c ogüe'l* ya entró la noche Mr S  
*eyape'c tune'l* ya se ha puesto el sol P  
*nebape'c* (*< neba' ape'c*) aquí entró S  
*xapeco'* ¡entra! A F M S  
*nui' napeco'z* voy a entrar S  
*apitze'z* f. (mex. *apitza*) purgar  
*nui' napitze'z* voy a purgar  
*apoto'ct* (mex. *ipotocli*) humo Mr S  
*ame't* (mex. *āmātl*) papel S; carta S  
*a'mpa* (mex. *ipampa*) porque A F M Mr P S  
*xmuyane' ampa mozlemutu'c* escóndete  
 porque te están buscando S  
*az nyac ampaço'c* (*< ampa aço'c*) *nichota'*  
*nogüelu'* no me fui porque mucho me  
 miró mi marido P  
*naco' igüe'n uya'c. iteca'?* *ampaço'c chuca'*  
*ib'lu'* hace poco tiempo se fué.—  
 ¿Por qué?—Porque llora su hijo P  
*nonocoa' noliu' a'mpa emo'c nob'lu'* me duele  
 el corazón porque se murió mi hijo F M  
*mue'n tui' a'mpa tibia' tumi'n* tu te vas  
 porque tienes dinero F M  
*nen unya'c a'mpa naguaconqui'* me fui  
 porque tengo hambre M Mr S  
*iteca'?* *a'mpa az ncobia' tumi'n* ¿por qué?—  
 Porque no tengo dinero P  
*at* (mex. *ātl*) agua F Jo M Mr S (*ad* Apolonio  
 Rosario)  
*ate'n* (mex. *atentli*) río F Jo M P S (*adem*  
 Apolonio Rosario)  
*antu' ate'n* ¡vámonos al río! S  
*tutuca' ca xue' ate'n*; que pronto vayas al  
 río! F M

at'be't (mex. *āltepetl*) pueblo Mr S (*altibet*  
Apolonio Rosario)  
noat'be'u mi pueblo S  
mat'be'u tu pueblo S  
(*albuna* mar, Apolonio Rosario)  
ato'mt (mex. *atemill*) piojo S  
ato'lc fuera F M P S  
mato'lc (< *ma* ato'lc) allí fuera P S  
tiqūiça' mato'lc ¿sales fuera? S  
xiquice' mato'lc ¡sale fuera! S  
ma quet ato'lc está fuera F M  
anye'n (?) (véase *ui'* irse)  
anye'n nui' Uaxe'c no he ido a Oaxaca S  
anye'n totoqua'c ¿no has comido? S  
antu' ¡vámonos! A Es F Fr I Jo M Mr P S  
antu' totaqua'z ¡vámonos a comer! A P  
antu' leca' ¡vámonos pronto! F M (véase  
*leca'* venir)  
antu' pa tocha'n ¡vámonos a nuestra casa!  
Jo  
az no A F Fr I Jo M Mr P S  
az nui' no me voy I M Mr S  
az ncobia' teyu'l no tengo maiz P  
az tinqui' no quieres P S  
az ncota' no lo vé F M  
te az tida' ce tila'n ¿no tienes un pollo? S  
ni az nui'z naco', quago' nui'tz si no vengo  
ahora, vengo mañana S  
xile' na conebo'l que az chuque' ¡mira al  
niño que no llora! F M  
ay te', az nococoa' no, no estoy enfermo  
Mr S  
aci'; aço'c; açoya' (mex. *aci*) encontrar  
SI az tui' naco' nime'n az caci' si no te vas  
orita, no lo encuentres (*caci'*, sin sujeto  
de la segunda persona) Mr  
ma ntzaci' allí te encuentro S  
neba' tichaci' aquí me encuentras S  
encaço'c ya lo encontré F M S  
tiço'n nonaço'c neba', ntzochetu'c llegué  
aquí, estoy esperándote S  
ntzaçoya' te encontraba S  
aço'c (mex. *aço*) mucho, muy A F Fr I Jo  
M Mr P S (*asot*, *asoc* Apolonio Rosario)  
aço'c tamoca' noliu' mucho me duele el  
corazón F P

aço'c tacho'm unyo'c neba' aquí hay muchos  
perros S  
aço'c unti' muy borracho S  
aço'c unyo'c hay muchos Mr S  
aço'c unyo'c cue't hay muchas culebras  
F M  
achiquelo'm P S, azquelo'm F M camarón  
(*axt*) noachu' (mex. *āchtlī*) mi semilla Fr Jo  
ah na (mex. *auh inī*) entonces  
te tichemeca', ah na nui' dame cosa, enton-  
ces me voy M S  
ac (mex. *āc*) ¿quién? F M P S  
ac totactza' ¿con quién hablas? F M  
ac nacona' ¿quién es ese? P (*ac nacona*  
Apolonio Rosario)  
ac nuca' ¿quién dijo eso? F M  
ac mozmexti' LA IDIOMA ¿quién te enseñó  
el idioma? S  
ac moztebi'c ¿quién te ayudó? S  
nue'n tite'z ac timeca' verás a quién le des S  
(*agueneumi*, andar, Apolonio Rosario)  
aque't (mex. *ācatl*) carrizo S  
algua' (mex. *yalhua*) ayer M Mr S (*algua*  
Apolonio Rosario)  
algua' tolaqui't mañana vendremos S  
eyo'm (mex. *yei*) tres Ep M Mr S oyo'm A  
(*eyom* Apolonio Rosario)  
eyu't (mex. *ayōtlī*) calabaza F Fr Jo M  
(*eyud* Apolonio Rosario)  
eueta'c (mex. *huehue*) está viejo F M (*eguetac*  
Apolonio Rosario)  
aço'c toeueta'c estás muy viejo P  
eti' (mex. *etic*) pesado M Mr S  
az eti', nen cotqui' no está pesado, puedo  
llevarlo S  
etiote'c P, teote'c P (mex. *teotlac*) tarde  
(*eyudeu* Apolonio Rosario)  
nui' a'mpa aço'c etiote' me voy porque es  
muy tarde P  
aço'c etiote'c ya es muy tarde P  
etu'l (mex. *atōllī*) atole F I M Mr S  
motolu' tu atole Mr S  
ezt (mex. *eztlī*) sangre F M (*est* Apolonio  
Rosario)  
(*escocul*, arco, Apolonio Rosario)



*ecço'c* (mex. *icucic*) cocido, maduro M Mr S  
*mecco'* ¡cuécelo! S  
*elu't* (mex. *elotl*) elote Mr S  
*iye'c* (mex. *iyac*) apesta A  
*iye'c* *tacho'm* apesta el perro A  
*ita'* pr.; *ite'* imp.; *ite'c* p.; *ite'z* f. (mex. *itta*) ver A F I M Mr P S  
*xle ce cue't* ¡mira, una culebra! M Mr S  
*xile'* ¡mira! A  
*xile' na conebo'l* ¡mira, el niño! F M  
*nichota'* él me mira P  
*tichota'* tú me miras F M  
*ecote'c* ya lo vió F M  
*az tite'c* ¿no lo viste? S  
*az tichote'c* ¿no me viste? S  
*az nichote'c* ¿no me vió? P  
*encote'c* ya lo ví P  
*nui' ncote'z* voy a verlo S  
*mue'n tite'z* vas a verlo S  
*tite'z* ya verás I  
*nen ncote'z nomi'l* voy a ver mi milpa P  
*nui' ncote'z nocompa'e'u* voy a ver mi compadre I  
*ite'nc* (mex. *itlan*) debajo S  
*ite'nc apa'st* debajo de la olla S  
*iti, eti; iti'c* p.; *itiya'* impf. (mex. *itla*) decir M Mr P S  
*igüe'n nicheti'* ella me dijo P  
*te motzeli'c* ¿qué te dijo? M Mr S  
*te ticheti'c* ¿qué me dijiste? S  
*az ntzeli'c az monamociti'* ¿no te dije que no te cases? S  
*ue' na ntzeli'c* eso es lo que le dije S  
*nicheti'c noye'* me dijo mi madre S  
*nichitiya' noye' na IDIOMA* me hablaba mi madre el idioma S  
*igüe'n* (mex. *yehuatl*) él F M P (*iguin* Apolonio Rosario)  
*az conqui'güe'n* (<*conqui'* *igüe'n*) él no quiere F  
*igüe'n nicheti'* ella me dijo P  
*(iuit ?) noibe'* (mex. *icuitl* ?) mi hermana. Talvez se debe escribir *noie'* en vez de *noibe'*  
*ina'* (mex. *inin*) éste A S (*inac* Apolonio Rosario)

*quet MAS BUENO ina' o nami'n* ¿está mejor éste o ése? S  
*ina' conebo'l quixi'c itecu'* este muchacho es parecido a su padre S  
*ina' neque't quet MANIDU* esta carne está manida S  
*inane'l teque't aço'c picho't* este hombre está muy viejo A  
*entzute'c* p. (mex. *icolla*) vomitar S  
*entzute'c na conebo'l* vomitó el niño S  
*(ixt) moi'x* (mex. *ixlli*) tu cara Mr S (*mix* Apolonio Rosario)  
*(mixcuay* [<*ixt* + *quait*] tu frente, Apolonio Rosario)  
*ixi'c* semejante, parecido Mr S  
*ina' conebo'l quixi'c itecu'* este muchacho es parecido a su padre S  
*aço'c ixi'c itecu'* muy parecido a su padre Mr  
*(ixtotolu't)* (mex. *ixtololdtli*) ojo F M Mr Pa P S (*extodolu* Apolonio Rosario)  
*noxtotolu'* mi ojo F M Mr P Pa  
*nixtotolu'* mi ojo S  
*ixtotolu'* su ojo F M  
*ixna'c* (mex. *ixnauac*) frente. Véase *nac*  
*xmoleque' ixna'c quagu't* ¡acuéstate frente al banco! S  
*ixque' imp.; ixque'c* p. (mex. *ixquia*) asar M Mr S  
*xixque'* ¡ásalo! M Mr S  
*xixque' na quaxilu't PA tiquazqui't* asa el plátano para que lo comamos S  
*enoxque'c* ya está asado M Mr S  
*ic* (mex. *ic*) ¿cuándo? A F M Mr S  
*ic tui'z* ¿cuándo te vas? F M  
*ic tinamocle'* ¿cuándo te casas? Mr S  
*ic tola'c* ¿cuándo vinieron? S  
*icualgua', igualgua'(?)* antier M Mr S. Véase *algua*  
*(icoz-)* (mex. *quiquiçoa* ?) chiflar S  
*nen nicoztu'c* estoy chiflando  
*icpa'c* (mex. *icpac*) sobre S  
*icpa'c nomi'l* en mi milpa  
*tacpa'c* sobre  
*ig'ti'; ig'to'z* f.; *ig'totu'c* (mex. *iquiti*) tejer S  
*tui' tig'to'z* vas a tejer S

*nui' nig'to'z ce tzoct* voy a tejer un paño S  
*enquig'totu'c* estoy tejiéndolo S  
*ilpi' imp.; ilpi'c p.; ilpi'z f.* (mex. *ilpia*) atar  
 M Mr S  
*xilpi'* ¡átalo! M Mr S  
*encolpi'c* lo até S  
*mue'n tilpi'c* tú lo ataste S  
*nui' ncolpi'z* voy a atarlo S  
*(ya ?); moyane' imp.; enoya'c p.; moyane'z f.*  
 (mex. *inaya, yana* ?) esconderse S  
*xmoyane'* ¡escóndete! S  
*xmoyane' a'mpa moztlemutu'c* escóndete,  
 porque están buscándote S  
*enoya'c* estoy escondido S  
*noyane'z* voy a esconderme S  
*(yajai, alas, Apolonio Rosario)*  
*(yactangui, olvidar, Apolonio Rosario)*  
*(ye)* madre F Fr M Mr S  
*noye'* mi madre F Fr M Mr S  
*moye'* tu madre F Fr M Mr  
*iye'* su madre F M  
*(yeque't [mex. yacatl] nariz F M Mr S)*  
*noye'c* mi nariz S (*mec*, tu nariz, Apolonio  
 Rosario) F y M dijeron *none'c* MI NARIZ,  
 lo que es una equivocación; otra vez dijeron  
*mec*, tu nariz, como Apolonio Rosario; evi-  
 dentemente eso también era una equi-  
 vocación  
*yect, yequi'* pr.; *yectu'c p.; yeco'z f.* lluvia.  
 (Véase mex. *ectal*, viento ?) M Mr S  
*(yexixiltud, yeexniduc Apolonio Rosario)*  
*me ui'tz yect* allí viene lluvia Mr S  
*nichoma'c yect* me cogió la lluvia M Mr  
*yectu'c* está lloviendo Mr S  
*ui' yeco'z* va a llover S  
*yequi'* llueve S  
*yut*, viento, (*yud* Apolonio Rosario) S  
*yut tetoa'* brama el viento S  
*yulicyuli'c* (mex. *yolic*) despacio M Mr S  
*yulicyuli'c ui' caxa'nz* sana poco a poco  
 M Mr S  
*yulicyuli'c xapeque' na apa'zt* ¡lava la olla! S  
*ogüel* (mex. *yoalli*) noche Mr S  
*eyape'c ogüe'l* ya entró la noche Mr S  
*pen ogüe'l* anoche S

*opque't* (mex. *icpatl*, metátesis de la *cp*) hilo  
 Fr Jo M Mr P S  
*xitzuqua' na opque't* ¡corta el hilo! S  
*nopcu'* mi hilo Fr Jo S  
*ome'm* (mex. *ome*), dos A Ep M Mr P S (*omem*  
 Apolonio Rosario)  
*xima' ome'm tito't* ¡toma dos huevos! Mr  
*ome'm cobia'* JOAQUINA Joaquina tiene dos S  
*omeme't quig'lazqui't* dos mujeres P  
*ot* (mex. *omill*), hueso M Mr S (*tood*, nuestro  
 hueso, Apolonio Rosario)  
*ot'ca'n* (mex. *otli*) camino Mr S. Véase mex.  
*otlica* en el camino  
*otca'i* dulce S  
*ozte't* (mex. *iztatl*) sal F I M Mr Pa (*oste't*  
 Apolonio Rosario)  
*(oxt)* (mex. *iztatl*)  
*moxt* tu uña F M. Se pronunció clara-  
 mente *moxt*, no *moxl*. Apolonio Rosario  
 también escribe *moxt*  
*oxca'zt* ¡cárcel F Fr M Mr S  
*oxque't* (mex. *ixcatl*) algodón F Fr Jo M Mr  
 P S  
*noxcu'* mi algodón F M  
*moxcu'* tu algodón S  
*(otz-); ozc p.; otzo'z f.* (mex. *uetzi*) caer S  
*ozc* cayó S  
*noz* caí S  
*nui' noctzo'z* (sic) voy a caer S  
*nui' noctzoya'* (sic) iba a caer S  
*oco't* (mex. *ocotl*) ocote Mr S  
*oco'xt* (mex. *oquichlli*) hombre Mr S  
*quizco'm oco'xt* ¿cuántos varones? Mr  
*Uaxe'c* Oaxaca A F Fr Jo M  
*(ua'c); euac p.* (mex. *uaqui*) seco S. Véase  
*auac*  
*eua'c xut* están secas las hojas  
*Uetu'l* Huatulco F M Mr S  
*ue'l* (mex. *uel*) poder S  
*az uel noctza'n* no se puede levantar S  
*ui'* (mex. *yuah*) ir. Véase p. 23 A El F Fr  
 I M Mr P S  
*nui' nculuque'z teyu'l* voy a sembrar maíz I  
*nen az nui'* no me voy F M Mr S  
*ic tui'* ¿cuándo te vas? Mr S  
*uli'c tui'* ¡que vayas bien! F M



- ca tui' quago' ¿a dónde te vas mañana?*  
 Mr S  
*ma ui' cue't* allí va una culebra S  
*ui' pata'nz* va a volar S  
*nocho' tui'* todos nosotros vamos F M  
*az tuihu't* no iremos A  
*nen nconcoya' nyaz* quería irme P  
*ic tui'z* ¿cuándo te vas? F M  
*nen unya'c pen tepo'x* me acosté (fui a mi cama) A  
*unya'c, PERO nichoma' yect* me fui, pero me cogió la lluvia M  
*ca tia'c* ¿dónde fuiste? (*ic tui'c* ¿cuándo fuiste? M)  
*ticon tia'c* ¿a qué hora te fuiste? S  
*uya'c pata'nc* se voló S (*uyac* Apolonio Rosario)  
*ca uya'c motecu'* ¿a dónde se fue tu padre? F M  
*ma nuaya' nozc* allí andando caí S  
*nen nyan cocho'z* voy a dormir F M  
*nyan togo'z* voy a moler Jo  
*nyam patani'* voy a volar S  
*ca xue'* ¡anda! vete! A F M Mr S  
*az tuelu't* no nos vamos P  
*euehu't* ya se van P  
*ui'zti* (mex. *uiztli*) espina F Fr M Mr S  
*noni'zt* mi espina S  
*ui'tz* (mex. *huitz*) venir A F M Mr P S (*ehuix* Apolonio Rosario)  
*ni az nui'z naco', quago' nui'tz* si no vengo ahora, mañana vendré S  
*naconime'n nui'tz* ahorita vengo P  
*az tui'tz quago'* ¿no vienes mañana? S  
*ma ui'tz* allí viene F M  
*ma ui'tz totoltzi'n* allí viene el cura A S  
*enui'tz totoltzi'n* ya vino el cura Mr S  
*ui'tz yect* viene la lluvia M S  
*tuitzelu't* venimos A  
*unyo'c* (mex. *onoc*) estar echado F Fr Jo M Mr S  
*aço'c unyo'c cue't* hay muchas culebras F M  
*unti'* (mex. *iuini'i*) borracho A F M P S  
*teca' tounti' mue'n* ¿por qué te emborrachas? P
- ui' unti'* anda borracho S  
*untilu't* están borrachos A  
*uzti'* (mex. *otzti*) embarazada P S  
*ug'lo'm* (mex. *ocuilin*) gusano A S  
*uli'c* (mex. *ueli*) bueno Ep F Fr Jo M Mr P  
*quet uli'c* F M *uli'c quet* Ep está bueno  
*uluni' imp.* (mex. *olinia*) menear, echar S  
*xuluni' ca ce quagu't* ¡menéalo con un palo! S  
*az xuluni' napa'zt* ¡que no muevas la olla! S  
*xuculuni' ito'c apa'zt* ¡échalo en la olla! S  
*ba tener.* Véase *bia*  
*payo'* (castellano paño ?) rebozo, paño Jo Mr S  
*nopayu'* mi rebozo Jo Mr S  
*pata'nc p.; pata'nz f.* (mex. *patlani*) volar S  
*epata'nc* voló S  
*uya'c pata'nc* se voló S  
*ui' pata'nz* va a volar S  
*pate'c* (mex. *patlauac*) ancho S  
*pan* (castellano) pan Fr I Jo Mr  
*nopanu'* mi pan I  
*(paxalu-); paxalu'z f.* (castellano ?) pasearse M Mr S  
*nui' npaxalu'z* voy a pasearme S  
*yac paxalutu'* fue paseándose S  
*peu'c p.* (mex. *peua*) empezar S  
*pebe't* jicalpezte F M Mr P  
*petebi' imp.; petebi'c p.* ayudar S  
*ac mozpetebi'c* ¿quién te ayudó? S  
*nixpetebi'c* me ayudó S  
*tixpetebi'* ¡ayúdame! S  
*(pen)* (mex. *pan*) sobre A F Jo M P S  
*ma quet ipe'n MESA* está allí en la mesa F M  
*xtecu' ipe'n na quagu't* ¡sube el palo! S  
*ma quet ipe'n tepoxpo'l* está en el tabanco  
*nope'n* sobre mí S  
*tope'n* sobre nosotros S  
*mope'n* sobre ti P  
*ipe'n* sobre él S  
*ipe'n ogüe'l* anoche S  
*(pen) tiope'n* (mex. *teopantli*) iglesia S  
*penu'c p.* (mex. *pano*) pasar S  
*epenu'c ce BRUJA* pasó una bruja S

*neba' penu'c ce* BRUJA *ogüe'l* aquí pasó una bruja anoche S  
*quem t'penu'c na ate'n* ¿cómo pasaste el río? S  
*pechu' imp.* (mex. *pechoa*) apretar Mr S  
*xipechu'* ¡apriétalo! S  
*tixpechu'* ¡apriétame! S  
*(bec?) nobe'c* el mío Fr Jo  
*mobe'c* el tuyo Fr Jo  
*ibe'c* el suyo P  
*peque' imp.;* *pec p.;* *peque'z f.* (mex. *paca*) lavar Jo M Mr S  
*xapeque' napa'zt* ¡limpia la olla! S  
*xicapeque' noropa* ¡lava mi ropa! Jo  
*encape'c* ya lo lavé S  
*yac tapequetu'* se fué a lavar S  
*nui' ntapeque'z quago'* voy a lavarlo mañana M  
*pelu' imp.;* *pelu'c p.* (mex. *paloa*) lamer S  
*xapelu' napa'zt* ¡lame la olla! S  
*encapelu'c* lo lamé S  
*bia', ba* (mex. *pia*) tener A F Fr Jo M Mr P S  
*ncobia' nixtu'n mil* tengo una milpa muy pequeña S  
*az ncobia' tumi'n* no tengo dinero P  
*tibia' nub'luga'm* ¿tienes hijos? Mr S  
*quizco'm tibia' mob'lu'* ¿cuántos hijos tienes? Mr S  
*te cobia'* ¿qué tiene? P  
*tue'n tibialu't* nosotros lo tenemos S  
*tilanqui't ncoba'* tengo gallinas S  
*ncoba' nayo'm* tengo cuatro S  
*nucoba' tal ago'c notzo'c* mi traje tiene mucho lodo A  
*quizco'm mocha'n tiba'* ¿cuántas casas tienes? S  
*ome'm coba' JOAQUINA* Joaquina tiene dos S  
*ncobeya' eyo'm tito't* tenía tres huevos S  
*pib'lu' imp.;* *pib'lu'c p.* (mex. *pipiloa*) envolver S  
*xopib'lu' ca payu'* ¡envuélvete en tu rebozo! S  
*enopib'lu'c* ya me cubrí S  
*xiub'lu'* ¡cuelgalo!  
*(pima'), nopima'* mi hermana F M Mr  
*(nobima* Apolonio Rosario)

*pina'* (mex. *pineua*?) hace frío F Jo M P S  
*nopina'* tengo frío F Jo M P S  
*pinaua'* (mex. *pinaua*) tener vergüenza S  
*pizc p.* (mex. *pizca* en *opitzaloc* BIEN NACIDO) F M S; solamente en la afrenta  
*PUTA motzapi'zc* una puta te parió; LALMA *motzapi'zc* el alma te parió  
*pixt* nube (?) P  
*pitze' imp.* soplar S  
*xipitze' na tet* ¡sopla el fuego! S  
*picho'm* (?)  
*picho't* viejo A  
*pig'li' imp.;* *pig'le'c p.;* *pig'le'z f.* (mex. *piqui*?) golpear  
*az tichapig'li'* ¡no me golpea! A  
*xapig'li'* ¡pégale! P  
*capig'le'c iye'* su madre le golpeó S  
*elapig'le'c* golpeó S  
*nui' napig'le'z* voy a golpearlo P  
*nui' ntzapig'le'z* voy a golpearte S  
*pict* (mex. *piqui*) tamal A S  
*boz* (?) echar Mr S  
*nuibo'z motolu'* echaré atole Mr S  
*(bu?) (nobu',* mi hermano, Apolonio Rosario)  
*po imp.;* *potu'c ger.* (mex. *tlapoa*) contar S  
*xipo' motuminu'* ¡cuenta tu dinero! S  
*tapotu'c* está contando S  
*ntapotu'c notuminu'* estoy contando mi dinero S  
*pue' imp.;* *puc p.* (cf. mex. *poui*) limpiar S  
*xipue' na conebo'l* ¡limpia la criatura! S  
*encopu'c* lo limpié S  
*pot* (mex. *pellatl*) petate S. Véase *b'tet*  
*mopo't* tu petate  
*puçone'l* (mex. *poçoniloll*) espuma S  
*poxque'z f.* (mex. *pixca*) pizcar S  
*nui' ntapoxque'z noznu'* voy a pizcar mi mazorca S  
*pochu't* (mex. *pochotl*) *Bombax ceiba* S  
*polu'c p.* (mex. *poloa*) perder Fr Jo P S  
*epolu'c* se perdió Fr Jo  
*noche' polu'c* todos se perdieron S  
*empolu'c otca'n* perdí el camino S  
*b'tet* (mex. *pellatl*) petate Mr S. Véase *bot*  
*nob'te't* mi petate S  
*ptzec* (mex. *pitzauac*) delgado S



(b'l) (mex. *pilli*) hijo F M Mr P S  
*ib'lu'* su hijo P  
*nob'lu'* mi hijo F M Mr (*noblu* Apolonio Rosario)  
*nob'luga'm* mis hijos Mr S  
*nob'ltzi'n* tu ahijado S  
*ma, me* allí, ése F Fr I Jo M Mr P S (*ma* allá, Apolonio Rosario)  
*ma ntzaci'* allí voy a encontrarte S  
*ma teque't ma pen* LOMA ese hombre allí en la loma Jo  
*me que't* allí está F Jo M (*megue* Apolonio Rosario)  
*me ui'tz* allí viene Jo  
*me onque't* allí hay P  
*me que't ito'c apa'zt* está allí en la olla F M  
*ma que't oque'lc* está adentro S  
*ma imp.* dar, tomar F Fr Jo M Mr S. Véase *meca*  
*xima' ome'm tito't* ¡pásame dos huevos! Mr  
*xima' noxa'zt* ¡toma mi jícara! S  
*xima' ce quagu't* ¡toma un palo! F  
*ma (?)*; *mac* p. tomar M Mr S  
*motzuma'* te cogió S  
*nichuma'c yect* me cogió la lluvia M Mr S  
*tal cmac noxo'i, me ca nozc* la tierra cogió mi pié, allí caí S  
*mai* (mex. *mail*) mano F M Mr Pa P S (*may* Apolonio Rosario)  
*nomai'* mi mano F M Mr S  
*imai' nomo't* mano de mi metate F M (*noma'l*, mi brazo, Apolonio Rosario)  
(*mateesu* once, Apolonio Rosario)  
(*matu* diez, Apolonio Rosario)  
(*matu eyem* doce, [evidentemente trece] Apolonio Rosario)  
*macui'l* (mex. *macuilli*), cinco Ep Mr P S (*maguel* Apolonio Rosario)  
*mama'c* p. (mex. *mama*) cargar S  
*me timama'c* lo cargaste S  
(*manli* reir, Apolonio Rosario)  
(*ximanli* imp. Apolonio Rosario)  
*malague'u* F Mr *melegu'* Fr Jo M (mex. *malacatl*) huso, malacate  
*nomelegu'* mi malacate F  
*meti'* (mex. *mati*) saber F Jo M Mr S

*nen nocece' meti'* IDIOMA *noat'be'u* yo sólo conozco el idioma de mi pueblo S  
*az cmeti' noch* no sé todo S  
*az meti'* no sé F Jo M  
*az nolmeti' Uaxe'c* no conozco el camino para Oaxaca S (véase p. 24)  
*ixmeti'* (mex. *iximati* < *ixtli* + *mati*) conocer  
*az nguixmeti'* no los conozco S  
*az nchixmeti'* no te conozco S (equivocación en vez de *ntzixmeti'* ?)  
*mega't* (mex. *maçatl*) venado F Fr Jo M P S  
*mezt* (mex. *metztli*) luna F M (*mest* Apolonio Rosario)  
*mexti'*; *mexti'c* p.; *mexti'z* f. (mex. *machtia*) enseñar S  
*acmozmeti'* ¿quién te enseña? S  
*nixmexti'c noye'* me enseñó mi madre S  
*nui' nmexti'z* voy a enseñar S  
*metze' imp.*; *metze'z* f. sentarse F I Jo Mr S (*esmeu* Apolonio Rosario)  
*xmetze'* ¡siéntate! F I Jo Mr S  
*leca'* PARA *metze'z ito'c* ¡vente a sentar adentro! S  
*meche't*, machete, Mr S  
*nomeche'u* mi machete Fr Jo M Mr P S  
*meca'* pr.; *meque'* imp.; *mec* p. (mex. *maca*) dar A Ep F I Jo M Mr P S  
*enola'c ntzimequetu' ce* RECUERDO vine a darte un recuerdo S  
*mue'n tite'z ac timeca'* tú verás a quien se lo das S  
*tiume'n ntzimeca'* dentro de un rato te daré una cosa I  
*az ximeque' na conebo'l* ¡que no lo des a la criatura! S  
*ximeque'* CONSEJO ¡aconséjalo! Ep P (*ximegui* Apolonio Rosario)  
*tichimeque' nixtu'n at* ¡dame un poco de agua! S  
*tichimeque' noxamu'* ¡dame mi tortilla! S  
*tichimeque' enquibo'z* ¡dame que beba! F M  
*tichimeque' ce iluxa'm* ¡dame una tortilla de elote! A  
*nichime'c* el me dió S

*quizco'm time'c* ¿cuántos has dado? S  
*nichimequi't* me dieron S  
*motzimequi't* te dieron S  
*ticholmeque' na notupi'l* ¡pásame mi tenate!  
 Jo  
*ticholmeque' noexque't, nantzaue'z* ¡pásame  
 mi algodón! voy a hilar M Mr S  
*ticholmeque'* ¡pásame! Fr Jo M Mr P S  
*mie'c* (mex. *miac*) bastante S  
*mie'c motzimequi't* te dieron bastante S  
*micilu't* (mex. *miztli*) puma S  
*micho'm* (mex. *michin*) pescado M Mr P S  
*mixco'm* nixtamal  
*micui'x* (mex. *metl*) maguey P S  
*mil* (mex. *milli*) campo, milpa Mr P S  
*moni'l* tu milpa P S  
*milyu' ce* un real Mr  
*(mo ?) ximoti' at* ¡trae agua! Mr S  
*moyu't* (mex. *moyul*) mosca  
*mot* (mex. *mellatl*) metate F Fr M Mr P  
*nomo't* mi metate Mr  
*(motudis, bailar, Apolonio Rosario)*  
*mue'n, tú* Ep F Fr Jo M Mr P S (*muen*  
 Apolonio Rosario)  
*mue'n tite'z* tú verás S  
*cocho' mue'n* ¡duerme! F M  
*mue'n tui'* tú te vas S  
*(la) mote' imp.; mote'c p.; mote'z f.* (mex. *molla*)  
 tirar M Mr S  
*xlamote' na tot* ¡tira la piedra! S  
*xlamote' na noxt* ¡tira las cenizas! M Mr  
*enclamate'c* ya lo tiré S  
 QUE *etitamate'c na tot* ¿tiraste la piedra? S  
*nui' nclamate'z* voy a tirarlo S  
*moc* (mex. *miqui*) morir F M Mr P S (*moclis*  
 Apolonio Rosario; véase *mocli*)  
*emo'c nob'lu'* está muerto mi hijo F M  
*noch moqui't* todos murieron S  
*emo'c noche'* todos murieron S  
*mocli' imp.; mocli'c p.* (mex. *mictia*) matar  
 F M Mr S (*mochis* Apolonio Rosario)  
*ximocli' ce tila'n* ¡mata una gallina! Mr S  
*ximocli'* ¡mátalo! S  
*nixmocli'c* me mató S  
*mocliqui't meça't* mataron venados S  
*ecmocliqui't* ya lo mataron S

*(moca') tamoca' noguai'* me duele la cabeza S  
*tamoca' note'n* me duele la boca M Mr S  
*(mougui, estar en pié, Apolonio Rosario)*  
*(mo)hue' imp.; mohue'c p.; mohue'z f.* bañar,  
 lavar A F I Jo M P S  
*mohue'*; ¡lávate! F M  
*mohue' momai'* ¡lávate la mano! F M  
*enmohue'c nen* ya me bañé A  
*nen mohue'z* voy a lavarme I Jo  
*nui' mohue'z* voy a bañar A F M P  
*mamui' imp., mamui'c p.* bañar S  
*xmamui'* ¡baña! S  
*yac mamuitu'* se fué a bañar S  
*toque'lc mamui'c* adentro se bañó! S  
*molu'nc p.* (mex. *moloni*) hervir S  
*emolu'nc* ya hirvió S  
*moluntu'c* está hirviendo S  
*tayua'; tayue'c p.* (mex. *tlayoa*) obscurecer P  
*aço'c tayua'* está muy oscuro Mr S  
*etayue'c* ya está oscuro S  
*tatenli' imp.; tatenli'z f.* (mex. *tlàtlani*) pre-  
 guntar S  
*xtatenli'* ¡pregúntale! S  
*nui' ntatenli'z* voy a preguntarlo S  
*tati' imp.; tate'c p.* (mex. *tlatia*) quemar Mr S  
*xtati' na oco't* ¡quema el ocote! S  
*tate'c nomai'* quemo mi mano S  
*(dasupua [mex. tlacotli + poa ?, estimar]*  
 mentir, Apolonio Rosario)  
*(taxpan-) tachapane' imp.* (mex. *tlachpana*)  
 barrer Jo M Mr S  
*xtachapane' na moxt* ¡barre las cenizas!  
 M Mr S  
*taxpana'zt* escoba Mr S  
*notaxpana'zt* tu escoba Jo  
*(taxiquetuc [mex. ixica], gotear, Apolonio*  
 Rosario)  
*(taxtoc, robar, Apolonio Rosario)*  
*tatzi'; tatzo'c p.* (mex. *tzàtzi* ?) ladrar S gritar  
 M Mr S  
*tatzi'* ladra S  
*etatzo'c* gritó M Mr S (*taxoc* Apolonio  
 Rosario)  
*tatzotu'c tecolote* está gritando el tecolote S  
*tacho'm* (mex. *techichi* ?) perro A F M P S  
*(tachom* Apolonio Rosario)



*ago'c* *tacho'm* muchos perros S  
*notachu'* mi perro P S  
*taxpo'l* perrito S  
*tacane'l* (mex. *tlàcà*) medio día Fr Jo S  
*taquechu'c* p. (mex. *tlacachina*) parir S  
*etaquechu'c* ya parió  
*tacui'c* p. (mex. *coa* ?) pagar S  
*enixtacui'c* ya me pagó S  
*enola'c* *tixtacuetu'* vine a que me pagues S  
*tacpa'c*, sobre (mex. *tlacpac*). Véase *ipac*  
*(tagmum* [mex. *tlacomoni* ?] trueno, Apolonio Rosario)  
*tal* (mex. *tlalli*) tierra Jo M Mr P S, mugre S  
*(tals* Apolonio Rosario)  
*(tal)* *motaltzi'n* tu padrino S (mex. *tàtziintli*)  
*totoltzi'n* el cura (nuestro padrino?)  
*tali' imp.*; *tali'c* p.; *tali'z* f. (mex. *tlalia*) poner S  
*xtali' motzo'c* ¡ponte tu camisa! S  
*enctali'c notzo'c* me puse mi traje S  
*te az tinguí' motzo'c* PA *titali'z* ¿no quieres tu  
 traje para ponértelo? S  
*te* (mex. *tle*) ¿qué? A I M Mr P S cosa  
*te nuca'* ¿qué dices? F I M  
*te nacona'* ¿qué hay ahora? A  
*te titemoa'* ¿qué buscas? M Mr S  
*te tichua'* *mue'n* ¿qué haces? P  
*te cobia'* ¿qué tienes? A  
*te tichimeca'* *ic tui'* PA *matbe'u* ¿qué me  
 vas a dar cuando te vayas a tu país? S  
*te* se usa en cuestiones, como "que" en castellano:  
*te tinguí' at* ¿que quieres agua? S  
*te tibia'* CALENTURA ¿tienes calentura? S  
*te tibia'* *mogüelu'*, *ic tinamocti'* ¿ya tienes  
 esposa? ¿cuándo vas á casarte? Mr  
*teca'* (mex. *tleica*) ¿por qué? F M P S  
*teca'* *tochuca'* ¿por qué lloras? S  
*te'ipo* lagarto, caimán Mr S  
*teyu'l* (mex. *tlayolli*) maíz A F M Mr P S  
*(tegu* Apolonio Rosario)  
*teote'c* (mex. *teullac*) tarde P. Véase *etiote'c*  
*teue'* (mex. *tlaueltia*) enojarse P  
*ago'c nteue' nen* mucho me enoja P  
*tepu' imp.*; *tepo'c* p. (mex. *tlapoa*) abrir, des-  
 tapar P S  
*xotepu'* ¡abre! P

*xitepu'* ¡abre! S  
*ncotepo'c* lo destapé S  
*tepo'xt* (mex. *tlapechili*) cama Fr Jo M Mr S  
*notepo'xt* mi cama Jo  
*tepo'xpo'l* tabanco A  
*temi' imp.*; *temi'c*, *temc* p. (mex. *tlamia*) acabar  
 P S  
*nenctemi'* voy a beber S  
*xtemi'* ¡bebe! S  
*etemi'c* lo acabó S  
*ete'mc* se acabó S  
*enctemi'c* lo acabé P S  
*temoa'* (mex. *temoa*) buscar F M Mr S  
*te titemoa'* ¿qué buscas? F M S  
*nen ntemoa'* *nomeche'u* busco mi machete  
 M S  
*xtemuti'* ¡anda, búscalo! S  
*moztemutu'c* andan buscándote S  
*tel* (mex. *tlell*) fuego El F Fr Jo M Mr S  
*(nantitulguid* Apolonio Rosario)  
*tetoa'* (mex. *tlàtoa*) hablar (?) S  
*yut tetoa'* brama el viento S  
*ten* (mex. *tentli*) boca F M Mr P Pa S  
*(modenx* tu boca, Apolonio Rosario)  
*noten* mi boca F M. Véase *tzon*  
*teque' imp.*; *teque'c* p.; *teque'z* f. (mex. *teca*)  
 acostarse S  
*xmoteque' ic na quagu't* ¡acuéstate en el  
 banco! S  
*enmoteque'c* me acosté S  
*nui' moteque'z* voy a acostarme S  
*teque't* (mex. *tlacatl*) hombre A F Jo Mr  
 P S (*tequet* Apolonio Rosario)  
*tequetque't* (plural) P  
*tequetque't* (plural) P  
 Véase *taquechu'c* < *teque't* + *chua*  
*(tecu')* (mex. *tecùtli*, señor) padre F M Mr P S  
*notecu'* mi padre F M  
*itecu'* su padre P  
*tecu' imp.*; *tecu'z* f. (mex. *tlèco*) subir M Mr S  
*xtecu'* ¡sube! M Mr S  
*nui' ntecu'z* voy a subir S  
*tecolo't* tecolote  
*telu'z* f. (mex. *tlaloo*) correr S  
*nui' motelu'z* voy a correr S

*tiopé'n* (mex. *teopanli*) iglesia El M Mr P S  
 (tioben Apolonio Rosario)  
*tiomé'n* ahorita, despues I S  
*tiomé'n tolazqui't* ahorita vendremos I S  
*tipe'n* (mex. *itipan*) pecho Mr S  
*notipe'n* mi pecho Mr S (nodevin Apolonio Rosario)  
*(til)* (mex. *atell*) testículos M Mr S  
*motitu'* tus testículos M Mr S  
*tito't* huevo Mr S. Véase *tot*, piedra  
*omé'm tito't* dos huevos Mr  
*tice't* (mex. *tiçatl*) huesos quemados que se usan para blanquear algodón Jo S  
*tiquani'* (mex. *taquani*) tigre P S (tequam Apolonio Rosario)  
*tico'n* ¿cuándo? S  
*tico'n monaço'c* ¿cuándo vino? S  
*tico'n tia'c* ¿cuándo te fuiste? S  
*til* (mex. *thilli*) tizne S  
*tila'n* (mex. *totolin* ?) gallina A Es F Jo M Mr P Pa S  
*tilanqui't nocoba'* tengo gallinas S  
*notilanu'* mi gallina Jo  
*tue'n* (mex. *tehuan*) nosotros Es F M S (tuen Apolonio Rosario)  
*tuen tibiélu't* tenemos S  
*tup* culo F M S  
*itu'p* su culo F M  
*motu'p* tu culo S  
*motupozla'c* *quet* está en tu culo  
*tupi'l* (mex. *topilli*) tenate Jo S  
*notupi'l* mi tenate Jo  
*toma'; tome'* imp.; *tomc* p.; *tome'z* f. (mex. *toma*) desatar M Mr S  
*nctatoma'* voy a desatarlo S  
*xtatome'* ¡desátalo! M Mr  
*enctato'mc* lo desaté M Mr S  
*nui' nctatome'z* voy a desatarlo S  
*tome't* (mex. *tomatl*) jitomate F M Mr S  
*tumi'n* (mex. *tomin*) dinero El F I Jo M P S  
*notumi'n* mi dinero El  
*notuminu'* mi dinero S  
*tot* (mex. *tell*) piedra El F M Mr P S (toot Apolonio Rosario)  
*tito't* huevo  
*chillo't* piedra para moler chile Mr

*totoini'* blando P S  
*totomo'xt* (mex. *totomochlli*) mazorca A S  
*tutu't* (mex. *totoll*, pajaro) carne F M S.  
 Véase *neque't*  
*totoqui'* imp. (mex. *toquia*) atizar S  
*xtotoqui'* ¡atízalo! S  
*tutuca'* (mex. *totoca'*) pronto F Fr Jo M Mr P S  
*tutuca' leca'* ¡vente pronto! Fr Jo  
*xtutunque' na tacho'm* ¡corre el perro! M  
*toto'l* (mex. *totoli'n*) guajalote F M (todolem Apolonio Rosario)  
*totoli't* iguana verde H Mr S  
*(to)toltzi'n* cura A El Fr Jo Mr P S (togolim Apolonio Rosario). Véase *taltzin*  
*tune'l* (mex. *tonalli*) sol F Fr Jo M P (*dunel*, dia, *tunel*, sol, Apolonio Rosario)  
*tutune'* calentura A  
*aço'c tuni'* muy caliente S  
*tuni' quet na* eso está caliente Fr Jo (*tuni* Apolonio Rosario)  
*tinqui' mas tuni'* ¿lo quieres más caliente? S  
*xtutune' na xam* ¡calienta la tortilla! S  
*toço'* imp.; *toço'z* f. (mex. *teci*) moler Jo M Mr S  
*xtogo'* ¡muélelo! S  
*nyan toço'z* voy a moler Jo  
*nen ntoço'z* voy a moler M Mr S  
*toxt* (mex. *textli*) masa Jo M Mr S  
*nolo'xt* mi masa Jo  
*equet toxt* ya está (molida) la masa S  
*tu'chi* pequeño, no bastante F M S (*tu'qui* P) (*tuche* Apolonio Rosario)  
*quet tu'chi nocha'n* mi casa es muy pequeña F  
 (tog, dios Apolonio Rosario)  
*-toc* (mex. *tic*) en, adentro F M P S  
*ito'c at* en el agua S  
*ma quet ito'c apa'zt* está en la olla F M  
*toque'lc* (mex. *itoc calco*) en la casa S  
*xmetze' ito'c* siéntate adentro! S  
*tuque'c* p.; *tuque'z* f. (mex. *toca*) sembrar M Mr S  
*quizco'm etitunque'c teyu'l* ¿cuánto maiz has sembrado? M  
*eyo'm oxca'zt encotuque'c* sembré tres jícaras M



*nui' ncotuque'z teyu'l* voy a sembrar maíz S  
*tituque'z teyu'l* vas a sembrar maíz Mr  
*cotuque'z* él va a sembrar S  
*(tocdoz [mex. tequiti])* trabajar, Apolonio  
 Rosario). Véase *tqui*  
*ncoba' loco't* tengo trabajo S  
*d'potz (mex. teputzili)* espalda S  
*nod'po'tz* mi espalda S  
*mod'pozta'c* tus espaldas S  
*id'pozta'c* la cara exterior de una olla S  
*d'mu* imp.; *d'muc* p.; *d'muz* f. (mex. *temo*)  
 bajar S  
*xod'mu'* ¡vente abajo! S  
*enod'mu'c* bajé S  
*nod'mu'z* bajaré S  
*tqui (mex. tequiti)* llevar M Mr S. Véase  
*tocdoz*  
*nen ncolqui'* lo llevé M Mr S  
*ncolqui'* lo llevó S  
*xitco'* ¡llévalo! S  
*na (mex. in)* el A F Fr Jo M Mr P S  
*ximocit' na tila'n* ¡mata la gallina! S  
*xima' na conebo'l* ¡toma la criatura! F M  
*xlati' na oco't* ¡quema el ocote! Mr S  
*chuca' na cone't* llora el niño F M  
*unti' na conebo'l* está borracho el muchacho  
 P  
*coba' DOLOR na g'last* la mujer tiene dolor S  
*nocho' xama'nc napa'zt* se quebraron todas  
 las ollas S  
*na g'last uzt'i* la mujer está embarazada S  
*na teque't ui' unti'* el hombre anda bo-  
 rracho S  
*tuni' quet na* ése está caliente Fr Jo  
*na mue'n tibia'* tú lo tienes P  
*nayo'm (mex. nau'i')* cuatro Ep Fr Jo Mr  
 P S (*tayo'm* A) (*nayom* Apolonio Rosario)  
*name'l* éste A S (*namel*, aquél, Apolonio  
 Rosario)  
*xite' name'l xucho't* ¡mira esta flor! A  
*ina' o name'l* aquél o éste S  
*namig'li'* imp. (mex. *namaquiltia*) vender S  
*tixnamig'li' pict* ¡véndeme tamales! S  
*namocit'; namocit'c* p.; *namocit'z* f. (mex.  
*namiquia*) casarse Mr P S  
*ic tinamocit'* ¿cuándo te casas? S

*az monamocit'* ¿no te casas? S  
*enamocit'c* ya se casó S  
*encnamocit'c* ya me casé S  
*nui' namocit'z* voy a casarme P  
*nan (mex. nantli, madre)* S. Véase *ye*  
*monantzi'n* tu madrina S  
*nac (mex. nauat)* cerca S  
*xmoteque' ixna'c quagu't* acuéstate frente  
 al banco S  
*nocha'n quet ina'c ale'n* mi casa está en la  
 orilla del río S  
*naco'* ahorita A F I M P S (*naco'*, hoy, *ac*  
*nacona'* ¿quién? Apolonio Rosario)  
*naco' quet uli'c* ya está bueno F M  
*te naco' na tui'tz* ¿qué traes? A  
*nagua'l (mex. nahuatl)* nombre del idioma de  
 Pochutla I  
*neba' (mex. nepa)* aquí A Ep F I Jo M S (*neva*  
 Apolonio Rosario). Véase *quin*  
*leca' neba'* ¡vente acá! Ep Jo  
*aso'c tacho'm unyo'c neba'* hay aquí muchos  
 perros S  
*neba' pec* aquí entró S  
*neba' quet* aquí está F M  
*nen (mex. nehualt)* yo F Jo M Mr S (*nen*  
 Apolonio Rosario)  
*az nui' nen* no me voy F M  
*nen az nui'* no me voy F M Mr S  
*nen az nconqui' cocho'z* no quiero dormir F  
 M  
*nen ca igüe'n tacoztu'c* estoy platicando  
 con él S  
*nenept'i'l (mex. nenepilli)* lengua F M Mr S  
*nonenept'i'l* mi lengua F M (*monenevitl*, tu  
 lengua, Apolonio Rosario)  
*neque't (mex. nacatl)* carne A S (*nequet*,  
 Apolonio Rosario). Véase *tutu't*  
*neque'zt (mex. nacaztli)* oreja M Mr P Pa S  
*noneque'zt* mi oreja, mi oído Mr S (*mon-*  
*gues*, tu oído, Apolonio Rosario)  
*ni* si S  
*nime'n (mex. nimen)* ahorita I Mr P S  
*naco' nime'n nui'tz* ahorita vengo P  
*naco' nime'n nui'* ahorita me voy  
*nintega'* nada A F M P S  
*nintega' az nconqui'* no quiero nada P

ayogo' nintega' no hay nada P  
 nixtu'n (mex. —tontlí) un poquito F M Mr S  
 nixtu'n quete' queda un poquito Mr S  
 nixtu'n ncoba' tengo un poquito S  
 nixtu'n at nichimequi't me dieron un po-  
 quito de agua S  
 nobe'c el mio F Fr Jo M  
 nobegu'c mañana F M (?). Véase quago'  
 noxt (mex. nextlí) ceniza, polvo El M Mr S  
 nutza' (mex. notza) llamar S  
 te tinutza' noibe' ¿le llamas a mi hermana? S  
 nocho' (mex. mochi, nochi) todo F M S  
 nocho' tui' todos nosotros vamos F M  
 emo'c nocho' todos murieron F M  
 az ncalamqui' noch no me acuerdo de todo  
 S  
 noch ma til todo allí está (lleno de) tizne S  
 nuca'; nuque'c p.; nuqueya' impf.; nuque'z f.  
 decir, pensar F I M P S  
 te nuca' ¿qué dice? F I M S  
 ac nuca' ¿quién dice eso? F M  
 qui na nuqueya' así decía P  
 nen nuque'c nconquiya' ce tumi'n creí que  
 quería un peso P  
 mue'n nuque'z tu dirás  
 nqui; ncoya' impf.; ncoz f. (mex. nequi)  
 querer El F Fr Jo M Mr P S  
 nconqui' taqua'z quiero comer F M  
 az tinquí cocho'z ¿no quieres dormir? F M  
 az conqui' igüe'n él no quiere F M  
 az conqui' tue'n no queremos F M  
 nconcoya' quería P  
 te tinconcoya' ¿qué querías? S  
 tinco'z tu querrás M  
 çalu' imp. (mex. çaliui) comprar S  
 xiçalu' ¡cómpralo! S  
 ce (mex. ce) uno A El Ep F M Mr P S (se  
 Apolonio Rosario)  
 ce milyu' un peso Mr  
 techimeque' ce quagu't ¡dame un palo! A  
 xte ce cue't ¡mira una culebra! A  
 nen nocece' meli' LA IDIOMA yo sólo conozco  
 el idioma S  
 çampe' (mex. ceppa) otra vez S  
 xicobe' çampe' ¡hazlo otra vez! S  
 ceque't (mex. çacatl) zacate S

cel nocte'l mi pene P  
 cyeu'i; cye'uc (mex. ciauí) cansado S  
 nocyeui' estoy cansado S  
 enocye'c me cansé S  
 ecy'e'uc nod'po'tz está cansada mi espalda S  
 (semibuel, veinte, Apolonio Rosario)  
 çumpe'l magüi'l (mex. cempualli); cemengüi'l  
 El; çumpa'n magüi'l A veinticinco Fr Jo  
 çule', çule'c p. (mex. çollaua) espantarse A S  
 noçule'c me espanté A S  
 nmoçule' tengo miedo S  
 çon (mex. cenili) mazorca S  
 noznu' mi mazorca S  
 (sousongui, amar, Apolonio Rosario)  
 (z'li) (mex. celic) tierno P S  
 xama'nc p.; xamani'z f. (mex. xamania) que-  
 brar S  
 nocho' xama'nc todos se quebraron S  
 exama'nc napa'zt se quebró la olla S  
 nui' xamani'z voy á quebrarlo S  
 xamt (mex. xamill, adobe) tortilla A El Es  
 F Fr Jo M Mr S  
 noxa'm El, noxamu' Jo S mi tortilla  
 eluxa'mt tortilla de elote A  
 xabó (castellano) jabón Mr P  
 xipu'n (mex. xipinli) prepucio  
 xixe'z f. (mex. xixa) mear P  
 nui' noxixe'z voy a mear P  
 xict (mex. xicli) ombligo S  
 ixi'c su ombligo S  
 noxi'c mi ombligo S  
 (xo-) (mex. xoll) pié A F M Mr Pa P S (xoy,  
 Apolonio Rosario)  
 noxo'i mi pié S  
 xui' verde M Mr S. Véase xut  
 quet xui' na quaxilu't está verde el plátano S  
 xut (mex. xiuill) hoja M Mr S (xut, Apolonio  
 Rosario)  
 xucho't (mex. xochitl) flor A Fr Jo S  
 tzaue'z f. (mex. tzaua) hilar Jo M Mr S  
 nentzaue'z voy a hilar Jo M Mr S  
 nui' ntzaue'z voy a hilar M Mr S  
 (tzeue', ceue' ?) apagar S  
 xitzeue' na tet ¡apaga el fuego! S  
 xiceue' na tequagu't ¡apaga los tizones! S  
 encen' lo apagué S



*tzepo't* (mex. *tzapotl*) zapote S  
*tzecue'* imp.; *tzec* p.; *tzecuo'z* f. (mex. *tzaqua*)  
 cerrar M Mr S  
*xitzecue' na xamt* ¡tapa la tortilla! M Mr S  
*etze'c* está cerrado S  
*enctze'c* lo cerré S  
*te titze'c* ¿lo cerraste? S  
*etze'c noneque'z* está cerrado mi oído S  
*nui' nctzecuo'z* voy a taparlo S  
*tzinaca'* (mex. *tzinacan*) murcielago (*chinaca*, Apolonio Rosario)  
*(tzintu'c)* (mex. *tzinti*) nacer, animales y plantas S  
*z'li titzintu'c* ternito está naciendo S  
*titzintu'c* MOPOLLITO está naciendo tu pollito S  
*tzique't* (mex. *tzicatl*) hormiga S  
*(tzilini)* (mex. *tzilini*) sonar S  
*tzilintu'c* está sonando S  
*tzupine'; tzupini'c* p. (mex. *tzupinia*) picar S  
*nentzupine' ca ce quagu't* picó con un palo S  
*nixtzupini'c ce culu't* me picó un alacrán S  
*nixtzupini'c nomai'* picó mi mano S  
*tzupilu't* (mex. *tzòpilotl*) zopilote. Véase *cuzt*  
*(tzupcu —?) tzucua'; tzucua'c, tzupa'c* (sic) p.;  
*tzupa'z* (sic) f. cortar P S  
*xitzucua' na opque't* ¡corta el hilo! S  
*etzucua'c* ya está cortado S  
*tzupa'c nomai'* cortó mi mano P S  
*PA tzupa'z na quagu't* para cortar el palo S  
*(tzoma'); tzome'z* f. (mex. *tzoma*) coser M Mr S  
*litzome'z* tu vas a coser S  
*nui' nlatzome'z* voy a coser S  
*ntatzontu'c* estaba cosiendo S  
*tzon* (mex. *tzontli*) pelo Mr P Pa S (*sont*, Apolonio Rosario)  
*motzo'n* tu pelo P  
*motentzo'n* tu barba P (tu boca-pelo) (*modensen* Apolonio Rosario)  
*tzoct* paño, traje, camisa M Mr S  
*notzo'c* mi traje  
*tzocua'zt* (mex. *tzicauaztli*) peine S  
*ntzocui'z* voy a peinar S  
*tzulu'* imp.; *tzulu'c* p. (mex. *tzolooa*) sacudir M Mr S

*xitzulu' na tepo'xt* sacudí la cama M Mr S  
*entzulu'c* lo sacudí S  
*(chan)* (mex. *chantli*) casa A El F Fr M Mr  
*P Pa S* (*nochan*, mi casa Apolonio Rosario)  
*huhio'm nocha'n* mi casa es grande F M  
*icha'n* su casa S  
*quizco'm mocha'n tiba'* ¿cuántas casas tienes? S  
*tocha'n* nuestra casa  
*che* pr. é imp.; *chez* f. (mex. *chia*) esperar S  
*neba' ntzoche'* aquí te espero S  
*xiche'* ¡espera! S  
*tixche'* ¡espérame! S  
*nui' nchez* voy a esperar S  
*ntzochetu'c* estoy esperándote S  
*(chibilu')* (mex. *tepilli* ?) vulva P  
*mochibilu'* tu vulva P  
*chicala't* corriente del río P  
*chique'c* (mex. *chicauac*) duro P S  
*chil* (mex. *chilli*) chile Mr S (*chil*, Apolonio Rosario)  
*chillo't* piedra para moler chile Mr  
*chua':* pr.; *chue'* imp.; *chuc* p. (mex. *chiua*)  
 hacer A El F Fr I taquechuc Jo M Mr P S  
*nixchua'* PULGA me pica (hace) la pulga S  
*te tichua'* ¿qué haces? F M  
*chua'* DAÑO *quaxilu't xui'* hace daño el plátano verde S  
*PA chue'* AMARRAR para amarrarlo M Mr  
*xichue'* ¡haz! A El F Fr I Jo M Mr P S  
*echu'c uli'c* lo hizo bueno F M  
*tichulu't* vamos a hacerlo S  
*chutu'c* PLANCHANDO está planchando S  
*entzuchu'c* VENDER yo te lo he vendido A.  
 Véase *taquechu'c*  
*chupe'c* (mex. *chipauac*) blanco A M Mr S  
*choch* (mex. *chica, chicha*) escupir, saliva S  
*icho'ch* su saliva S  
*nocho'ch* mi saliva S  
*chucha'c* huele A Fr Jo P S  
*chuca'* (mex. *choca*) llorar F M P S  
*chuca' na cone't* llora el niño F M  
*teca' chucá* ¿por qué llora? F M  
*teca' tochuca'* ¿por qué lloras? S

*nchuca'*, *a'mba emo'c nob'lu'* lloro, porque  
se murió mi hijo S  
*chucoc'e'* (mex. *chiquacen*) seis Ep S (*chigon*,  
Apolonio Rosario)  
*chucula't* (mex. *chocolatl*) chocolate F M Mr S  
(*chol* ?) *nocholu'* mi hermano Fr Jo S  
*mocholuga'm* tus hermanos S  
*ca* (mex. *ca*) (partícula) A F M Mr  
*ca xui'* ¡anda! F M  
*ca xui* PA *mocha'n* ¡vete a tu casa! Mr  
*ca quixui'* PA *nocha'n* ¡ándale a tu casa! Mr  
*ca* (mex. *can*) dónde A F I M Mr P S  
*ca tui'* ¿por dónde te vas? M Mr S  
*ca tiba' at* ¿a dónde tienes agua? S  
*ca tyac* ¿por dónde fuiste? S  
*camp'a'* (mex. *camp'a*) ¿dónde? A El P  
POR *camp'a' tui'* ¿por dónde te vas? A  
*ca* (mex. *ca*) con F M P S  
*nen ca igüe'n natacoztu'c* estoy platicando  
con él S  
*nen tzupine' ca ce quagu't* picó con un palo  
S  
*ca nen* conmigo P  
*ximocli' ca moxo'i* ¡mátalo con tu pié! S  
(*cayivima*, frío, Apolonio Rosario)  
*cayu'* caballo Fr Jo P S (*cayu*, Apolonio  
Rosario)  
*cayupo'l* potro, caballito S  
*cau* (mex. *caua*) quedarse S  
*nen mocau' nocece'* me quedo sólo S  
*az cauanqui'* no sirve F M P (*az caban-*  
*qui'?*)  
*caxani'*; *caxa'nc* p. (mex. *caxani*) sanar M Mr  
S  
*te motzeti'c* DOCTOR *te caxani'* ¿te dijo el  
doctor que sane? M  
*caxani'* está sanando S  
*yulicyuli'c ui' caxa'nz* despacio va a sanar  
M  
*calamqui'*; *calamco'z* f. acordarse S  
*az ncalamqui' noch* no me acuerdo de todo  
S  
*nui' ncalamco'z* voy a acordarme S  
*queue'* imp.; *queue'z* f. (mex. *cavia*) guardar  
M Mr S (*aqueue'?*)  
*nui' caqueue'z* voy a guardarlo M Mr S

*xaqueue'* ¡guárdalo! S  
*quem* (mex. *quen*) cómo S  
*quem tpenu'c na ate'n* ¿cómo pasaste el río? S  
*quet*; *quetya'* (mex. *catqui*) hay A Ep F Fr I  
Jo M Mr P S  
*neba' quet* aquí está F M  
*ma quet* allí está F M  
*az quet uli'c* no está bueno Ep  
*quet tu'chi nocha'n* mi casa es pequeña F M  
*ma quet oque'lc* está allí adentro F M  
*ma quet ile'nc apa'zt* está debajo de la olla S  
*na quet ma* está allí I  
*neba' quetya'* aquí estaba P S  
*onque't* (mex. *onca*) hay P S  
*aco'c onque't cue't* hay muchas culebras  
P  
*quago' az nonque't neba'* mañana no  
estaré aquí S  
*eyonque't xamt* hay tortillas Fr Jo  
*quexque'mt* (mex. *quechquemitl*) huipil F Jo  
M Pa (*quext*, *coxt* pescueso)  
*noquexque'm* mi huipil Jo  
*quequi'*; *quec* p.; *quez* f. (mex. *caqui*) oír F M  
Mr S  
*az ncoquequi'* no lo oigo Mr S  
*toquequi'* oyes F M  
*encoque'c* oí S  
*nui' ncoque'z* voy a oír S  
(*quel*) (mex. *calli*) casa F M  
*ito'c quelc* en la casa F M  
*quin* (mex. *quin*) solamente con *neba'* y *na* A  
Jo P S  
*quineba' nui'* acá me voy Jo  
*leca' PA quineba'* ¡vente acá! A  
*quina' nuqueya'* así decía A P  
*quiça'*; *quice'* imp.; *quize* p.; *quice'z* f. (mex.  
*quiça*) salir F I M P S  
*tiquiça' mato'lc* sales fuera S  
*xiquice'* S; *quice'* F M P S ¡sal!  
*ma que't quiztu'c apoto'ct* allí está saliendo  
el humo S  
*equi'zc tune'l* salió el sol P  
*nen quice'z* saldré I  
*quizeco'm* (mex. *quezqui*) ¿cuántos? Mr S  
*quizeco'm meleque't tiba'* ¿cuántos malacates  
tienes? S



*quixi'* imp.; *quixi'c* p.; *quixi'z* f. (mex. *quixtia*)  
sacar S  
*xiquixi'* ¡sácalo! S  
*enquixi'c* lo saqué S  
*nquixi'z* voy a sacarlo S  
*co naco'* ahora S P. Véase *naco'*  
(*qua*); *quac* p.; *quaz* f. (mex. *qua*) comer A F  
Fr Jo M Mr P S  
*elaqua'c* comió M P  
*totaqua'c* has comido S  
*az nconqui' taqua'z* no quiero comer F M  
*az tiqua'z* no lo comerás F M  
*totaqua'z* comeremos A (*totaguasquit*, Apolonio Rosario)  
*xicque' na quaxilu't* PA *tiquazqui't* asa el  
plátano para que lo comamos F M S  
*xicueti' ce pan* PA *tiquazqui't* compra un  
pan para que lo comamos S  
PA *nqua'z* para que lo coma S  
*xlaquati'* ¡vete a comer! S  
*xlaquati' mocha'n* ¡vete a tu casa a comer!  
S  
*xlaquaqui'* ¡vente a comer! S  
*nen naquaçamqui'* tengo hambre Fr Jo S  
*noquaçonqui'* tengo hambre P  
*cua'*; *cue* imp.; *cuc* p.; *cua'z* f. (mex. *coa*) com-  
prar F Fr Jo M Mr S  
*ticucua'* lo compras Fr Jo  
*xicue'* ¡cómpralo! S  
*xicueti'* ¡vete a comprarlo! S  
*encocu'c* lo compré S  
*encucu'c teyu'l* compré maíz M Mr S  
*az ticua'z tutu't pa taqua'z* ¿no comprarás  
carne para comerla? F  
(*quait*) (mex. *quaitl*) cabeza F M Mr P Pa S  
*noquai'* mi cabeza (*noquay*, Apolonio Ro-  
sario)  
*quane'* imp. rascar P S  
*xaquane'* ¡ráscalo! S  
*chua' naquantu'c* está rascándose S  
*quanco'ch* costal Fr Jo  
*quaxa'xt* faja M Mr S  
*quaxilu't* (mex. *coaxilol*) plátano A El F M  
Mr S  
*quago'* mañana A Fr Jo Mr P S (*cuago*, *goago*,  
Apolonio Rosario)

*quagu't* (mex. *quauill*) palo, árbol, leña  
banco, cárcel, fusil A El F Fr Jo M Mr S  
*noquagu't* mi fusil El  
*tequagu't* tizón S  
*nyac quagutu'* fuí a leñar S  
*antlu' quaguzqui't* ¡vámonos a leñar! A Jo  
Mr  
*quala't* lagartija S  
*guala'c* (mex. *huallauh*) venir F I M P S  
*neba' guala'c* acá vino S  
*eguala'c totoltzi'n* vino el cura P  
*enola'c* vine  
*ic tola'c* ¿cuándo viniste? S  
*nola'c tixtagüetu'* vine para que me pagues  
S  
*tolaqui't* venimos S  
*ic molaqui't* ¿cuándo vinieron? S  
(*qual* ?) *noqualu'* mi lado M Mr S  
(*güe*, *cue* ?) *nogüe'u* mi marido Mr P S  
(*noquehu*, Apolonio Rosario)  
(*cueit*) (mex. *cueitl*) enagua El F Jo M Mr  
Pa S  
*nocue'i* mi enagua Mr  
*cue't* (mex. *coatl*) culebra F Fr Jo M S  
(*cuet*, Apolonio Rosario)  
*ago'c cue't* muchas culebras F M  
*cue'te'xt* (mex. *cuellaxtli*) cuero, piel S  
*güecha'l* (véase mex. *niptla*) pasado mañana  
M Mr P S (*guechal* sí, Apolonio Rosario)  
*Güeualla'n* LAGUNA nombre antiguo de  
Pochutla Fr Jo  
*güequé'* (mex. *ueca*) lejos Fr Jo (*asoc gueque*  
muy lejos, Apolonio Rosario)  
(*güel* ?) *igüelu'* su esposa Fr Jo M Mr P S  
*te micu'l mogüelu'* ¿cómo se llama tu  
esposa? Mr S (*noquelu*, mi esposa, Apo-  
lonio Rosario)  
(*cuizca'* ?) traer I  
*ago'c VIENTO cuizca* LA LUNA mucho viento  
trajo la luna I  
*cuixu'm* iguana (mex. *cuixin* MILAN) F Fr Jo  
M S  
(*cuique*) (mex. *cuica*) cantar S  
*nlacuiquetu'c* estoy cantando S  
*coyu'd* (mex. *coyotl*) coyote (Apolonio Rosario)  
*cope'c* (mex. *copetic*) grueso S

*coma'l* (mex. *comalli*) comal A F Fr Jo M Mr  
*nocomalu'* mi comal A F  
*nocumale'u* (castellano *comadre*) mi comadre F S  
*nocumpale'u* (castellano *compadre*) mi compadre El Fr Jo Mr P S  
*cumi* (mex. *comill*) cántaro F Fr Jo M Mr S  
*cute't* (mex. *cuillail*) mierda A  
*cone't* (mex. *conell*) niño El F M P  
*xile' na cone't* mira el niño F M  
*cocone't* niños F M P (*coconet*, muchacho; *coconets*, muchachas, Apolonio Rosario)  
*conebo'l* criatura F M P (*conevol*, Apolonio Rosario)  
*coconebo'l* criaturas P  
*(conize ?) xucontze'* ¡échalo (adentro)! Fr Jo Mr S  
*nenconce'z* voy a hacer tortillas Fr Jo  
*enconce'c* hice tortillas Fr Jo  
*cuzt* zopilote Mr S. Véase *tzupilu't*  
*coztu'c*. Véase (*ta*)*ctze* platicar  
*coxt* (mex. *quechlli*) pescuezo M Mr S. Véase *quexque'mi*  
*moco'ch* tu pescuezo S  
*coxqui'* (mex. *quequexquia*) comezón A S  
*nicoxqui'* tengo comezón S  
*(cochi')*; *coxc* p.; *cocho'z* f. (mex. *cochi*) dormir F M Mr P S  
*eco'xc* durmió S  
*cocoxtu'c* está durmiendo F M  
*nen cocho'z* voy a dormir F M (*cochos*, Apolonio Rosario)  
*az nconqui' cocho'z* no quiero dormir F  
*cocho' mue'n* ¡duerme! F  
*xucochoti'* ¡vete a dormir! S  
*aço'c ncocoxni'* deseo mucho dormir P  
*cuchi'* puerco M Mr S  
*cocoa'* (mex. *cocoa*) enfermo F M Mr S  
*nococoa' nomai'* tengo enferma la mano F M  
*az nococoa'* no estoy enfermo S  
*nococoa' noye'* mi madre está enferma S  
*cug'li*; *cug'lu'c* p. frío M Mr S  
*aço'c cug'li'* se enfrió mucho M Mr S  
*ecug'lu'c* ya se enfrió S  
*quet cug'luni'* hace frío S

*(cul ?)* (mex. *colli*, antepasado ?) nombre  
*te nicu'l mue'n* ¿cómo te llamas? F M  
*QUE micu'l moye'* ¿cómo se llama tu madre? S  
*que tmocu'l* ¿cómo te llamas? S  
*icu'l mogüelu'* MARIA mi esposa se llama María S  
*culu't* (mex. *cololl*) alacrán A F M  
*colme'n* (mex. *queman* ?) hace poco tiempo S  
*colme'n nola'c* vino hace poco tiempo S  
*icolme'n yac* se fué hace poco tiempo S  
*colme'n quize* salió hace poco tiempo S  
*ctza*; *ctze* imp.; *cozc*, *ctzec* p.; *ctzez* f. (mex. *quetza*) levantar F M S  
*az ue'l noctza'n* no se puede levantar S  
*xmochtze'* ¡párate! F M  
*te ncochtze'c* ¿en qué pisé? S  
*enmoco'zc* me levanté S  
*nui' ncochtze'z nocha'n* voy a parar a mi casa S  
*az nconqui' timochtze'z* no quiero levantarme F M  
*(ta) ctze'* (mex. *quetza*) platicar F M S  
*totactze'* hablas F M  
*xtactze'* ¡habla! S  
*tacoztu'c* está platicando F M S (*dacus*, Apolonio Rosario)  
*totacoztu'c* estamos platicando S, estás platicando S  
*ntacoztu'c neba'* estoy platicando aquí S  
*g'lazt* (mex. *quilazlli*) mujer A F Fr Jo M Mr P S (*claxtl*, Apolonio Rosario)  
*quig'lazqui't* mujeres P S  
*omeme't quig'lazqui't* dos mujeres P  
*nog'la'zt* mi esposa Fr Jo  
*g'lazpo'l* muchacha A  
*(ta) g'lua'* (mex. *cuiloa*) escribir S  
*tag'lutu'c* está escribiendo S  
*xtag'luti'* ¡escribe! S  
*huhio'm* (mex. *uei*) grande F Fr Jo M Mr S  
*hulu'* imp.; *hulu'c* p. (mex. *oilia*) pepenar,<sup>1</sup> recoger, separar S  
*xihulu' na teyu'l* ¡pepena el maíz S!

<sup>1</sup> Véase Cecilio A. Robelo, *Diccionario de Aztequismos* (Cuernavaca, 1904), p. 632.



*encuhulu'c* lo pepené S  
*leca'* ¡vente! A Ep Fr Jo Mr P S  
*lipu'* bule F Fr Jo M Mr calabazo con  
 cintura<sup>1</sup> (mex. *ilpia* atar ?)  
 (lyu) (mex. [no] yollo) corazón Mr S (*noliu*,  
 Apolonio Rosario)  
*aço'c tamoca'* *nolyu'* mucho me duele el  
 corazón S  
*luxalyu'* (castellano *rosario*) Fr Jo S  
*noluxalyu'* mi rosario Fr S

## CASTELLANO-POCHUTLA

abrir *tepu'*  
 acá *quineba'* (*quin*)  
 acabar *temi'*  
 acordarse *calamqui'* (*nocho'*)  
 acostarse *teque'* (*ixna'c*)  
 adentro *toc* (*ma*, *metze'*, *quet*). Véase EN  
 agua *at* (*meca*, *toc*, *nixtu'n*, *ca*)  
 aguacate *aueque't*  
 ahijado *b'ltzin*  
 ahora *naco'* (*as*, *ui'tz*); *nacona'* (*te*); *conaco'*  
 alas *yajai'*  
 alacrán *culu't* (*tzupine'*)  
 algodón *oxque't* (*meca*)  
 allí *ma* (*ato'lc*, *aci'*, *ui'*, *ui'tz*, *yect*, *pen*, *toc*, *nocho'*,  
*quet*, *quiça'*)  
 amar *sousongui*  
 ancho *pate'c*  
 ¡anda! *ca* (*ui*)  
 andar *agueneumi*  
 anoche *ogüe'l* (*apeco'*, *pen*, *penu'c*)  
 antier *icualgua'* (*igualgua'* ?)  
 apagar *tsene'*, *cene'* (?)  
 apestar *iye'c*  
 apretar *pechu'*  
 aquí *neba'* (*ayago'*, *apeco'*, *aci'*, *aço'c*, *penu'c*, *guala'c*,  
*quet*)  
 árbol *quagu't*  
 arco *escocu'l*  
 asar *ixque'* (*qua*)  
 así *qui na* (*quin*)  
 atar *ilpi'*  
 atizar *totoqui'*  
 atole *etu'l* (*box*)  
 ayer *algua'*  
 ayudar *petebi'* (*ac*)  
 bailar *motudi's*  
 bajar *d'mu*  
 banco *quagu't* (*ixna'c*, *teque'*)

bañar *mohue'*, *mamui'*  
 barba (*tzo'n*)  
 barrer *tachapane'*  
 bastante *mie'c*  
     no bastante *tu'chi*  
 beber *temi'* (*meca'*)  
 bien *uli'c* (*ui'*)  
 blanco *chupe'c*  
 blando *totoini'*  
 boca *ten* (*moca'*)  
 Bombax Ceiba *pochu't*  
 borracho *unti'* (*aço'c*, *na*)  
 bramar *tetoc'* (*yut*)  
 brazo (*mai*)  
 bueno *uli'c* (*chua'*, *quet*)  
 buenos días *ay te'*  
 bule *lipu'*  
 buscar *temoa'* (*ampa*, *ya*, *te*)  
 caballo *cayu'*  
 cabeza *quait* (*moca'*)  
 caer *ots* (*ui'*, *ma*)  
 caimán *te'ipo*  
 calabaza *eyu't*  
 calentura *tune'l*  
 caliente *tune'l* (*na*)  
 cama *tepo'xt* (*ui'*, *tsulu'*)  
 camarón *achiquelo'm*  
 camino *ot'ca'n*  
 camisa *tsoci* (*tal'i*)  
 cansado *cyeni'*  
 cantar *cuique*  
 cántaro *cumi*  
 cara *ixt*  
 cárcel *quagu't* (*apeco'*)  
 cargar *mama'*  
 carne *neque't* (*ina'*); *tutu't* (*cua*)  
 carrizo *aque't*  
 carta *ame't*  
 casa *chan* (*antu'*, *bia*, *tu'chi*, *qua*, *quet*, *ctza*)  
 casarse *namochi'* (*iti'*, *ic*, *te*)  
 ceniza *noxt* (*mole'*, *tachapane'*)  
 cerrar *tsecue'*  
 cinco *macui'l*  
 cocido *ecço'c*  
 coger *ma* (*ui'*, *yect*)  
 colgar *pib'lu'*  
 comadre *cumale'u*  
 comal *coma'l*  
 comer *qua* (*antu'*, *anye'n*, *ixque'*, *nqui'*)  
 comezón *coxqui'*  
 como *quem* (*penu'c*)  
 compadre *cumpale'u*  
 comprar *cua'* (*qua*); *çalu'*  
 con *ca* (*uluni'*, *pib'lu'*, *tzupine'*, *nen*)  
 conmigo *ca nen* (*ca*)

<sup>1</sup> Véase Cecilio A. Robelo, *Diccionario de Aztequismos*, Apéndice, p. 2.

contar *po*  
 corazón *lyu* (*ampa*, *aço'c*)  
 correr *telu'z*  
 corriente del río *chicala't*  
 cortar *tsucua'* (*opquet*)  
 cosa *te* (*ah na*)  
 coser *tzoma'*  
 costal *quanco'ch*  
 coyote *coyu'd*  
 criatura *cone't* (*pue'*, *meca'*, *na*)  
 ¿cuándo? *ic* (*ui'*, *te*, *namocti'*, *guala'c*); *tico'n* (*ui'*)  
 ¿cuántos? *quizco'm* (*oco'xt*, *bia'*, *meca'*, *tuque'c*,  
*chan*)  
 cuatro *nayo'm* (*bia'*)  
 cuero *cuele'xt*  
 culebra *cue't* (*aço'c*, *ui'*, *unyo'c*, *ce*, *quet*)  
 culo *tup*  
 cura *totoltsi'n* (*ui'ts*, *guala'c*)  
 chiflar (*icoz-*)  
 chile *chil*  
 chocolate *chucula't*  
 dar *ma*; *meca'* (*ah na*, *ac*, *mie'c*, *te*, *ce*, *nixtu'n*)  
 debajo *ite'nc* (*quet*)  
 decir *iti* (*igüe'n*, *caxani'*); *nuca'* (*ac*, *te*, *quin*)  
 delgado *plzec*  
 desatar *ioma'*  
 despacio *yuli'c* (*caxani'*)  
 despues *tiome'n* (*ay te'*)  
 destapar *tepu'*  
 día *tune'l*  
 diez *matu*  
 dinero *tumi'n* (*ayago'*, *ampa*, *po*, *bia'*)  
 dios *tog*  
 doler *moca'* (*aço'c*, *lyu*); *cocoa'* (*ampa*)  
 dónde *ca* (*ui'*); *campa'*  
 dormir *cochi'* (*ui'*, *mue'n*, *nen*, *nqui*)  
 dos *ome'm* (*bia'*, *ma* [dar], *tito't*, *g'last*)  
 dulce *otca'i*  
 duro *chique'c*  
 echar *boz*; (*conize*); *uluni'*  
 el *na*  
 él *igüe'n* (*ampa*, *nen*, *nqui*, *ca*)  
 elote *elu't*  
 tortilla de elote (*xamt*, *meca'*)  
 ella. Véase **EL** (*iti*)  
 embarazada *uzti'* (*na*)  
 empezar *peu'c*  
 en *toc* (*apeco'*, *uluni'*, *ma* [allf]); *nac*; *ic* (*teque'*);  
*pen* (*ogüe'l*)  
 enagua (*cueit*)  
 encontrar *aci'* (*ma* [allf])  
 enfermo *cocoa'* (*ay te'*, *az*, *ampa*)  
 enojarse *teue'*  
 enseñar *mexti'* (*ac*, *meti*)  
 entonces *ah na*

entrar *apeco'* (*ogüe'l*, *neba'*)  
 envolver *pib'lu'*  
 es *quet* (*tu'chi*)  
 escoba (*tachapane'*)  
 esconderse *ya* (*ampa*)  
 escribir *g'lua'*  
 escupir *choch*  
 ése *ina'* (*name'l*); *ma*  
 ese *na* (*ac*, *ina'*)  
 eso *na* (*tune'l*)  
 espalda *d'botz* (*cyeui'*)  
 espantarse *çute'*  
 esperar *che* (*aci'*)  
 espina *ui'zti* (*apeco'*)  
 esposa *güe'l* (*te*, *cul*); *g'last*  
 espuma *puçone'l*  
 está *quet* (*ato'lc*, *na*, *cug'li'*, *uli'c*, *pen*, *ma* [allf], *tup*,  
*toxt*, *neba'*, *naco'*, *toc*, *na*, *nac*, *xui'* *quiça'*)  
 está en pie *mougui'*  
 está echado *unyo'c*  
 éste *ina'* (*ixi'c*); *name'l*  
 faja *quaxa'xt*  
 flor *xucho't* (*name'l*)  
 frente *ixt*; *ixna'c*  
 frío *pina'*; *cug'li'*; *cayivima*  
 fuego *tet* (*tzene'*)  
 fuera *ato'lc* (*quiça'*)  
 fusil *quagu't*  
 gallina *tila'n* (*bia*, *mochi'*, *na*)  
 golpear *pig'li'*  
 gotear *taxiquetuc*  
 grande *hukio'm* (*chan*)  
 gritar *tatsi'*  
 grueso *cope'c*  
 guajalote *toto'l*  
 guardar *queue'*  
 gusano *ug'lo'm*  
 hablar *tetoa'*; *ctze* (*ac*)  
 hacer *chua'* (*te*, *çampe'*, *quane'*)  
 hace poco tiempo *naco'*  
 hambre *naquaçamqui'*; (*ampa*)  
 hay *unyo'c* (*aço'c*, *neba'*); *que't* (*ma*)  
 no hay *ayago'* (*nintega'*)  
 hermana *iuit*; (*prima'*); (*nutza'*)  
 hermano (*bu*); *chol*  
 hervir *molu'nc*  
 hijo *b'l* (*ampa*, *bia'*, *moc*, *chuca'*)  
 hilar *tzaue'z* (*meca'*)  
 hilo *opque't* (*tsupua*)  
 hoja *xut*  
 hombre *teque't* (*ina'*, *ma* [allf], *na*); *oco'xt*  
 hormiga *tzique't*  
 hoy *naco'*  
 Huatulco *Uetu'l*  
 huele *chucha'c*



- hueso *ot*  
 huesos quemados *tice't*  
 huevo *tito't* (*ome'm*, *bia'*, *ma* [dar], *tot*)  
 huipil *quexque'mt*  
 humo *apoto'ct* (*quice'*)  
 huso *malage'u* (*quisco'm*)  
 iglesia *tiop'e'n* (*pen*)  
 iguana *cuixo'm*  
 iguana verde *totoli't*  
 ir *ui'* (*ay le'*, *ampa*, *ale'n*)  
 jabón *xabo'*  
 jicalpézte *pebe't*  
 jícara *oxca'zt* (*ma* [dar], *tuque'c*)  
 lado *qual*  
 ladrar *tatsi'*  
 lagarto *te'ipo*  
 lagartija *quala't*  
 lamer *pelu'*  
 lavar *peque'* (*yulicyuli'c*)  
 lavar *mohue'*  
 lejos *güequé'*  
 lengua *nenepi'l*  
 leña *quagu't*  
 levantar *tqui'*; *ctza* (*ue'l*)  
 limpiar *pue'*  
 lo *me* (*mama'c*)  
 lodo *tal* (*bia*)  
 luna *mezl*  
 llamar *nulza'*  
 llevar *tqui* (*eti'*)  
 llorar *chuca'* (*ampa*, *as*, *te*, *na*)  
 lluvia *yect* (*ui'*, *ui'ts*, *ma* [tomar])  
 machete *meche't* (*temoa'*)  
 madre *ye* (*ayago'*, *iti*, *pig'li'*, *meti'*, *cul*, *cocoa'*)  
 madrina *nan*  
 maduro *ecço'c*  
 maguey *micui'x*  
 maíz *teyu'l* (*as*, *ui'*, *tuque'c*, *cua*)  
 malacate *malague'u* (*quisco'm*)  
 mano *mai* (*tati'*, *tsupine'*, *cocoa'*)  
 mañana *quago'* (*as*, *ui'*, *ui'ts*, *peque'*, *quet*); *nobegu'c*  
 mañana, pasado *güecha'l*  
 mar *at*  
 marido *güe'* (*ampa*)  
 masa *toxt*  
 matar *mocti'* (*ca* [con], *na*)  
 mazorca *totomo'xt*; *çon* (*poxce'z*)  
 mear *xixe'z*  
 medio día *tacane'l*  
 menear *uluni'*  
 mentir *dasupua*  
 metate *mot* (*mai*)  
 mierda *cute't*  
 milpa *mil* (*bia'*, *ita'*)  
 mio *nobe'c*  
 mirar *ila'* (*ampa*, *as*, *name'l*, *ce*, *cone't*)  
 mojar *au'e'c*  
 moler *toço'* (*ui'*)  
 morir *moc* (*ampa*, *nocho'*, *chuca*)  
 mosca *moyu't*  
 mover *uluni'*  
 muchacha *g'last*  
 muchacho *cone't* (*ina'*, *ixi'c*, *na*)  
 mucho *aço'c* (*au'e'c*, *ampa*, *unyo'c*, *ug'li'*, *bia'*, *teue'*, *tacho'm*, *neba'*, *cochi'*, *cuisca'*, *cue't*, *quet*)  
 mugre *tal*  
 mujer *g'last* (*na*)  
 murciélago *tsinaca'*  
 muy *aço'c* (*etiot'e'c*, *euela'c*, *ina'*, *tayua'*, *tune'l*, *lyu*)  
 nacer *tsintu'c*  
 nada *nintega'* (*ayago'*)  
 Nahuatl *nagua'l*  
 nariz *yequé't*  
 niño *cone't* (*as*, *entsule'c*, *ila'*, *na*, *chuca'*)  
 no *as* (*ampa*, *ayago'*, *ay le'*, *aci'*, *eti'*, *ila'*, *iti*, *igüe'n*, *ui'*, *ue'l*, *ui'ts*, *uluni'*, *bia'*, *pig'li'*, *meti'*, *meca'*, *tali'*, *cau*, *namocti'*, *nqui*, *nen*, *nintega'*, *nocho'*, *calamqui'*, *quet*, *quequi'*, *qua*, *cua'*, *cochi'*, *cocoa'*, *ctza*); *ayago'*; *ay le'* (*as*)  
 noche *ogüel* (*apeco'*)  
 nombre *cul* (*güel*)  
 nosotros *tue'n* (*bia'*, *nqui*)  
 nube *pixt* (?)  
 Oaxaca *Uaxe'c* (*anye'n*, *meti'*)  
 ocote *oco't* (*na*)  
 oído *neque'zt* (*tzecue*)  
 oír *quequi'*  
 ojo *ixtotolu't*  
 olla *apa'zt* (*ite'nc*, *yuli'c*, *uluni'*, *ma* [allí] *peque'*, *pelu'*, *loc*, *na*, *xama'nc*, *quet*)  
 olvidar *yactanguí*  
 ombligo *xict*  
 once *maleesu*  
 oreja *neque'zt*  
 orita (ahorita) *naco'*; *nime'n*; (*aci'*, *ui'ts*); *tiume'n* (*meca'*)  
 obscurecer *tayua'*  
 otra vez *çampe'*  
 padre (*tecu'*) (*ina'*, *ixi'c*, *ui'*)  
 padrino (*tal*)  
 pagar *tagüi'c* (*guala'c*)  
 palo *quagu't* (*uluni'*, *pen*, *ma* [dar], *tsupine'*, *ca* [con], *ce*)  
 pan *pan*  
 paño *payo'*; *txoct* (*ig'ti'*)  
 papel *ame't*  
 parecido *ixi'c* (*ina'*)  
 parir *taquechu'c*; *pisc*  
 pasar *penu'c* (*quem*)  
 pasearse *paxalu-*

pecho *tipe'n*  
 peine *tzucua'zt*  
 peinar *tzucui'z*  
 pelo *izon*  
 pene *cel*  
 pensar *nuca'*  
 pepenar *hulu'*  
 pequeño *nixtu'n (bia') ; tu'chi (quet)*  
 perder *polu'c*  
 perro *tacho'm (aço'c, iye'c, tutuca', neba')*  
 pesado *eti'*  
 pescado *miccho'm*  
 pescuezo *coxt*  
 peso *milyu' (ce) ; tumi'n (nuca')*  
 petate *b'tet ; pol*  
 picar *tzupine'*  
 pié *xo- (apeco', ma [tomar], ca [con])*  
 piedra *tol (mole')*  
     piedra para moler chile *chillo't*  
 piel *cuele'xt*  
 piojo *ato'mt*  
 pizar *poque'z*  
 plátano *quaxilu't (ixque', xui', chua', qua)*  
 platicar *coztu'c, ctza (nen)*  
 poco *nixtu'n (meca')*  
 Pochutla *Güenalla'n*  
 poder *ue'l (ctza [levantar])*  
 pollo *tila'n (az)*  
 poner *tali' (apeco')*  
 poquito *nixtu'n*  
 porque *ampa (ayago', etiole'c, ya, chuca')*  
 por qué *te (ampa, unti', chuca')*  
 potro *cayü'*  
 preguntar *tatenli'*  
 prepucio *xipu'n*  
 pronto *tutuca' (ate'n) ; leca' (véase VENIR)*  
 pueblo *al'be't (meli', te)*  
 puerco *cuchi'*  
 puma *micilu't*  
 purgar *apitze'z*  
 qué *te (ayago', az, iti, bia', temoa', tali', naco', caxani',  
     chua', tzecue', ngui, nuca', ctze [levantar], cul,  
     güe'l)*  
 quebrar *xama'nc (apa'st, na)*  
 quedarse *cau (nixtu'n)*  
 quemar *tali' (na)*  
 querer *nqui (az, igüe'n, ui', te, tali', nuca', nintega',  
     nen, cochi', qua, ctza [levantar])*  
 quien *ac (petebi', meli', meca', nuca')*  
 rascar *quane'*  
 real *milyu'*  
 reboso *payo' (pib'lu')*  
 reir *(manli)*  
 río *ate'n (penu'c, nac, quem)*  
     corriente del río *chicala't*

robar *taxto'c*  
 rosario *luxalyu'*  
 saber *meli' (ce)*  
 sacar *quixi'*  
 sacudir *tzulu'*  
 sal *ozte't*  
 salir *quiça' (ato'lc, colme'n)*  
 saliva *choch*  
 sanar *caxani' (yuli'c)*  
 sangre *est*  
 seco *(ua'c) (aue'c)*  
 seis *chucoc'*  
 sembrar *tuque'c (ui')*  
 semejante *ixi'c*  
 semilla *(axl)*  
 sentarse *melze' (loc)*  
 servir *cau*  
 si *ni (az, ui'tz)*  
 sobre *pen (ma) ; tacpa'c*  
 sol *tune'l (apeco', quiça')*  
 solo *ce (meli, cau)*  
 sonar *(tzilini)*  
 soplar *pitze*  
 subir *lecu' (pen)*  
 suyo *(bec)*  
 tabanco *lepo'xt (pen)*  
 tamal *pict (namig'li')*  
 tarde *etiole'c, teote'c*  
 tecolote *tecolo't*  
 tejer *ig'li'*  
 tenate *tupi'l*  
 tener *ba, bia' (ampa, az, ome'm, tila'n, tue'n, te, na,  
     nixtu'n, ca [dónde], chan, quizco'm)*  
 testículo *(til)*  
 tiempo, hace poco *colme'n (ampa)*  
 tierno *s'li (izintu'c)*  
 tierra *tal*  
 tigre *liquani'*  
 tirar *mote*  
 tizne *til (nocho')*  
 tizón *quagu't (tzeue')*  
 todo *nocho' (ui', polu'c, moc, meli', na, xama'nc,  
     calamqui')*  
 tomar *ma (ome'm, na)*  
 tomate *tome't*  
 tortilla *xamt (meca', tzecue', quet)*  
     tortilla, hacer *contze*  
 tortuga *ayü't*  
 trabajar *tocdoz*  
 traer *ui'tz (naco') ; mo ; cuizca' (?)*  
 traje *tzoct (bia', tali')*  
 trece *matu eyem*  
 tres *eyo'm (bia', tuque'c)*  
 trueno *tagnum*



tu *mue'n* (*ampa, ac, unt'i, meca', te, na, nuca, cochi',*  
*ilpi', cul*)  
 uno *ce* (*apeco', az, ig'ti', uluni', penu'c, ma* [tomar],  
*meca', mochi', nuca', tzupine', ca* [con], *qua*)  
 uña *oxi*  
 ¡vámonos! *antlu'* (*ate'n, quagu't*)  
 veinte *semibuel*  
 veinticinco *çumpe'l magüi'l; cemengüi'l; çumpa'n*  
*magüi'l*  
 venado *meça't* (*mochi'*)  
 vender *namig'li'*  
 venir *ui'tz* (*az, yect, ma* [allí], *nime'n*); *guala'c*  
 (*algua', ic, tiome'n, meca', colme'n*); *leca'* (*antu',*  
*metze', neba', tutuca', quin*). Véase PRONTO

ver *ita'* (*ampa, az, meca', mue'n*)  
 verde *xui'* (*chua*)  
 vergüenza, tener *pinaua'*  
 viejo *picho't* (*ina'*); *cueta'c*  
 viento *yut*  
 volar *pata'nc* (*ui'*)  
 vomitar *entzute'c*  
 vulva *chibilu'*  
 yo *nen* (*ampa, eti', icoz-, ui', mohue, meti', ita',*  
*toço', teue, temoa', iqui, nuca', ca* [con], *cau, ce,*  
*qua, cochi', quiça'*)  
 zapote *tsepo't*  
 zopilote *tsupilu't, cusi*

## A SILETZ VOCABULARY

By LEO J. FRACHTENBERG

THE dialect spoken by the Indian tribe that lived on the Siletz River prior to the establishment of the Siletz Indian Reservation (1856) represents the most southern branch of the Salish linguistic family. The origin of the word "Siletz" was for a long time a puzzle to the students of Indian linguistics. The most frequent explanation that was put forth was, that it represented a corrupted form of the name "Saint Celestine." This explanation seemed quite plausible, in view of the fact that the earliest white people that came in contact with these Indians were Catholic missionaries. I myself considered this etymology correct up to the time of my recent trip to the Grande Ronde Reservation. While stopping at Devil's Lake (situated three miles north of the Siletz River), I was informed that this lake and also the Siletz River were known as Silet Lake and Silet River respectively. Further inquiries proved that the word "Silet" is of Athapascan origin, meaning "Black Bear" (compare Rogue River *Sili't* and Tütü'-tunne *Si'yi's*). This explanation of the word "Siletz" is more correct than the former etymology, for two reasons,—first, because of the established fact that in a majority of cases the names for Indian tribes, localities, etc., are not native; and, secondly, because of the fact that to this day many black bears are found in the woods near the mouth of the Siletz River,—hence I have no hesitation in accepting the word "Siletz" as of Athapascan origin.

The following material was obtained in 1910 from Susan Fuller, an old Indian woman living on the Siletz Reservation. It is quite possible that many of the terms of relationship obtained from her include the possessive pronouns; but I had no means of verifying this suspicion, because of the fact that she

was the only Siletz Indian, and that she spoke very little English. I have therefore put down the words obtained from her without any changes, leaving the correct grammatical analysis to the students of Salishan linguistics.

## SOUNDS.

<i>a, e, i, o, u</i>	short vowels of continental values.
<i>ā, ē, ī, ō, ū</i>	long vowels of continental values.
<i>ai, au, eu</i>	short diphthongs.
<i>āi</i>	long diphthong.
<i>ū</i>	as in German <i>wählen</i> .
<i>ɛ</i>	obscure vowel.
<i>ʷ</i>	whispered vowel.
<i>ɪ̃, ũ̃</i>	nasalized vowels.
<i>ɣ</i>	sonant stop.
<i>t, k, ts, tɕ</i>	unaspirated surds.
<i>q</i>	velar <i>k</i> .
<i>k', ts'</i>	palatalized surds.
<i>t', q'</i>	aspirated <i>t</i> and <i>q</i> .
<i>tl, tsɬ, tɕl, k'ɬ, qɬ</i>	explosives.
<i>x</i>	like <i>ch</i> in German <i>Bach</i> .
<i>s</i>	as in English.
<i>ɕ</i>	like <i>sh</i> in English <i>she</i> .
<i>l, n</i>	as in English.
<i>l'</i>	like <i>l</i> in English <i>lure</i> .
<i>ɲ</i>	vocalized <i>n</i> .
<i>ɬ</i>	spirant lateral.
<i>ɮ</i>	surd lateral.
<i>ʔ</i>	glottal stop.
<i>ʰ</i>	aspiration.
<i>h, ɣ, w</i>	as in English.
<i>ˈ</i>	stress accent.

## NUMERALS.

<i>tsxai</i> , one	<i>yilhā'tci</i> , six
<i>həsā'li</i> , two	<i>t'ɬlo'ls</i> , seven
<i>tcā'na't</i> , three	<i>t'qā'tci</i> , eight
<i>lawū's</i> , four	<i>lɛyū'</i> , nine
<i>ts/xus</i> , five	<i>lahā'ncis</i> , ten

## TERMS OF RELATIONSHIP.

<i>tata's</i> , mother
<i>wawū'a's</i> , father
<i>ci'guts</i> , older sister
<i>su'qlēs</i> , elder brother
<i>xcha's</i> , grandfather



*qe'na's*, grandmother  
*tawu'na's*, son  
*lcila's*, daughter  
*tcī'ya's*, { grandson  
                     granddaughter  
*sī'la's*, grandchild  
*swā'ls*, paternal uncle  
*qe'sa's*, maternal uncle  
*tcats*, { paternal aunt  
                     maternal aunt  
*nā'tchī's*, father-in-law  
*tatsā'tcis*, mother-in-law  
*tastī'au'in*, brother-in-law  
*sux'sī'xis*, sister-in-law  
*snā'tclī's*, { son-in-law  
                     daughter-in-law  
*stīgā'lc*, { son of elder brother  
                     son of younger brother  
                     daughter of elder brother  
                     daughter of younger brother  
*sa'as*, { son of older sister  
                     son of younger sister  
                     daughter of older sister  
                     daughter of younger sister  
*taskō'tsīs*, relatives after death of person that  
                     caused a relationship

## PARTS OF THE HUMAN BODY.

<i>xā'lxal</i> , head	<i>līyu''</i> , second finger
<i>waq'ī'n</i> , hair	from last
<i>wa'qsin</i> , nose	<i>ta't'anā'tci</i> , thumb
<i>tintlana's</i> , ear	<i>q'axā'tcī</i> , finger-nail
<i>ngā'ls</i> , forehead	<i>l'etcā'saus</i> , neck
<i>kunāi'sun</i> , eyebrow	<i>tashā'nīlū''</i> , arm
<i>tsilsī'n</i> , lip	<i>i'inha'ksā'tci</i> , shoulder
<i>tasī'linū''</i> , tooth	<i>cī'yecīn</i> , knee
<i>wil'ya's</i> , tongue	<i>i'cī'mts</i> , leg
<i>i'tclō'satci</i> , index-finger	<i>ō'tsinālī'kas</i> , breast
<i>i'qe'tci</i> , middle finger	<i>qtsī'ls</i> , rib
<i>ts/xus</i> , little finger	<i>yīnka's</i> , heart

## ANIMALS.

<i>asai'yehāl</i> , coyote	<i>sī'sxq/ū''</i> , eagle
<i>tatya'd</i> , panther	<i>ka'katlō'tci</i> , buzzard
<i>sī'yu</i> , grizzly bear	<i>kekī'kī</i> , screech-owl
<i>tlūntcāi's''</i> , black bear	<i>ahā'lu</i> , salmon
<i>xqax</i> , cinnamon bear	<i>qelū''</i> , Chinook salmon
<i>īseā'hā'l''</i> , wolf	<i>ceciā'wak</i> , silver-side sal-
<i>tasqa'qai</i> , fox	mon
<i>u'xuāllsī'nu</i> , coon	<i>tasnī'c</i> , salmon-trout
<i>ā'ts'ū''</i> , wildcat	

## NOUNS.

<i>tskak'leu'</i> , coals	<i>qalqa'l</i> , ashes
<i>tasnā'win</i> , house	

## UNCLASSIFIED LANGUAGES OF THE SOUTHEAST

By JOHN R. SWANTON

IN Bulletin 43 of the Bureau of American Ethnology I undertook a classification of the Indian tribes of the Lower Mississippi Valley and the adjacent coast of the Gulf of Mexico, based on known or indicated similarities in their languages; and in another paper, now practically completed, I have attempted the same work for those between the area first covered and the Atlantic Ocean. Here I intend merely to indicate a few of the more important results, and to list the languages which I have so far been unable to classify with certainty, in order to put the present status of the subject on record.

So far, my work reveals no new stock language; nor does it indicate the likelihood of finding any, except in one region, southern Florida. Some years ago Mooney called attention to the fact that there was not sufficient evidence on which to extend the Timuquanan family over the southern part of the peninsula. In the first place, the tribes called "Timucua" by the Spaniards never included those south of Tampa Bay and Cape Cañaveral; and, secondly, although we have scarcely any linguistic material from the South Florida tribes, a comparison of the place-names in the two areas shows striking differences. At the same time, they seem to indicate that South Floridians—the Caloosa, Ais, Tekesta, and their neighbors—were related to each other, the differences between them being probably only dialectic. Other evidence points toward a connection between all of these and the tribes of the Muskogean family; but definite classification must wait upon further discoveries, which can hardly be outside of manuscripts, since there is small ground for hope that any speakers of the old Florida languages have survived to the present day. If a Muskogean connection were

actually established, an interesting question would at once arise as to how it came about that the Muskogean stock was cut in two by a people entirely distinct from it, or only very remotely related.

All of the other tribes which history reveals to us as living in the Southeast probably belonged to the stocks already recognized. In the majority of cases we can prove this, or at least show its extreme likelihood; but there are a few tribes whose position is uncertain. I will review them briefly.

Beginning at the northeast, the first problematical tribe is the Coree, which lived about Cape Lookout and Core Sound, on the coast of North Carolina. In this neighborhood three stocks met. Northward began that fringe of Algonquian peoples which extended unbrokenly to the St. Lawrence, south were Siouan tribes on Cape Fear River, and inland the Iroquoian Tuscarora. So far, I am aware of but one fragment of evidence bearing on the affinities of the Coree. This is dropped incidentally by Lawson, who says: "I once met with a young Indian woman that had been brought from beyond the mountains, and was sold a slave into Virginia. She spoke the same language as the Coramine [Coree], that dwell near Cape Lookout, allowing for some few words, which were different, yet no otherwise than that they might understand one another very well."<sup>1</sup>

If any theory may be based upon this, it seems to exclude the Siouan connection and to point to Iroquoian relationship, the Iroquois having been the principal enemies of the tribes of this area.

The Pascagoula of the river which now bears their name cannot be placed with

<sup>1</sup> Lawson, *History of North Carolina*, 280.



certainty, because, while they were always closely associated with the Siouan Biloxi, they are just as constantly distinguished from them. Their name, which signifies "Bread People," is from Choctaw or a related dialect. This circumstance, contrasted with the fact that Biloxi is a corruption of the proper Siouan term for that tribe, along with some additional bits of evidence, have led the writer to consider the Pascagoula Muskogean, but the proof is insufficient.

The Grigra, or Gri, formed a distinct village among the Natchez Indians; but Du Pratz states that they were an alien people, whose language was distinguished by the use of a well-developed *r*.<sup>1</sup> From the fact that they shared this peculiarity with four neighboring tribes,—the Tunica, Yazoo, Koroa, and Tiou,—while it was absolutely wanting from the tongues of the other people of that section, I have, in Bulletin 43, assigned all of these conjecturally to one stock, called from the only recorded language Tunican. At the time when I wrote the above work, my argument was rather weak, because the association between the five tribes was based merely on circumstantial evidence, albeit rather strong evidence of that class. Recently, however, my attention has been called to the following important statement in the "Journal of Diron d'Artaguette," under date of Jan. 14, 1723: "We summoned the Natchez chiefs to supply us with provisions, which they agreed to do; also the chief of the Tyous. This is a small nation which has its village a league to the south of the [Natchez] fort. This nation is not very large, consisting of only 50 men bearing arms. It has the same language as the Thoniquas [Tunica], and does not differ from them in any way as to customs."<sup>2</sup>

This strengthens the whole case very considerably, since circumstantial evidence

connecting Yazoo and Koroa with Tunica was stronger than that linking Tiou and Tunica, until the discovery of this reference. Nevertheless, Grigra still remains somewhat in doubt, since the tribe cannot be traced back to Yazoo River, like all of the others of the stock, and Du Pratz tells us that it united with the Natchez earlier than the Tiou.

The Opelousa lived west of the Mississippi, near the place which perpetuates their name. Although this name is in Choctaw, the tribe certainly was not Muskogean. It is always referred to as allied with the Chitimacha and Atakapa, but rather with the latter than the former. For this reason I have placed it provisionally in the Atakapan stock, but absolute proof is wanting.

The Okelousa, or "Black Water" people,—not to be confused with the preceding,—are mentioned seldom. They seem, however, to be associated with the Houma, who are known to have been of Muskogean stock, and hence I have so classed them.

The Bidai were on and near a western branch of the middle Trinity River, Texas, called after them. The word is perhaps Caddo, but evidence collected by Professor H. E. Bolton from the Spanish archives points to a connection with the Atakapan stock.

A great many tribes, and probably dialects as well, have been exterminated throughout southern Texas, but there is as yet no evidence that any of these was divergent enough to be given an independent position. In fact, relationships are rather indicated between the bodies now rated independent.

It is gratifying to the writer to find that of three cases in which proof of relationship has come to light since the publication of Bulletin 43, the writer's hypothesis, based on circumstantial evidence or slight indications, was established in two cases and disproved in but one, the case for which was exceptionally weak. One of these was the status of the Tiou Indians, which has already been considered. Another was the position of the

<sup>1</sup> Du Pratz, *Histoire de La Louisiane* (1758), 2: 222-226.

<sup>2</sup> *Travels in American Colonies* (ed. by Mereness), 46.

Akokisa. My belief that this tribe, or group of tribes, belonged to the Atakapan stock, has been absolutely confirmed by the discovery of a vocabulary of forty-five words in an unpublished manuscript among the valuable documents in the Edward E. Ayer collection at the Newberry Library, Chicago. This vocabulary, and an equally valuable Karankawa vocabulary in the same manuscript, will be reproduced and fully discussed in a future number of this Journal. From a second document in the Ayer collection I obtained, however, a correction of my position regarding the classification of two little tribes on Bayou La Fourche, near the mouth of the Mississippi,—the Washa and Chawasha. These I had considered Muskhogean; but the author of the document just alluded to, who seems to have been none other than Bienville, and should therefore know whereof he writes, not only states that these tribes have always spoken almost the same language ("ont toujours parlé presque la même langue"), but

begins his account of the Chitimacha by saying that the Tchioutimachas, who live six leagues from the Houmas on the left bank of the river, are of the same genius and the same character as the Tchaouachas and the Ouachas, with whom they have always been allied, and who also speak almost the same language ("Les Tchioutimachas qui demeurent à six lieues des Houmas sur la gauche du fleuve sont du même génie, et du même caractère que les Tchaouachas, et les Ouachas auxquels ils ont toujours été alliés, et dont ils parlent aussi presque la même langue").

This carries the stock boundary of the Chitimacha eastward over all of Bayou La Fourche and as far as the mouths of the Mississippi.

In general, it may be said that the number, position, and boundaries of all of the linguistic groups of the Southeast, at least those eastward of the Mississippi River, are now satisfactorily established, such lacunæ as exist being small and of little apparent importance.



NOTES ON ALGONQUIAN LANGUAGES<sup>1</sup>

By TRUMAN MICHELSON

NOTES ON FOX VERBAL COMPOSITION.—I have tried to show in the "American Anthropologist" (N. S., 15: 473 *et seq.*) that the very great firmness in the verbal complex was more apparent than real. In the present paper I propose to emphasize a special feature which escaped me at the time; namely, that what I have termed "incorporation" should rather be called "loose composition," for it is desirable to restrict the word "incorporation" to such cases as lose their word-forming elements in the verbal complex. In the above-mentioned paper I have given some examples which clearly show that such elements are not lost in the Fox verbal complex; but, to bring this out more patently, it may be well to amplify the material. The examples are all taken from my unpublished texts, with a few exceptions which are from Jones's "Fox Texts." The phonetic system employed is that of Jones; but I should state, that, after several seasons' field-work with the Foxes, I am convinced that this system is inadequate in a number of important points. As long as this paper does not deal with purely phonetic problems, however, it is justifiable to use a known system rather than confuse the reader with a new transcription of the same language. The sections (§) referred to are those of the Algonquian sketch in the "Handbook of American Indian Languages." Jones's "Fox Texts"<sup>2</sup> and "Kickapoo Tales"<sup>3</sup> are quoted respectively "J." and "J. Kickapoo," followed by reference to page and line.

A good illustration of this looseness in composition is *ā'pōnuwīpitwāwanaiyowātci* THEN THEY CEASED USING THEIR TEETH. Observe that *uwīpitwāwan*<sup>i</sup> THEIR TEETH

occurs in the middle of a verbal complex, but suffers no elimination of the pronominal elements *u—wāwan*<sup>i</sup> (§ 45) beyond that of the terminal <sup>i</sup>, which would be lost also if we had to deal with a verbal stem. The initial *ai* of the stem *aiyo* is responsible for this alone, exactly as is the initial *u* of *uwīpitwāwan*<sup>i</sup> for the loss of the terminal <sup>i</sup> of the stem *pōni* CESSATION (see § 16). Such a loss is not comparable with the elimination of terminal *w* of nouns before the possessive suffix *m*: e.g., *ketūgimāmenānag*<sup>i</sup> OUR [inclusive] CHIEFS (J. 62.22) as contrasted with *ugimāw*<sup>a</sup> CHIEF, the <sup>a</sup> of which is a suffix showing that the noun is singular and animate; and with the denominative *ugimāwis*<sup>a</sup> HE WOULD HAVE BECOME CHIEF (J. 26.16), in which *i* is the copula, and *s*<sup>a</sup> is the verbal pronoun of the potential subjunctive third person animate singular (§ 30). Had we true cases like this in verbal complexes, we should call them "incorporations." Examples like *kī'u'tūgimānipen*<sup>a</sup> THOU SHALT BE CHIEF TO US (J. 8.3) do not count; for *tūgimām* is simply abstracted from the possessed noun, and then verbalized in the manner shown in the above-mentioned paper. A supposed case in which certain elements were thought to be eliminated (American Anthropologist, 15: 473) has turned out to be erroneous. The error was induced by two factors; namely, a mistrans-

<sup>4</sup> A word like *netūgimām*<sup>a</sup> MY CHIEF, reconstructed by myself, but absolutely certain in formation (cf. the Kickapoo vocative *netūgimāme* O MY CHIEF! [J. Kickapoo 86.17, 26]), would bring this out more clearly. The difference in the vowel-quantities, supported by Kickapoo, is unexplained.—The elimination of *w* before the possessive suffix *m* occurs also in Cree, Ojibwa, and Algonkin; very probably also in other Algonquian dialects. Lacombe has a completely wrong explanation. Owing to phonetic laws, the state of affairs in Ojibwa and Algonkin is largely disguised.

<sup>1</sup> Printed with permission of the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution.

<sup>2</sup> William Jones, Fox Texts (PAES 1).

<sup>3</sup> William Jones, Kickapoo Tales (PAES 9).

lation on the part of an interpreter, and a faulty phonetic restoration on my part.

In the paper mentioned above I also stated that incorporation of the nominal object did not occur.<sup>1</sup> It does not if we follow the argument of the preceding paragraph; we do find loose composition wherein the objective noun is in the midst of a verbal complex. The example of the preceding paragraph is absolutely parallel to *nepyātcikelānesawāpamāpen*<sup>a</sup> WE HAVE COME TO SEE THY DAUGHTER.<sup>2</sup> In this verbal complex, *ketānes*<sup>a</sup> THY DAUGHTER is treated precisely as it would be in a sentence before a word beginning with a consonant. If I am asked to define under what circumstances the nominal object is within the verbal compound and when without it, I candidly admit I do not know, any more than I know under precisely what conditions particles, independent pronouns (see below), and so on, occur within or without the verbal complex. I say this, after going over hundreds of pages of Fox texts; and it is precisely this inability to define the conditions that leads me to believe in an extreme looseness of structure: that is, for the greater part there are no hard and fast rules.

To go on with examples. An example where a locative singular of a noun is in a verbal complex without losing the locative-making element is *pwāwaskutāgipagise'kamān*<sup>a</sup> THAT I DID NOT JAM MY FOOT IN THE FIRE (J. 306.21). Here *askutāgi* IN THE FIRE is between two verbal stems.

The following are some cases in which independent personal pronouns are found in the heart of verbal compounds: *īnitcā'*<sup>i</sup> *wī'utcinānīnānatāpwe'tōnāg'* THAT VERILY IS WHY WE SHALL BELIEVE YOU (*nīnān*<sup>a</sup> WE

<sup>1</sup>For recent discussions of nominal incorporation in American Indian languages, see Boas, Handbook of American Indian Languages, Part I. (BBAE 40: 74, 75); Putnam Anniversary Volume, 436; Sapir, AA N. S., 13: 250-282; Kroeber, XVI Internat. Amerikanisten-Kongress, 569-576; AA N. S., 13: 577-584.

<sup>2</sup>See Journ. Wash. Acad. Sc., 4: 405.

excl., § 44), *ketcāgimegukīnwāwakegāpihenepwā*<sup>a</sup> *āme'tosāneniwile'kāsoyāgw*<sup>a</sup> I HAVE PLACED IT ALL FOR YOU WHO ARE CALLED MORTALS (*kīnwāw*<sup>a</sup> YOU, § 44), *kīwīcigimegune'kīnwāwapesetawipen*<sup>a</sup> YOU ARE TO LISTEN VERY ATTENTIVELY TO US (*kīnwāw*<sup>a</sup> YOU, § 44). From these it appears that not only subjective, but objective, independent pronouns may occur in the midst of a verbal compound. It should be noticed that the presence of the independent pronouns does not in the least affect the verbal pronouns (for *-nāg'* see § 29; for *ke-nepw*<sup>a</sup>, § 28; for *kī-īpen*<sup>a</sup>, § 28). It is to be noted that in all cases a particle occurs before the independent pronoun. Whether this will turn out to be an unvarying rule, I do not know.

Instances of demonstrative pronouns occurring in verbal complexes without suffering the loss of such terminal elements as show animateness or inanimateness, and singularity or plurality, are: *kīcīnakānōne'k'* AFTER THAT ONE HAS TOLD THEE (*kīcī-*, *kānō-*, § 16; *īna*, § 47; *n*, § 21, but conventionalized [American Anthropologist, N.S., 15: 476]; *e* to prevent *-nk-*, § 8; *'k'*, § 29); *kīcīnigut'* AFTER HE WAS TOLD THAT (for *kīcī-īni-i-gu-tc'*; *kīcī-*, *i*, § 16; *īn'* THAT, inanimate sing., § 47; *tc'*, § 29); *kīcīnātcimut'* AFTER HE NARRATED THAT (for *kīcī-īni-ātcimut'*, and written correspondingly in the current syllabary; only an apparent exception to the above statement: the terminal *'* of *īn'* is not lost, because it is in front of a verbal stem *per se*; it is elided because the stem begins with a vowel; it would be elided outside of a compound if the next word began with a vowel; the loss of *i* of *kīcī* is referred to in § 16); *ā'pūcimanikīcāgut'cisanagināgwā'k'* THAT THIS CONTINUES TO LOOK AS DIFFICULT AS POSSIBLE (*man'* THIS, inanimate sing., § 47).

In the above-mentioned paper I have given some examples of indefinite pronouns being in the middle of verbal complexes. The point that I wish to emphasize is, that the terminal grammatical elements are treated



precisely the same as they would be outside of a compound, and that whatever phonetic changes they suffer is not due to intimate association in the compound. Thus *uwīyā'*<sup>a</sup> SOMEBODY (§ 48) becomes *uwīyā'a*, because the stem *kaski* ABILITY begins with a consonant. Similarly Kickapoo *awīyāhi* SOMETHING retains the terminal *i* to show that the form is inanimate singular (J. Kickapoo, 127). A less clear case is Fox *wī'pwāwuwīyā'anā-kwamāminilc'* THAT NO ONE WOULD BE SICK. This stands for *wī'pwāwi-uwīyā'ani-ā-kwamāminilc'*. The elision of *i* in both instances is due to ordinary euphonic rules. The difficulty is, that in the sentence it is necessary to carefully distinguish identity and difference in the third person, a well-known feature of Algonquian languages. Hence it is that *uwīyā'*<sup>a</sup> needs an obviative, which is *uwīyā'an'*. The obviatives of indefinite pronouns are not discussed in the Fox sketch in the "Handbook of American Indian Languages," but they exist; exactly as do obviatives of demonstrative pronouns, pointed out by me elsewhere (J. Kickapoo, 127). The formation is exactly the same as in animate nouns. Note that terminal *an'* loses its *i* because a vowel immediately follows, and for no other reason. For *wī—aminilc'*, see §§ 29, 34; *i*, § 21; *pwāwi*, below, p. 54; *ā-kwama* is the stem, meaning SICK. Another example is *ā'pwāwigāmegupwīyā'anikas-ki-pyānutaminilc'* IT IS INDEED SAID THAT NO ONE SUCCEEDED IN REACHING IT (a wigwam). In this case the terminal *i* of *uwīyā'an'* has become full-sounding, as a consonant immediately follows. A brief analysis of the whole compound is: *ā—aminilc'*, §§ 29, 34; *pwāwi*, an original verbal stem which in Fox is used as a modal negation; *gā* and *megu*, particles of weak meanings; *p* for *pi*, a quotative (cf. § 41); *kaski* ABILITY, *pyā* MOVEMENT HITHERWARD, both well-known verbal stems (§ 16); *nu*, a verbal stem of no independent existence; the combination *pyānu* means REACH.

The inclusion of particles and adverbs within verbal compounds has been sufficiently illustrated in the above-mentioned paper. I may add, however, that it would be an easy matter to give almost unlimited examples.

Formerly I could give but two examples of verbal compounds included within other verbal compounds. To these I now add *ā'pwāwimegunanācīma'katāwinō'i'netc'* HE NEVER WAS TOLD, "FAST." This stands for *ā'pwāwi-megu-nanāci-ma'katāwinō-inelc'*; *ma'katāwinō* is a rhetorical lengthening of *ma'katāwin* (see § 6); the imperative sentence is in the midst of another sentence. For *-n'* see § 31; *ā—etc'*, § 41; *pwāwi*, as above; similarly *megu*; *nanāci*, an adverb, used apparently only with negatives, with the combined sense of NEVER; *i*, § 16; *n*, § 21, but conventionalized in meaning.

This leads me to discuss a new type of verbal composition; namely, where, from our point of view, Fox has a sentence within a verbal compound, which, from the Fox point of view, is quite distinct from the type above. An example is *kekicimeguyōwenepowānemenepēn<sup>a</sup>* WE INDEED ALREADY THOUGHT YOU WERE DEAD. This stands for *ke-kici-meguyōwe-nep-o-w-āne-m-e-nepēn<sup>a</sup>*: *kici* and *megu* have been explained above; *yōwe* is an adverb meaning IN THE PAST, *āne* is a stem which, so far as known, cannot occur independently, and has the meaning MENTAL ACTIVITY (§ 18); *m* is used simply to transitive the verb (§ 37); *e* is to prevent the combination *mn*; *ke—nepēn<sup>a</sup>* are the subjective and objective pronominal elements (§ 28); *nep* is a verbal stem of considerable independence, meaning TO DIE; I cannot as yet give the value of *o*, but we find *nepohīw<sup>a</sup>* as well as *nepw<sup>a</sup>*, apparently both with the same meaning; the *w* is also unexplained, but see p. 53. In the combination, *nep* is simply an object clause. An example almost the same as the above is *wālcī nepowānemenāg<sup>a</sup>* WHY WE THOUGHT YOU WERE DEAD. For *-nāg<sup>a</sup>*, the pronominal elements, see § 29. On the same order is

*kīcikīgānowānemag<sup>i</sup>* I THOUGHT THEY HAD COMPLETED THEIR CLAN-FEAST: *kīci*, *āne*, and *m* have been explained above, and *w* has been referred to; *Ag<sup>i</sup>* is a termination of the conjunctive mode showing that I is the subject and THEM (animate) the object; *kīgānu* is a verbal stem TO HOLD A CLAN-FEAST. Observe that no subjective pronouns in the object-clause are expressed. In a way, it resembles accusative and infinitive construction in Latin indirect discourse. Nearly allied is *nepecigwānemegōtug<sup>e</sup>* HE PROBABLY THOUGHT ME UPRIGHT. The analysis is: *ne—gō* for *ne—gw<sup>e</sup>* (§ 28) before the affix *tug<sup>e</sup>* PROBABLY, the phonetics are not treated in the Fox sketch; *āneme*, explained above; *pecigw* for *pecigwi* before a vowel; *pecigwi* means UPRIGHT in the moral sense. Compare *kepecigwiłcāmegumaniwīłamōnepw<sup>a</sup>* I TRULY INDEED TELL YOU THIS UPRIGHTLY, a compound of the type discussed above (*tcā*, *megu*, *mani*, included within a verbal compound; *ke—nepw<sup>a</sup>*, § 28; *amō*, § 34; stem probably *wī*, not *wīł* as in § 16; *t*, § 21), and *pecigwimeg<sup>u</sup>* *mełosānemīwigwāni* WHOSEVER LIVES UPRIGHTLY.

Another novel type of composition is *cāgwānemowināgwatw<sup>i</sup>* IT SEEMS THAT THEY ARE UNWILLING: *cāgw*, UNWILLING, § 16; *āne*, MENTAL ACTIVITY, § 19; *mo*, §§ 21, 40; *w<sup>i</sup>* is the inanimate singular pronoun of the independent mode, § 28; *nāgwat* cannot be analyzed in a completely satisfactory manner, but it is evident that it is to be connected with a stem *nāgu* APPEARANCE, LOOK (§ 18), which apparently cannot occur in initial positions; and at the same time the posterior portion resembles the copula *gwat*, § 20; it is possible that *nāgwat* is for *\*nāgugwat* (cf. § 13); but it is also possible that we have a copula *at*, for all inanimate copulas are not given in § 20 (for instance, *t* in *myānetw<sup>i</sup>* IT IS BAD as contrasted with *myānesiw<sup>a</sup>* HE IS BAD); and it will be noted that the animate copula *si* goes with *nāgu*. [Ojibwa has a formation that corresponds exactly to *nāgwat*. April, 1917.] Note

that *cāgwānemo* starts out just as if animate intransitive verbal pronouns were to be immediately suffixed, whereas none are. The element *wī* is at present completely obscure, though it may be cognate to the *w* mentioned above, and compare the *w* in two examples below. Observe, furthermore, that a verbal stem is found farther on in the compound, which is quite contrary to the ordinary views of Algonquian grammar. The two examples referred to above are *wīłacimamātumowapīłc<sup>i</sup>* HE SHALL SIT IN WORSHIP THERE and *mamātumowitāhāt<sup>c</sup>* HE IS PRAYERFUL IN FEELING. We cannot tell whether the element is *w* or *wī*; for the *i*, in any case, would be elided before the *A* of *apī* TO SIT (§ 16) and *itā* TO FEEL (§ 18). The analysis otherwise is *wī—tc<sup>i</sup>*, § 29; *lacī* THERE, § 16; *ma*, § 25; *mātu* PRAY, a verbal stem of considerable independence, § 16; *mo*, §§ 21, 40; *apī*, a verbal stem of considerable independence, § 16; *itā*, a verbal stem of apparently limited position, § 18; *tc<sup>i</sup>*, § 29; *hā*, a connective stem, practically a copula, § 20. Observe that both these compounds start out as if animate intransitive verbal pronouns were immediately to follow, whereas they do not; and other verbal stems occur farther on in the compounds, which are the same anomalies as those referred to above.

Yet another novel type of composition is *kewīłcīłcāmegutāpesimenepw<sup>a</sup>* I AM INDEED TRULY HAPPY WITH YOU. The inclusion of the particles *tcā* VERILY, TRULY, and *megu*, is of the type discussed above. The analysis of the other elements is: *ke—nepw<sup>a</sup>*, the subjective and objective pronouns of the entire complex, § 28; *wī*, initial stem, meaning ASSOCIATION; *tcī*, the same element as appears in conjunction with *pyā* (*pyātci*), *sāgi* (*sāgītcī*), etc., the exact meaning of which is unknown, and probably is conventionalized in use; *tāpe*, an initial stem HAPPY; *si*, the copula, § 20; *m*, to transitivize the verb, § 37; *e*, to prevent the combination *mn*, § 8. Observe that in this compound we have the copula immediately before the transitivizing suffix.



I think that the explanation is that *tāpesi* is taken as a unit. This is confirmed by *kīwāpesīhihegōg<sup>i</sup>* THEY WILL SET YOU CRAZY, J. 308.21 (*kī—gōg<sup>i</sup>*, § 28; *sī*, apparently for *si*; *hi*, § 20; *h*, §§ 21, 37; *e*, § 8). In this compound also the copula precedes the transitivizing suffix. For *tāpesi* and *wāpesi*, note *ā'tāpesiwāt<sup>c</sup>* THEY WERE HAPPY (*ā—wāt<sup>c</sup>*, § 29), *nekatawiwāpes<sup>i</sup>* I HAVE ALMOST GONE CRAZY, J. 308.18 (*ne-*, § 28; *katawi* ALMOST).

THE POSITION OF THE FOX VERBAL STEM *kaski* ("ABILITY").—In the "American Anthropologist" (N. S., 15 : 475) I stated that the Fox verbal stem *kaski* could not occur outside a compound. I have just discovered from a text recently collected that it can do this very thing: thus, *kī'uwīgipwameg<sup>a</sup> kaski nōleg<sup>i</sup>* YOU (pl.) WILL BE ABLE TO LIVE THERE WHEN IT IS WINDY.

REMARKS ON THE PHONETIC ELEMENTS OF FOX.—On p. 50 I stated that I do not consider Jones's phonetic scheme adequate for the Fox dialect. Our chief points of difference are: that I hear aspirations before all initial vowels and diphthongs, after all terminal voiceless vowels, and after all vowels when followed by sibilants; long vowels for short, and *vice versa*; *ō* for *ū* always; sometimes *o* for *u*; always *u* for *o* initially and terminally, rarely otherwise; but one sound ('') for *h* and '*;* *ck* always for *sk*; surd stops as glides after sonant stops when immediately preceding terminal voiceless vowels which are at the same time aspirated; a voiceless *w* after stops in the same position; surd *m* and *n* as glides after *m* and *n* respectively in the same positions; a fricative that begins as a sonant stop, gliding into a surd fricative, for *tc* when preceding the terminal voiceless aspirated vowels, and in a few other cases; glides for Jones's inverted periods; the main accent in different positions; *'ā-* (Jones *ā-*) and *wī-* everywhere in verbal complexes, and not solely before *k*, *t*, *p*.

A SECOND NOTE ON FOX PWĀWI.—In the "American Anthropologist" (N. S., 15 : 364) I pointed out, that, from the evidence of Kick-

apoo, we must consider Fox *pwāwi-*, the negative particle of the conjunctive and certain other subordinate modes, to be a primary stem. At the time I overlooked the fact that the published Cree, Ojibwa, and Algonkin material also supported this view (see Lacombe, under *pwā* [*être impuissant*], etc.; Baraga, under *bwāma*, etc.; Lemoine, under *incapable* [*pwā-*, *pwa-*, *pwāwi-*]; Cuoq, under *pwa-*, *pwāwi-*). I may add that Ojibwa *ninbwāma* I CANNOT PREVAIL UPON HIM is to be analyzed thus: *nin—a*, the subjective and objective pronominal elements; *bwā*, the primary stem; *-m-*, the instrumental particle DONE WITH THE MOUTH, with animate object. Evidently the *wi* of Fox *pwāwi-* and Algonkin *pwāwi-*, *pwāwi-*, needs further elucidation. Shawnee *pwā*, the equivalent of Fox *pwāwi-*, sheds no light on the problem, owing to the phonetics of that language.

REMARKS ON THE PHONETICS OF THE GULL LAKE DIALECT OF OJIBWA.—The material from which these notes are taken was gathered about two years ago from a single informant; namely, William Potter, at that time sixty-one years old. The informant was nearly a full-blooded Indian, and spoke but broken English. We may therefore presume that his pronunciation is characteristic of the dialect. These notes are assembled here in the belief that they will be of interest, and stimulate others to note peculiarities of the various Ojibwa dialects. They are not exhaustive, and other points in the phonetics of this dialect may surely be found out by a protracted study; for a half-hour with the informant was all that was possible, owing to his own pressing business in Washington. Some features of the Gull Lake dialect are thus far quite unique, not occurring in the dialects of Bois Fort or Fort William or Leech Lake, to judge from the texts of William Jones and De Jong. It is to be hoped that Radin's texts may be published soon, that the phonetics may be compared with those of the Gull Lake dialect.

1. *Glottal Stop*.—The glottal stop is often found where other writers have recorded nothing. Examples are *nickā'disi*<sup>2</sup> HE IS ANGRY, *minōnā'gusi*<sup>2</sup> SHE IS GOOD-LOOKING. The glottal stop doubtless is a relic of the personal pronoun,—Fox *-w*<sup>2</sup> in Jones's transcription; or *-w*<sup>2</sup>, as I think correct. The *si* in both cases is the copula.

2. *Weakly Articulated Vowels*.—Long vowels at times are followed by corresponding weakly articulated short vowels which are voiced, not voiceless. At present I cannot formulate a rule governing the usage. Examples are: *sī,bi'* RIVER, *pimuse'* HE WALKS PAST, *nā,na'n* FIVE, *mī,dā'c* AND, *wā,bañg'* TO-MORROW, *wī,nad'* IT IS DIRTY. Something like this apparently occurs in the dialects of Bois Fort and Fort William.

3. *The Correspondent to 'k of Other Dialects*.—The 'k of other Ojibwa dialects goes back to a sibilant followed by a palatal surd stop. In the Gull Lake dialect we have a marked aspiration, followed by a glottal stop and then a surd stop, which is certainly velar as compared with English *k*, but not as pronounced as the surd velar stop of the Northwest-coast Indian languages. Probably it is akin to the corresponding Paiute sound. Examples are, *a'qi'* GROUND, *ma'qwa* BEAR.

4. *Terminal Aspirations*.—Terminally after stops I hear very distinct aspirations. It is very probable that sonant stops glide into surds before the aspiration, as is the case in Potawatomi, but I find that I have not recorded the glide in most cases. In Fox, sonant stops always glide into surds before terminal vowels which are both voiceless and aspirated. We may therefore conclude that the phenomenon is old. Examples from the Gull Lake dialect are, *ma'qwaḡ<sup>h</sup>* BEARS, *wī,nad'* IT IS DIRTY, *mā'jimāḡwad<sup>h</sup>* IT SMELLS BADLY.

MISCELLANEOUS NOTES.—The miscellany presented here deals with a number of novel points in Algonquian philology, which are assembled in the belief that, as our knowledge

is so woefully deficient, it is suitable to promptly publish any new facts that are firmly established. I have adhered to Jones's Fox phonetic scheme for the reasons set forth on p. 50.

*The Change of n to c*.—In the "American Anthropologist" (N. S., 15:470 *et seq.*) and "Journal of the Washington Academy of Sciences" (4:403) I have shown that *n* becomes *c* before *i*, which is either a new morphological element or the initial sound of such an element in Fox, Potawatomi, Ojibwa, and probably in Shawnee. From my last summer's field-work this last is amply confirmed. I also find, from my early work with the Menominee, that we have the same or an allied phenomenon (*s* for *c*) in that dialect. From the material contained in the works of Cuq and Lemoine, it is patent that in Algonkin we have the same or a similar phenomenon (e.g., *mikaj* BATS-LE, in which a final *i* has been lost, as shown by Fox, etc.). From my work in Peoria last summer, it is evident that the same phenomenon occurs in that dialect, but apparently a preceding original *i* cancels the law. The *n*, of course, is replaced by *l*. Examples are: *mā'ci'ta'* HE WHO COPULATED WITH ME (stem *ma*; vowel-change, as the form is a participial; *-i'ta'* HE—ME) as contrasted with *malitilāwā<sup>n</sup>* LET US COPULATE (*i*, to prevent the combination *li*; *tī*, sign of the reciprocal, as in Fox, etc.; *tāwā<sup>n</sup>*, the termination of the intransitive first person inclusive of the imperative, corresponding to Fox *tāw<sup>e</sup>*); *pī'ci'ta'* HE WHO BROUGHT ME (stem *pī*, for older *pyā* [Fox *pyā*], hence not contradicting the law; *c*, the instrumental particle DONE BY THE HAND, owing to the action of the law; *i* for *i* before sibilants); *pī'ci<sup>n</sup>* BRING THOU HIM (*i<sup>n</sup>*, THOU—HIM of the imperative mode, Fox *i*); *pī'ci'yāñḡ<sup>ki</sup>* YE BROUGHT US (*i'yāñḡ<sup>ki</sup>*, YE—US of the conjunctive mode [Ojibwa *iīḡḡ*, from Baraga; Algonkin *iīḡḡ*, from Lemoine]); *kīpī'cimwa<sup>n</sup>* YE BROUGHT ME (*ki—imwa<sup>n</sup>*, the pronominal elements for YE—ME in the independent mode [Ojibwa and



Algonkin *ki—im*, from Baraga and Lemoine; see also folder at end of RBAE 28]); *pī'ciwā'* 'KITCE THEY MUST BRING ME (*iwā'kitce*, the pronominal elements for THEY—ME in the potential mode; apparently Fox has the medial portion in a reversed order; Kickapoo apparently agrees with Peoria),—all as contrasted with *kipīlāmi'na* WE BROUGHT THEM (*ki—āmina*, the pronominal elements for WE [inclusive]—THEM [animate] of the independent mode [Potawatomi has a similar termination: see RBAE 28:267]; *l* is the instrumental particle DONE BY THE HAND); *pīlatci'* THOU BROUGHTEST THEM (*atci'* THOU—THEM [animate] of the conjunctive mode; compare the equivalents in Fox, Sauk, Kickapoo, and Shawnee); *pīle'kō'* BRING YE HIM (*e*, to prevent a consonantic cluster foreign to the language; 'kō are the pronominal elements for YE—HIM of the imperative mode [Fox 'k"]); *nimbilā'* I BROUGHT HIM (*nim—ā'* are the elements for I—HIM of the independent mode; *b*, regularly for *p* after a nasal). The action of original *ī* nullifying the law when it immediately precedes the consonant is illustrated by *mīlilō'* GIVE THOU ME (Fox *mīcin*) as contrasted with *nīmī'lā'* (Fox *nemīnāw*) I GAVE HIM. Note also *mīlī'ī'* HE THAT GAVE ME as compared with *pī'ci'ī'*. This proves that Fox *yā* after consonants is more original than Peoria *ī*. The same contraction takes place in Ojibwa and Menominee. Besides establishing the fact that Fox *e* and *i* are more original than Ojibwa *i* (see the papers cited above), the law shows that the terminal vowels in Sauk, Fox, Kickapoo, Shawnee, and Peoria, which are lacking in Ojibwa, etc., are more primitive, as I previously inferred from the evidence of Montagnais (see RBAE 28:247).

*The Interchange of ā and a.*—At the end of § II of the Algonquian sketch in the "Handbook of American Indian Languages" I pointed out that *ā* and *a* interchange in Fox under unknown conditions: e.g., *pyāw* HE COMES, *pyān* COME, *ā'pyālc'* WHEN HE CAME, etc. The same phenomenon

naturally occurs in Sauk and Kickapoo. From my early Shawnee notes (collected in the summer and fall of 1911) and recent (summer and fall of 1916) work with Peoria, I find that we have the same phenomenon in both these dialects, though it is disguised in Peoria owing to phonetic laws. Examples are, Shawnee *pyāw* HE COMES, *pyāle* IF HE COMES. As pointed out above, *yā* after consonants in Peoria contracts to *ī*, and so we find the variation *ī* and *yā*. An example is *pīw* HE COMES as compared with *kipyāmwa* YE COME, *pyātcī* WHEN HE CAME, *pyā'kitce'* HE MUST COME.

*The Conjunctive of the Independent Passive with Obviatives as Subjects.*—The conjunctive of the independent passive with obviatives as subjects is not touched upon in the Algonquian sketch in the "Handbook of American Indian Languages." For *-elc'* we have *-melc'*. Examples are, *ā'inemelc'* THEY WERE TOLD, *ānesemelc' ugyān' Acāha'* HIS MOTHER WAS SLAIN BY THE SIOUX, *ulāneswāwa'* *āmenemelc'* THEIR DAUGHTERS WERE CAPTURED. In the examples given, terminal vowels have not been elided before initial ones, that the point at issue may not be obscured.

THE LINGUISTIC CLASSIFICATION OF MOHEGAN-PEQUOT.—The material upon which I base my classification is contained in the articles by Speck and Prince in Volumes 5 and 6 of the "American Anthropologist," N. S. In my "Preliminary report on the Linguistic Classification of Algonquian Tribes" (RBAE 28) I left the affiliations of this dialect undecided. Prince and Speck (*l.c.* 5:195) say: "Pequot, a dialect which shows a more striking kinship with the idiom of the Rhode Island Narragansetts and with the present speech of the Canadian Abenakis than with the language of the Lenni Lenāpe Mohicans . . . it seems probable either that the Pequot-Mohicans were only distantly akin to the Mohicans of the Hudson River region, or that the Pequots had modified their language to a New England form during the years of their

migration into Connecticut. The former theory is the more likely of the two." At the time, hardly more could be said. Since then, however, enough material has been gathered to definitely settle the question. The tables in my "Preliminary Report" show clearly that Canadiān Abenaki and Natick do not belong closely together; and the evidence that Narragansett linguistically belongs with Natick is quite conclusive. A few summers ago I was able to gather a few texts and a vocabulary of the Mohicans of the Hudson River region, which I hope will soon be published; and this new material, together with similar material published by Prince in Volume 7 of the "Anthropologist," N. S., establish firmly the conjecture of Prince and Speck that Pequot and Mohican are not closely related, though, as I shall show later on, Mohican is more closely related to Pequot than it is to Delaware-Munsee, contrary to the prevalent belief. I think the following facts prove that Mohegan-Pequot belongs with the Natick division of Central Algonquian languages: a

sibilant is retained before *k*, *q*, but lost before a dental stop<sup>1</sup> (*squaaw* WOMAN; *metoog* TREE); the inanimate plural ends in *sh* (*nish* THOSE); the verbal pronouns of the independent mode for I—THEE are *g—sh* (*germeesh* I GIVE THEE); the verbal pronoun of the imperative mode for the second person singular is a sibilant (*beush* COME, *cowish* GO TO SLEEP). These features are characteristic of Natick (see RBAE 28: 272–275; and Eliot, in the Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 2d ser., 9). From the scanty material available, it would seem that Mohegan-Pequot is a *y* dialect, thus agreeing with Narragansett, rather than a dialect in which *n* at times is totally eliminated, as Prince and Speck would have it. However, this is a minor point.

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<sup>1</sup> Where a sibilant is retained before a dental stop, a medial vowel has been lost; e.g., *wūstū* HE MADE = Fox 'A'ci'tōw'; cf. Ojibwa *uji* TO MAKE. (The etymology of *wūstū* was previously unknown.)



## A PASSAMAQUODDY TOBACCO FAMINE

By J. DYNELEY PRINCE

THE following curious tale was related to me at St. Andrew's, New Brunswick, by Bennett N. Francis of the Passamaquoddy tribe of Pleasant Point (Me.) Reservation (*Sibáiyik*). The story is interesting, in that it indicates how precious a commodity the Indian tobacco was in the sparsely settled districts. The *dramatis personæ* are the usual magically endowed hero and a companion, in this case his little brother (*osimi's'l*), and the mysterious old woman who forms the *staffage* around which the exploits of the hero are grouped. Like so many eastern Algonquin tales, it runs along in jerky conversational style, and has no particular ending. The hero obtains his tobacco from the demon, while flying; and then the story rambles on, describing his escape from her vengeance, with no account of what actually happened. Linguistically, the tale is in very pure Passamaquoddy with some highly idiomatic combinations, indicated in the following commentary.

The Passamaquoddies live about four hundred strong at Pleasant Point, Me., and about one hundred and fifty persons near Princeton, Me. They show no signs of diminishing numerically, and retain their language with great persistence. The small children all speak in Indian much better than in English, a certain evidence that their idiom is not going to perish with the present generation. These people are linguistically identical with the Maliseet, or St. John's River Indians, whose headquarters are near Fredericton, N. B. As there are nearly five hundred of these, it is safe to estimate that about a thousand persons still speak Passamaquoddy.

Students interested in this highly characteristic eastern Algonquin language will find material published by me as follows:—

Morphology of the Passamaquoddy Language of Maine (Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society, 53: 92-117), a fairly full grammatical sketch, with paradigms and discussion.

Kulóskap the Master (Funk & Wagnalls, 1902), folk-lore.

American Anthropologist, 9: 310-316; 11: No. 4. Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences, 11: 369-377; 13: 381-386.

Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society, 36: 479-498; 38: 181-189.

Compare also Hastings, Dictionary of Religions, subject "Algonquins," on the religion of these people.

I intend to publish shortly a complete chrestomathy of Passamaquoddy tales, with dictionary and grammatical sketch, as the oral "literature" of this race has been much neglected.

## W'ma'tagwe'sso

(The Man with the Rabbit)

Wut-a'gw ne'kw<sup>1</sup> w'sk<sup>1</sup>'jin<sup>2</sup> yu'tau'tomike'e'e<sup>3</sup>  
Once upon a time an Indian scared up (from  
the tall grass)

ma'tagwe'sul.<sup>4</sup> w'tazowita''kozi'nul.<sup>5</sup> ma'-  
a rabbit. He throws it over (his He  
shoulder).

<sup>1</sup> wut-a'gw ne'kw: wut THAT+demonstrative -agw; ne'kw=ONCE, THAT ONCE (cf. note 2, p. 60).

<sup>2</sup> w'sk<sup>1</sup>'jin the usual word for INDIAN.

<sup>3</sup> yu'tau'tomike'sso HE STARTED HIM UP (the words FROM THE TALL GRASS are an addition of the narrator's): yu'ta HERE + w'tomike'sso (from temg TRAMPLE, seen in k'temgago'kech THEY WILL TRAMPLE YOU, k'temgibi'lkon HE WILL TRAMPLE THEE, w'temgite'km'n HE STUMBLES OVER IT).

<sup>4</sup> ma'tagwe'sso RABBIT; with the obviative -ul (see w'ma'tagwe'sso, note 25, p. 59).

<sup>5</sup> w'tazowita''kozi'nul; from ake BEND, THROW; the form may be analyzed: w'=3d per. + t- infix + a'zowi OVER + t- infix + a'kos THROW OVER + inul verb-ending = IT (animate). With a'zowi, cf. azos ON TOP, seen in a'sosuw'n HAT, a'snumelô'k LAP (see below), ot-asho'nel BED-CLOTHES=COVERINGS, etc. With a'kos, cf. the same stem in tesa'giu OVER, ACROSS, kwuska'phin SET ME OVER. The idea SHOULDER is not expressed.

jehan <sup>1</sup>	nimi'an <sup>2</sup>	m'dawa'kwem <sup>3</sup>	
goes along;	he sees	a pole	
p'kwuna'kwe'ta'zul. <sup>4</sup>	osimi'z'l <sup>5</sup>	ni'tta <sup>6</sup>	
peeled.	With his little brother	then	
majeau'sa'nia. <sup>7</sup>	s'la'ki'dé <sup>8</sup>	nod'wa'wal <sup>9</sup>	
he goes.	Then	he hears	
wa'sis'l <sup>10</sup>	mededemi'lit. <sup>11</sup>	macheau'sa'nia <sup>12</sup>	
a child	crying.	They go along;	
w't-asi'kwa'nia <sup>13</sup>	pu'chinskwe'sul <sup>14</sup>	wa'sis'l	
they meet	Pu'chinskwe;	a child	
pemipaha'jil. <sup>15</sup>	pwaska'polal <sup>16</sup>	wa'ji	
she is carrying.	She shakes it	in order	
sosde'mit <sup>17</sup>	wa'sis.	elmosa'tit <sup>18</sup>	ma'lum-de
to make it	the	As they go	then
cry,	child.	along,	

<sup>1</sup> *ma'jehan* HE GOES (from *maj-* [passim]).

<sup>2</sup> *nimi'an* HE SEES IT; really SEEING IT (participle). The stem *nim* occurs *passim* (note 19, p. 60).

<sup>3</sup> *m'dawa'kwem* POLE; cf. *m'tewa'g'nem* FLAG-POLE.

<sup>4</sup> *p'kwuna'kwe'ta'zul* IT PEELED, with 3d per. -*ul*. The root is *p'kwun*, as in *kis-p'kwuna'sik* WHAT HAD BEEN PEELED.

<sup>5</sup> *osimi'z'l*; diminutive from *si'wes* BROTHER.

<sup>6</sup> *nitta* = THEN; *nit* = THAT TIME, THEN + *ta* (particle).

<sup>7</sup> *majeau'sa'nia*: literally, WITH HIS LITTLE BROTHER THEY GO; the dual idea attracting the verb into the plural; cf. the similar expression in Russian: WE WITH YOU = YOU AND I (see note 12).

<sup>8</sup> *s'laki-de* THEN, a common resumptive; appears reduplicated in *seslaki*.

<sup>9</sup> *nod'wa'wal* HE HEARS HIM (from *nod* HEAR).

<sup>10</sup> *wa'sis'l* CHILD = *wa'sis*, with obviative -*l* (-*ul*).

<sup>11</sup> *mededemi'lit* HIM CRYING; obviative of *mede-demi* HE (SHE) CRIES. *Mede-* is durative. With the stem *dem* (*tem*) CRY, cf. *sa'sdemo* IT CRIES, and see notes 17; 15, p. 60; 16, p. 62).

<sup>12</sup> *macheau'sa'nia*: cf. footnote 7, *majeau'sa'nia*. The narrator distinctly said *ch* here, although *j* would be expected between vowels.

<sup>13</sup> *w'tasi'kwa'nia* THEY MEET (from *a'sik*, as in *w'naji-asikwa'nia* THEY GO OUT TO MEET HIM).

<sup>14</sup> *Pu'chinskwe* a malevolent female demon.

<sup>15</sup> *pemipaha'jil*: *pemi* (durative) + *p* CARRY + the obviative ending; cf. *opemi'phal* SHE CARRIES HIM; *pemi'ta'sik* A LOAD = SOMETHING CARRIED.

<sup>16</sup> *pwaska'polal*: the root seems to be *p'wa*; cf. *elli-pewa'tkik* HE SHAKES HIMSELF.

<sup>17</sup> *wa'ji sosde'mit* = SO THAT (*wa'ji*) IT SHALL CRY (*sosde'mit*); cf. note 11 on *dem*, and note 15, p. 60.

<sup>18</sup> *elm-osa'tit* = *elmi* (durative) + *os* GO + participial ending; cf. *spig-os* GO UP, *p-os* GO IN CANOE, *pech-os* COME TO (cf. note 19).

becho'se'yik <sup>19</sup>	wigwa'mik. <sup>20</sup>	kwussa'sa'n. <sup>21</sup>
they come to	a house.	They enter.
kwuskweso's <sup>22</sup>	ē'bit <sup>23</sup>	k'liu'tu'me'. <sup>24</sup>
An old woman	is sitting,	smoking.
w'ma'tegwe'sso <sup>25</sup>	w'ti'yal <sup>26</sup>	kutsunmi <sup>27</sup>
The man with the	says to her:	"Give me a
rabbit		smoke,
nō'k'mi. <sup>28</sup>	tan-bal <sup>29</sup>	t'li-gizi-gutsunmu'lin <sup>30</sup>
grandmother."	"How	can I give you a smoke?
ni'tte edotsu'ssit <sup>31</sup>	notma'gun. <sup>32</sup>	t'ma'wei <sup>24</sup>
for	nearly gone	my pipe.
	out is	Tobacco

<sup>19</sup> *becho'se'yik* = *pecho'se'yik* with *b* for *p* between vowels; *pech* HITHER, and *os* GO.

<sup>20</sup> *wigwa* HOUSE = PLACE TO LIVE; *wig* = LIVE, and note *wigwas* MOTHER = LIFE-GIVER.

<sup>21</sup> *kwussa'sa'n* THEY ENTER: *kwus* COME ACROSS, seen in *kwuska'phin* SET ME ACROSS; the stem also means ENTER; cf. *k'sa'ha* COME IN imper. (note 23, p. 61), and *kwusse'tese* HE ENTERS (notes 23 and 25, p. 61).

<sup>22</sup> *kwuskweso's* OLD WOMAN.

<sup>23</sup> *ē'bit* SHE (HE) IS SITTING: *ab* = SIT; cf. *ot-ē'bin* HE SITS, *m'sigw-e'ba* HE SITS DOWN.

<sup>24</sup> The narrator pronounced *k'li* throughout instead of *t'li*. *t'li-u'tu'me'* SHE (HE) SMOKES; *w'tem* as in *ni'li-w'te'man* THAT I SMOKE. Note also *wigi-w'te'me* HE LIKES (*wigi*) TO SMOKE (*w'teme*). In *t'mawei* TOBACCO the *w* of the stem is elided (see notes 27, 32; and note 9, p. 60).

<sup>25</sup> *w'ma'tagwe'sso* HE (*w'*) WHO HAS A RABBIT (see note 4, p. 58). The rabbit was his charm.

<sup>26</sup> *w'ti'yal* = *w* + *t* = infix + *i* SAY + *y-* connective, -*al* obviative (cf. note 21, p. 61).

<sup>27</sup> *kutsunmi* GIVE ME TO SMOKE: *k* = 2d per. DO THOU + *utsun* SMOKE + *m* (inanimate) + *i* TO ME. The stem *u'tsum* contains the same element as in *w'te'me*; cf. *elli-kisi-u'tmats* HOW HE SMOKED A PIPE (see notes 24 and 30).

<sup>28</sup> *no'k'mi* MY GRANDMOTHER (from *o'k'mis*). *No'k'mis* with rising tone = DEAD GRANDMOTHER; with falling tone = LIVING GRANDMOTHER (cf. note 4, p. 60).

<sup>29</sup> *tan-bal*: *tan* = interrogative + conditional *ba* + obviative -*l*.

<sup>30</sup> *t'li-gi-si-gutsunmu'lin*: *t'li* for *k't'li*; *k* = 2d per. TO THEE + *gizi* CAN + *g* = *k* (2d per. repeated) + *utsun* SMOKE + *m* (inanimate object) + -*ul* (1st per.) I + *in* (conjunctive participial ending).

<sup>31</sup> *edotsu'ssit* IT HAS GONE OUT = BECOME EXTINGUISHED; the usual word is *nekas-*; cf. *wa we'ji ska neka'swenuk* SO THAT IT SHALL NOT GO OUT.

<sup>32</sup> *notma'gun* MY PIPE = *hutma'gon* PIPE, containing the same stem as *w'teme* and *t'mawei* TOBACCO (note 24).



nu'd'wut.<sup>1</sup> ne'get<sup>2</sup> emegwabi'yit<sup>3</sup>  
 is scarce. Once, when he (was) young,  
 k'mu'sums<sup>4</sup> tabi-nojiptone'p'n<sup>5</sup> t'ma'wei  
 your grand- used to get tobacco  
 father  
 m'ni''kuk.<sup>6</sup> loke''sin<sup>7</sup> nd-a'smelök.<sup>8</sup> ni'tte  
 on an island. Put (your in my lap." Then  
 head)  
 ntulkwe'sm'n.<sup>7</sup> ni'tte ho'd'mun<sup>9</sup> nit-we'ji<sup>10</sup>  
 he lays his head Then he begins after that,  
 down. to smoke;  
 wi'kwipk'do'gih'i'git.<sup>11</sup> (I'dam) naji'pton<sup>12</sup>  
 he inhales (the smoke). (He says) "I will fetch  
 t'ma'wei. ni'tte aüsossada'nin<sup>13</sup>  
 the tobacco." Then began to cry  
 kwuskwe'sos.<sup>14</sup> ke''kw-se<sup>14</sup> mest'e'miyi'n.<sup>15</sup>  
 the old woman. "Why do you cry?" (she says).  
 kada'ta<sup>16</sup> k'tabi-naji'ptowun<sup>17</sup> k't'ma'wei.  
 "Not you cannot get it your tobacco.

<sup>1</sup> *nu'd'wut* IT IS RARE; either an error for, or cognate with, *mud'wut* SCARCE.

<sup>2</sup> *neget* = *nekwi* ONCE; both pronunciations are in use (note 1, p. 58).

<sup>3</sup> *emegwabi'yit* WHEN HE WAS YOUNG. I cannot place the root. The usual form is *ewasi'swiyin* WHEN I WAS A CHILD (*wasis*).

<sup>4</sup> *k'mu'sums* YOUR GRANDFATHER (*mu'sums*). This word, when pronounced with a rising tone on the last syllable, means DEAD GRANDFATHER; with a falling tone = LIVING GRANDFATHER (cf. note 28, p. 59).

<sup>5</sup> *tabi-nojiptone'p'n* USED TO GET. Here *noji* denotes purpose + *pt* OBTAIN + *ēp'n* = past element; cf. *naji'pton* I WILL FETCH (see note 12).

<sup>6</sup> *m'ni''kuk*; *m'ni''kw* ISLAND + locative directive -*uk*. She says to the hero these words.

<sup>7</sup> *loke'sin*: from *loke's* PUT DOWN; cf. *ntu-l'kwe'smin* LAY HIS HEAD DOWN.

<sup>8</sup> *nd-a'smelök* MY LAP, written by Louis Mitchel *nd-a'snumelok*.

<sup>9</sup> *hod'mun* = *how'tem'n* HE SMOKES (from *w'tem*, note 24, p. 59).

<sup>10</sup> *nit weji* AFTER (*weji*) THAT (*nit*).

<sup>11</sup> *wi'kwipk'do'gih'i'git* HE INHALES seems to contain *wi'kw* SUCK + *p-k-d* + (*ih*)-*igit*.

<sup>12</sup> *naji'pton* I WILL FETCH (see note 5).

<sup>13</sup> *aüsossada'nin* SHE BEGINS TO CRY (from *sa'sdemo* IT CRIES; see note 17, p. 59).

<sup>14</sup> *kwuskwe'sos* (see note 22, p. 59). *ke''kw-se* really = WHAT INDEED; WHY is properly *ke'kw-we'ji*.

<sup>15</sup> *meste'miyi'n*: root *tem* (*dem*) CRY, with prefix *mes*, probably durative (notes 11, 17, p. 59).

<sup>16</sup> *kada'ta* NOT = *kada* (*kat*) + *ta*; NOT is usually *ka'dama* (*s-kat* in Maliseet).

k'mach mud'we'yo. tanajia'ga tutha'ntowi'n  
 It is very difficult. If you are very brave,  
 k'tabis-naji'ptowun t'ma'wei.  
 you can get the tobacco."

Ni'tte oma'jehan osemi'z'l. meskw<sup>18</sup>  
 Then he goes with his little Before  
 brother.

peji'a'ti''kw m'ni''kuk n'mi''ton<sup>19</sup> w'sk'ni'zul<sup>20</sup>  
 he comes to the island, he sees bones;

weji muduamka''tek<sup>21</sup> ma'jehan. ma'lum-de  
 from the beginning of he goes Then  
 the pile along.

nimi'al he'pili'jil<sup>22</sup> ali-labodyihi'ge.<sup>23</sup> ni'tte  
 he sees a woman looking (through Then  
 a spy-glass).

ot'lian<sup>24</sup> p'giga'lstowuk<sup>25</sup> al-epnu'lstowuk<sup>26</sup>  
 he goes up they wrestle; they struggle;  
 to her;

wi'nial.<sup>27</sup> huna'pcha<sup>28</sup> kezami'ko'twun.<sup>29</sup>  
 she throws Again they get up (some-  
 him down. how).

<sup>17</sup> *k'tabis-naji'ptowun*: cf. *tabi-najiptone'p'n* (note 5), and note negative -*owun*.

<sup>18</sup> *meskw* followed by negative verb always = BEFORE; *peji'a'ti''kw* = negative participle.

<sup>19</sup> *n'mi'ton* inanimate, from *nim* (note 2, p. 59), as seen by -*ton*.

<sup>20</sup> *w'sk'ni'zul* BONES; pl. of *w'ski'nis*.

<sup>21</sup> *muduamka''tek* AT THE PILE + locative -*ek*.

<sup>22</sup> *he'pili'jil*; obviate, with prefixed aspirate of *ē'pit* WOMAN.

<sup>23</sup> *ali-labodyihi'ge* LOOKING; the words THROUGH A SPY-GLASS have been added by the narrator. The root is *ab* LOOK; cf. *w'l'l-a'b-mun* HE LOOKS AT HIM.

<sup>24</sup> *ot'lian*: from *el* GO, with prefixed *o* for *w* and infixed *i*.

<sup>25</sup> *p'giga'lstowuk* THEY WRESTLE; probably connected with *mika'ka-*, as in *k'mika'kamen* YOU FIGHT THEM; *sigi-mika'ket* HE FIGHTS FIERCELY.

<sup>26</sup> *al-epnu'lstowuk* THEY CONTINUE FIGHTING; *pn* FIGHT; cf. *kizi-p'n'li'tit* AFTER THEY FOUGHT; *wichi-p'nu'sin* HE FIGHTS WITH HIM (cf. notes 11, p. 61; 25, p. 62).

<sup>27</sup> *wi'nial* SHE THREW HIM DOWN. The stem seems to be simply *n*, with a possible prefixed *p*, as in *w'pene-gua'khan* HE THREW HIM DOWN.

<sup>28</sup> *huna'pcha*: distraction of *n-apch* AGAIN with prefixed aspirate; cf. *hepili'jil* (note 22) and *huha'chiao* for *achi*.

<sup>29</sup> *kezami'ko'twun*: *keza* = *kiz* (past sign) + *mi'kot*, the same root as seen in *wetta-mikte'kwit* HE WAKED UP (see note 1, p. 61).





ta pu'n'mon'l <sup>1</sup>	elkwa'bit. <sup>2</sup>	f'dam	ne'he	s'la''ki-de	maje-de'mo <sup>16</sup>	osimi'z'l.	w'skino''sis
and he places it	before him.	He says,	"Ha, ha!	Then	begins to cry	his little brother.	The little lad
kudo''sum. <sup>3</sup>	te''po <sup>4</sup>	sikte'l'ma <sup>5</sup>	meskw	ma'jehan	wizgamgwe'sso <sup>17</sup>	ti'ke'pode. <sup>18</sup>	
drink!"	Only	he laughs:	"Before	goes along;	it is a fierce storm;	it rumbles away.	
ng'dosme'uwun <sup>6</sup>	nit nil	elegut <sup>7</sup>	ni'l-ga- <sup>8</sup>	no'd'han	w'skino''sis	wi'kw'nan <sup>19</sup>	
I drink	that, I	like this	(= I in- deed)	he hears it	the little lad,	it calling	
wi'os-me'ji	muze'i. <sup>9</sup>	ni'tte		ulgwunsi'z'l <sup>20</sup>	masejika'men <sup>21</sup>	eli'yat. <sup>22</sup>	
eat (meat)	moosemeat."	Then		at his heels;	it sweeps	where he goes.	
na'jie'-beska'm'n <sup>10</sup>	w'tu'm'ha <sup>11</sup>	p'si'de. <sup>12</sup>		ma'lum-de	ke'skw-de <sup>23</sup>	heliya'tp'n <sup>24</sup>	w'nimi'al
he goes (to play ball);	he wins;	every one		Then	while	he was going	he sees him (his brother)
w'nu'tka-tu'm'ha. <sup>13</sup>	w'ta-ma'jehan <sup>14</sup>	we'ji		etli-p'n'sili'jil <sup>25</sup>	p'sa'nul. <sup>26</sup>	ni'tte	bejia't <sup>27</sup>
he beats.	He goes along	to where		fighting	with the snow.	Then	coming,
p'sad'lgwi'ye. <sup>15</sup>	ni'tte	na	peji-p'sa'n. <sup>15</sup>	holago'zin <sup>28</sup>	p'san	w'ti'yan	p'sa'nul
it snows.	Then		it begins to snow.	he asks	the snow;	he says to it	to the snow,
				k'ma'jehan	wajeyawi'yun <sup>29</sup>	na'ga	to'jiu <sup>30</sup>
				"You go back to	where you came from,"	and	then

<sup>1</sup> pu'n'mon'l HE PUTS IT + -l (from pu'n'mon).

<sup>2</sup> elkwa'bit IN FRONT OF HIM; cognate with el'gui ALONG BY, AROUND (cf. note 7).

<sup>3</sup> kudo''sum imperative DRINK; cf. n'g'da'u'sem I AM THIRSTY, and meskw ng'dosme'uwun BEFORE I DRINK (cf. note 6).

<sup>4</sup> te''po ONLY.

<sup>5</sup> sikte'l'ma HE LAUGHS; cf. sikte'l'mit HE LAUGHING.

<sup>6</sup> meskw ng'dosme'uwun (see note 3)

<sup>7</sup> e'legut = eli (continuative) + que (participial) + -t (cf. el'gui, note 2).

<sup>8</sup> ni'l-ga wi'os-me'ji: ni'l-ga I INDEED + wi'os MEAT + me'ji EAT, derivative of mits (see note 28, p. 61).

<sup>9</sup> muze'i MOOSE-MEAT; note that -ei always denotes the meat, as ko'wus COW (loan-word); kowuse'i BEEF.

<sup>10</sup> na'jie'-beska'm'n; literally HE GOES AWAY FROM = pesk BURST AWAY.

<sup>11</sup> w'tum'ha HE BEATS THEM; cf. w'nu'tka-tu'm'ha (note 13); cf. Natick tummuho'uau HE EARNS; DESERVES (Natick Dict. 166).

<sup>12</sup> p'si'de EVERY ONE; usually m'si'de or m'si'u ALL.

<sup>13</sup> w'nu'tka-tu'm'ha HE BEATS THEM: nutka not clear, but may be nul'k pl. of nut, nit, used here in the sense THESE.

<sup>14</sup> w'ta-ma'jehan HE GOES ALONG; ta = ALONG.

<sup>15</sup> we'ji p'sad'lgwi'ye TO WHERE (we'ji) IT IS SNOWING. Louis Mitchel gives k'san as SNOW; cf. Natick kun. The form p'san appears in peji -p'san IT IS BEGINNING TO SNOW and in the noun p'san (note 26). I cannot explain the final elements of p'sad'lgwi'ye, except that -gwi'ye indicates a continuous present.

<sup>16</sup> maje-demo BEGINS (maje = mache) TO CRY + demo (see notes II, 17, p. 59; I5, p. 60).

<sup>17</sup> wizgamgwe'sso IT STORMS FURIOUSLY: wizg- VERY MUCH + am-s STORM; cf. etui-l-a'm-s-ek IT BLOWS.

<sup>18</sup> ti'ke'pode IT RUMBLES AWAY; ti'ke'pudek IT DIES AWAY.

<sup>19</sup> wi'kw'han (HOW) IT CALLS (not RUMBLES, as the narrator had it).

<sup>20</sup> ulgwunsi'z'l: from mu'(l)kwun HEEL = AT HIS HEELS.

<sup>21</sup> masejika'men IT SWEEPS.

<sup>22</sup> eli'yat WHERE HE GOES (el); cf. heliya'tp'n, with aspirate (note 24).

<sup>23</sup> keskw-de WHILE.

<sup>24</sup> heliya'tp'n; cf. note 22.

<sup>25</sup> etli-p'n'sili'jil WHILE HE IS FIGHTING (p'n) (see notes 26, p. 60; II, p. 61).

<sup>26</sup> p'sa'nul SNOW, with obviative -ul (see note 15).

<sup>27</sup> pejia't HE IS COMING (from peji APPROACH).

<sup>28</sup> holago'zin HE ASKS; the usual form is w't-ekwe'chi-mo'lan.

<sup>29</sup> wajeyawi'yun participle in 2d per. WHERE YOU COME FROM; a distracted form of we'ji FROM, verbalized: cf. etli-wechiwe'tit WHERE THEY GO.

<sup>30</sup> to'jiu THEN.





MYTHS OF THE ALSEA INDIANS OF NORTHWESTERN OREGON<sup>1</sup>

By LEO J. FRACHTENBERG

## INTRODUCTORY

THE following four texts form part of a fair collection of Alsea traditions obtained by Dr. Livingston Farrand in 1900, and by myself in 1910 and 1913. The greater part of this collection is in process of publication as a Bulletin of the Bureau of American Ethnology. For several reasons it was deemed advisable to omit these four texts from the above-mentioned publication. It therefore became necessary to publish them separately.

The Alsea Indians, who, with the Yaqwina tribe, form the Yakonan linguistic family, occupied in former days a small strip of the northwestern coast of the State of Oregon. They are a small band practically on the very verge of extinction. At present they live on the Siletz Reservation, and at the time of my last visit (in 1913) they numbered only five individuals. The Yaqwina subdivision is totally extinct, the last member of this sub-tribe having died some three years ago.

Culturally the Alsea Indians are closely related to the several smaller coastal stocks that inhabit the northern part of California and the whole of the State of Oregon. Linguistically they show a close affiliation with the Kusan, Siuslawan, and Kalapuyan stocks. Their mythology is typical of this region, which embraces northern California, Oregon, and part of Washington, and shows many points of contact with the folk-lore of the Maidu, Yana, Shasta, Takelma, Molala, Kalapuya, Tillamook, and Chinook Indians. The main aspects of this mythology, and its relation to the folk-lore of the neighboring tribes, have been discussed in a separate

paper, which appeared in the "American Anthropologist," N. S., 3 : 240-247.

## ALPHABET

<i>a</i> . . . .	like <i>a</i> in <i>shall</i> .
<i>e</i> . . . .	like <i>e</i> in <i>helmet</i> .
<i>i</i> . . . .	like <i>i</i> in <i>it</i> .
<i>o</i> . . . .	like <i>o</i> in <i>sort</i> .
<i>u</i> . . . .	like <i>u</i> in German <i>Furcht</i> .
<i>ā</i> . . . .	like <i>a</i> in <i>car</i> .
<i>ē</i> . . . .	like <i>e</i> in <i>table</i> , but with a strong <i>i</i> -tinge.
<i>ī</i> . . . .	like <i>ee</i> in <i>teem</i> .
<i>ō</i> . . . .	like <i>o</i> in <i>rose</i> , but with a strong <i>u</i> -tinge.
<i>ū</i> . . . .	like <i>oo</i> in <i>too</i> .
<i>a<sup>n</sup></i> , <i>e<sup>n</sup></i> , <i>i<sup>n</sup></i> , <i>o<sup>n</sup></i> , <i>u<sup>n</sup></i>	short vowels of continental values, slightly nasalized.
<i>ā<sup>n</sup></i> , <i>ē<sup>n</sup></i> , <i>ī<sup>n</sup></i> , <i>ō<sup>n</sup></i> , <i>ū<sup>n</sup></i>	long vowels of continental values, slightly nasalized.
<i>ɛ</i> . . . .	obscure vowel.
<i>a<sup>h</sup></i> , <i>i<sup>h</sup></i> , <i>o<sup>h</sup></i> , <i>u<sup>h</sup></i>	resonance and epenthetic vowels.
<i>ai</i> . . . .	like <i>i</i> in <i>island</i> .
<i>aī</i> . . . .	same as preceding, but with second element long; interchanges with <i>ī</i> .
<i>au</i> . . . .	like <i>ou</i> in <i>mouth</i> .
<i>auī</i> . . . .	same as preceding, but with second element long; interchanges with <i>ū</i> .
<i>āu</i> . . . .	diphthong <i>ōu</i> .
<i>ūi</i> . . . .	diphthong <i>ūi</i> .
<i>ai<sup>n</sup></i> . . . .	diphthong <i>ai</i> slightly nasalized.
<i>aī<sup>n</sup></i> . . . .	diphthong <i>aī</i> slightly nasalized.
<i>ūi<sup>n</sup></i> . . . .	diphthong <i>ūi</i> slightly nasalized.
<i>q</i> . . . .	velar <i>k</i> .
<i>qʰ</i> . . . .	same as preceding, with great stress of explosion.
<i>x</i> . . . .	like <i>ch</i> in German <i>Back</i> .
<i>k</i> . . . .	like <i>c</i> in <i>come</i> , but unaspirated.
<i>kʰ</i> . . . .	same as preceding, with great stress of explosion.
<i>g</i> . . . .	palatal <i>g</i> , like <i>g</i> in <i>give</i> .
<i>ḳ</i> . . . .	palatal <i>k</i> , like <i>c</i> in <i>cubic</i> .
<i>ḳʰ</i> . . . .	same as preceding, with great stress of explosion.
<i>x̣</i> . . . .	like <i>ch</i> in German <i>ich</i> .
<i>ḳʰ̣</i> . . . .	aspirated, like <i>c</i> in <i>come</i> .

<sup>1</sup> Published with the permission of the Smithsonian Institution.

<i>d, t</i>	as in English; sonants and surds difficult to distinguish; surd not aspirated.
<i>tl</i>	like <i>t</i> , with great stress of explosion.
<i>t'</i>	aspirated, like <i>t</i> in <i>ten</i> .
<i>s</i>	palatal spirant, like Polish <i>ś</i> .
<i>ts</i>	like Polish <i>ś</i> .
<i>tsl</i>	same as preceding, with great stress of explosion.
<i>p</i>	as in English.
<i>pl</i>	same as preceding, with great stress of explosion.
<i>p'</i>	aspirated <i>p</i> .
<i>l, m, n</i>	as in English.
<i>l'</i>	palatal <i>l</i> , like <i>l</i> in <i>lure</i> .

<i>L, l</i>	spirant laterals; subject to frequent interchange.
<i>Ll</i>	like <i>L</i> , with great stress of explosion.
<i>ʔ</i>	glottal stop.
<i>ʰ</i>	aspiration whose palatal or velar character depends upon the character of the vowel that precedes it.
<i>h, y, w</i>	as in English.
<i>ʷ</i>	like <i>wh</i> in <i>whether</i> .
<i>ˈ</i>	accent.
<i>+</i>	denotes excessive length of vowels.
<i>-</i>	is an etymological device indicating loose connection between stems and formative elements.

I. PĀ<sup>1</sup>LIS (SKUNK)<sup>1</sup>

Sūdā<sup>a</sup>st Lmū<sup>a</sup>tsk<sup>a</sup>Exlt<sup>a</sup>lenū<sup>a</sup>t. hau<sup>a</sup>k<sup>a</sup>sILx  
x<sup>a</sup>ū<sup>a</sup>lam <sup>a</sup>k<sup>a</sup>ta<sup>a</sup>s le<sup>a</sup>wī<sup>a</sup>. <sup>a</sup>LaLxīya<sup>a</sup>2 qā<sup>a</sup>tsE  
x<sup>a</sup>ū<sup>a</sup>lamtxa, te<sup>a</sup>mītaLx tsqē<sup>a</sup>wILx as LEYā<sup>a</sup>-  
tsit. "ā<sup>a</sup>a, yā<sup>a</sup>tsxax-ā hū<sup>a</sup>n<sup>a</sup>k<sup>a</sup>i meha<sup>a</sup>it?"  
5 — "ā<sup>a</sup>a, hū<sup>a</sup>n<sup>a</sup>k<sup>a</sup>i sin le<sup>a</sup>wī<sup>a</sup>, hū<sup>a</sup>n<sup>a</sup>k<sup>a</sup>i  
hī<sup>a</sup>tslemal. nā<sup>a</sup>k<sup>a</sup>sautxap-E<sup>a</sup>n mu<sup>a</sup>n<sup>a</sup>hū<sup>a</sup>?"  
— "<sup>a</sup>LaLīya<sup>a</sup>3 nā<sup>a</sup>k<sup>a</sup>s yā<sup>a</sup>xau. hī<sup>a</sup>k<sup>a</sup>e<sup>a</sup>L  
x<sup>a</sup>ū<sup>a</sup>lam Lhā<sup>a</sup>nūt <sup>a</sup>k<sup>a</sup>ta<sup>a</sup>s hī<sup>a</sup>tslem is  
qauwai<sup>a</sup>-slō." — "temip-ā<sup>a</sup> meha<sup>a</sup>ntEX as  
10 hī<sup>a</sup>tslem aili<sup>a</sup>k<sup>a</sup>i?" — "Līya<sup>a</sup>4." — "sips<sup>a</sup> tqa-  
ia<sup>a</sup>ldī Lha<sup>a</sup>nūt as hī<sup>a</sup>tslem, k<sup>a</sup>ins aya<sup>a</sup>yusūp  
nā<sup>a</sup>k<sup>a</sup>eai kus hī<sup>a</sup>tslem k<sup>a</sup>axk<sup>a</sup>ex." — "k<sup>a</sup>eai<sup>a</sup>sa,  
k<sup>a</sup>-qau<sup>a</sup>wis xakuli<sup>a</sup>n hā<sup>a</sup>t<sup>a</sup>! ūsta<sup>a</sup>yū."

Temau<sup>a</sup>x mu<sup>a</sup>n<sup>a</sup>hū k<sup>a</sup>e<sup>a</sup>a ayai<sup>a</sup>. <sup>a</sup>Lauxīya<sup>a</sup>5  
15 qā<sup>a</sup>tsE yā<sup>a</sup>xau, temau<sup>a</sup>x haihaitxai<sup>a</sup>.  
temau<sup>a</sup>x qalpai<sup>a</sup> xē<sup>a</sup>tsux<sup>a</sup>. te<sup>a</sup>mīta mu<sup>a</sup>n<sup>a</sup>hū  
tsimsalsxai<sup>a</sup>. k<sup>a</sup>u<sup>a</sup>k<sup>a</sup>s-axa<sup>a</sup>6 k<sup>a</sup>linayū<sup>a</sup>Lī.  
"x-aū Lpū<sup>a</sup>n<sup>a</sup>k<sup>a</sup>!uyemts, x-aū <sup>a</sup>Līya<sup>a</sup>7 LEhya<sup>a</sup>-  
lsalsxam."7 k<sup>a</sup>is mu<sup>a</sup>n<sup>a</sup>hū k<sup>a</sup>e<sup>a</sup>a Lhilkwai<sup>a</sup>sī.  
20 k<sup>a</sup>ets hī<sup>a</sup>k<sup>a</sup>e sa<sup>a</sup>xt<sup>a</sup>lelī ts-pa<sup>a</sup>halyust<sup>a</sup>!Emk<sup>a</sup>.  
tem k<sup>a</sup>au<sup>a</sup>xuts haihaitxai<sup>a</sup> qalpai<sup>a</sup>. qalpai<sup>a</sup>  
k<sup>a</sup>au<sup>a</sup>xuts xē<sup>a</sup>tsux<sup>a</sup>, te<sup>a</sup>mīta hī<sup>a</sup>k<sup>a</sup>e halā<sup>a</sup>tsī

<sup>1</sup>Told by Thomas Jackson in 1910. This story would seem to be one of the few distinctive traditions that were obtained either by Farrand or myself. At least, thus far this myth has not been found recorded among any other tribe of this region.

<sup>2</sup>Consists of <sup>a</sup>Līya<sup>a</sup> NOT; -Lx 3d per. pl.

## I. THE STORY OF SKUNK

(Once there were) five (boys) related as younger brothers. They were travelling all over the world. They did not travel long, when they came upon a person (Skunk). "Oh, dost thou live here, old man?" — "Yes, here is my place, here I grew into a man. Where are you going now?" — "We are not going anywhere. We just travel to look over the people everywhere." — "And have you seen any people already?" — "No." — "If you want to look at people, I will constantly go with you where the people come together." — "All right, this our eldest brother will go with thee first."

And then, indeed, they two started. They two were not going long, when they two rested. Then they two started again. And now (Skunk) began to try repeatedly (his) own (power). He was constantly looking back at (the man who followed him). "Thou shalt follow right behind me, thou sha'n't be dodging here and there." Then, indeed, he would do it. (And Skunk) would just open his anus. Then again they two would take a rest. Once more they two would start, but just similarly

<sup>3</sup>Consists of <sup>a</sup>Līya<sup>a</sup> NOT; -l 1st per. pl.

<sup>4</sup>Consists of <sup>a</sup>sis conditional particle; -p 2d per. pl.

<sup>5</sup>Consists of <sup>a</sup>Līya<sup>a</sup> NOT; -aux 3d per. dual.

<sup>6</sup>Consists of <sup>a</sup>k<sup>a</sup>is temporal particle; -uk<sup>a</sup> suffixed particle AWAY; -axa suffixed particle AGAIN.

<sup>7</sup>hūl- TO MISS, TO DODGE.



- i'mstatxū. temu<sup>n</sup>hū, sūdā<sup>a</sup>stk'emyuk'aux xē'tsux<sup>u</sup>. "k'ist mu<sup>n</sup>hū wīl nā'k'eai kus meqamī'nt hī'tslēm. x-aū Lpū<sup>n</sup>k!uyemts hī'k'e qā<sup>a</sup>l'tē." temu<sup>n</sup>hū k'e'a Lhilkwai'-
- 5 SEX, tem-uk<sup>u</sup> mu<sup>n</sup>hū Lpīlā'yutīlx. Lōi'ltēx<sup>1</sup> mu<sup>n</sup>hū, qaha'lk's xqūi'nx. xamī'axa tem-axa yālsai'. temu<sup>n</sup>hū mis-axa wīlx, tem pxēltsūsā'LnX. "nā'k'-EN tēlī'n hā<sup>a</sup>t!?" — "ā'a, lēmū'ltīyū k'a'sxan
- 10 wīlī'sal. qauwā<sup>a</sup> hī'k'e ta'xtī k'silī'kwex; Lpū'pēnhaut, l'xwī'l'xwīyaūt, LEya<sup>n</sup>'hatslīt, qauwā<sup>a</sup> hī'k'e tas intsk'i's Lhilkwai'sLnX." — "ā'a, k'eai'sa, k'il ayaī'mi." — "k'ip xa'mēnt!" — "k'eai'sa,
- 15 k'in qan ūsta'a." temau'x mu<sup>n</sup>hū k'e'a ayaī'. 'Lauxiya<sup>a</sup> qā<sup>a</sup>'tsē yā'xau, temau'x hai'haitxai. temau'x qalpai' xē'tsux<sup>u</sup>, tē'mīta k'ets hī'k'e halā'tsī i'mstatxū. sūdā<sup>a</sup>stk'emyuk'aux qalpai' xē'tsux<sup>u</sup>, tem
- 20 k'ets qalpai'nx Lpīlā'yutīlx. qalpai'nx k'ets haitsaī'nx qaha'lk's, tem k'ets-axa qalpai' yālsai'. tem k'ets-axa wīlx qalpai'. "ā'a, wī'lxax-ā axa?" — "ā'a, wī'lxan-axa xamk'!". — "temau'x-EN nā'
- 25 k'eai'?" — "ā'a, lēmū'ltīyūsaxux. qauwā<sup>a</sup> hī'k'e ta'xtī Lhilkwai'sLnX, k'a'sil wīlī'sal." — "k'eai'sa, x-axa-ā' qalpai'm ayaī'mi?" — "ā'a, k'in-axa ayaī'm qalpai'm." — "k'in ai'ī ūsta'yū?" —
- 30 "k'eai'sa, k'ist ayaī'mi." tem k'au'xuts mu<sup>n</sup>hū k'e'a ayaī'xa. 'Lauxiya<sup>a</sup> qā<sup>a</sup>'tsē yā'xau, tem k'au'xuts hai'haitxai, pīlā'xaux. "hanhū'u tēha'm mū'kuts!ū!" tem k'e'a ihī'yux<sup>u</sup>. iltī'nx. "aqā<sup>a</sup>t
- 35 tēha'm mū'kuts!ū." — "ā'a, sin k'ē'+k'istxau!"<sup>2</sup> tsamsal<sup>3</sup>yaī'nx, txwai'nx xū'sī. "hē+, xa-'liya<sup>a</sup> ta'axwai tsā'mē, sin k'ē'+k'istxau! sin tā<sup>a</sup> ts-ta'ak ts-mū'kuts!ūk!"<sup>3</sup> qalpai' k'au'xuts-axa xē'tsux<sup>u</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> wīl- TO KILL.<sup>2</sup> k'ist- TO LEAVE.<sup>3</sup> Skunk utters each word in this sentence in a

it would happen. At last they two started out for the fifth time. "We two are now about to arrive at where there are many people. Thou shalt always follow me close behind." And then, indeed, (the man) did it, whereupon (Skunk) broke wind at him suddenly. He killed him, (and) dragged him to one side. He turned back and went home. And then, when he came home, he was asked, "Where is our oldest brother?" — "Oh, he remained at (the place) to which we two came. (Those people there) are doing all sorts of things, — they play shinny-ball, they throw spears through hoops, they play the guessing-game, — all sorts of things are done (by them)." — "Oh, all right, we shall go (together)." — "You will (come with me) one at a time." — "All right, I will go with him." And then, verily, they two went. They two did not go long, when they two took a rest. Then they two started out again, but (soon) the same thing would happen as before. For the fifth time they two started out again, whereupon (Skunk) once more broke wind at him suddenly. Again he carried him to one side, and went back home once more. Then he arrived home again. "Oh, didst thou come back?" — "Yes, I came back alone." — "And where are they two?" — "Oh, they two remained (there). All sorts of things are done at where we two came." — "All right, art thou going back again?" — "Yes, I am going back once more." — "May I go with thee?" — "Certainly, we two shall go." Then they two, verily, started out. They two did not go long, when they two took a rest (and) sat down. "Let me have this thy bow!" Then, indeed, he gave it to him. (The man) began to examine it. "Thy bow is good." — "Yes, I have inherited it," (said Skunk.) (The man) tried it several times, he pulled it a little. "Hey! do not pull it hard, (it is) my heirloom. (It is) the bow of my father's father." Again they

whining tone. He is afraid lest his bow (in reality his anus) be broken by the young man.

- halā'tsī i'mstatxū. temu<sup>n</sup>hū sūdā'stk-emyuk'aux ts-xatsuwī'sk' tem yāsau<sup>2</sup>-yai'nx. "Lpū<sup>n</sup>k'us-ū!, x-aū 'Liya<sup>2</sup> LEhya'lsalsxam; lā'ta sxaūs<sup>1</sup> LEhya'-
- 5 lsalsxam, hū<sup>2</sup>tsk' qaū'k'eai qai'kwa'yū." k'is mu<sup>n</sup>hū k'e'a lhilkwaī'sī. tem-uk<sup>u</sup> mu<sup>n</sup>hū qalpai'nx Lpila'yutiLx tem k'ets-axa mu<sup>n</sup>hū yālsai'xa. temu<sup>n</sup>hū mis-axa wīlx, temau'x LEā'laux. "k'i'-
- 10 stinxalxan-axa." — "k'eai'sa, x-axa-ā' qalpai'm ayai'mi?" — "ā'a, k'in-axa ayai'm." ayai' k'au'xuts<sup>2</sup> axa qalpai'. 'Lauxiya<sup>2</sup> qā'tse yā'xau, tem k'au'xuts mu<sup>n</sup>hū hai'haitxai. "hanhū'u tēha'm
- 15 mū'kuts!ū!" ihī'nx mu<sup>n</sup>hū ts-mū'kuts!ūk'. "aqā'tat mu<sup>n</sup>hū k'e'a tēha'm mū'kuts!ū." — "ā'a, sin k'ē'+k'istxau." tem txwai'nx ts-lā'tūk'-auk'. "hē+, xa-'Liya<sup>2</sup> ta'axwai tsā'mē!" te'-
- 20 mīta lta'xwalx tsā'mē. "hē+, xa-'Liya<sup>2</sup> ta'axwai tsā'mē! xa-qai'kwa'a. sin k'ē'+k'istxau, sin tā<sup>2</sup> ts-ta'ak' temaxa sin tā<sup>2</sup> ts-mū'kuts!ūk'." qalpai' k'au'xuts xē'tsux<sup>u</sup>. "Lpū<sup>n</sup>k'us-ū! x-aū
- 25 'Liya<sup>2</sup> LEhya'lsalsxam." k'u'k's-axa k'linayū'Lī. "hē, LEhya'lsalsxax-aū. Lpū<sup>n</sup>k'us-ū, Lpū<sup>n</sup>k'us-ū, Lpū<sup>n</sup>k'us-ū!" k'ets mu<sup>n</sup>hū Lpū<sup>n</sup>k'wī, lā'k'auk'ets<sup>3</sup> tslinā'siyux<sup>u</sup> 'k'ts-hai'k' ts-pa'halyust!Emk'.
- 30 k'ets hī'k'e sa'xt!elī ts-pa'halyust!Emk'. temu<sup>n</sup>hū sūdā'stk'emyuk' ts-xatsuwī'sk'aux tem k'ets mu<sup>n</sup>hū i'mste halā'tsī. "Lpū<sup>n</sup>-k'us-ū! x-aū 'Liya<sup>2</sup> LEhya'lsalsxam." tem k'ets mu<sup>n</sup>hū qalpai'nx Lpila'yutiLx.
- 35 Tem k'ets-axa mu<sup>n</sup>hū yālsai'. tem mis-axa wīlx, tem pxēltsūsa'Lnx. "na'k-īlx tēha'm plūi's?" — "ā'a, k'i'stinxalxan-

two started out. The same thing was done as before. Finally, after their (dual) fifth start, (Skunk) said to him several times, "Keep thou right behind me! Thou shalt not dodge back and forth; because, if thou keepest on dodging here and there, perchance somebody will hurt thee." Then (the man) did it, indeed. Thereupon again he quickly broke wind at him, after which he went home once more. And then, when he came back, he told the two (remaining brothers), "I left them behind." — "All right, art thou going back again?" — "Yes, I am going back." Then they two (Skunk and the fourth brother) went back again. They two did not go long, when they two took a rest. "Let me have thy bow!" So he gave him his bow. "Verily, thy bow is good." — "Yes, (it is) my heirloom." Then (the boy) began to pull its string. "Hey! do not pull it hard!" Nevertheless he kept on pulling it harder. "Hey! do not pull it hard! Thou wilt spoil it. (It is) my heirloom, it is the bow of my father's father and also of my father." Then they two started out again. "Keep right behind me! Thou shalt not twist thyself here and there." He looked back at him once in a while. "Hey! thou art twisting thyself here. Follow close behind me, follow close behind me, follow close behind me!" Then (the boy) walked right behind him, although his anus was all the time repulsive to his sense (of smell). (Skunk) was continually opening his anus. Finally, after their (dual) fifth start, (Skunk) did the same thing as before. (He kept on saying,) "Keep right behind me! Thou shalt not dodge here and there." Then at last he again broke wind at him suddenly. (The boy died.)

Then he went home. And when he came back, he was asked (by the last brother), "Where are thy (former) companions?" — "Oh, I left them behind. They refused to

<sup>1</sup> sis (conditional particle) + -x (2d per. sing.) + -ū (suffixed particle) HERE.

<sup>2</sup> k'ets (temporal<sup>1</sup> particle) + -aux (3d per. dual).

<sup>3</sup> lā (pronominal particle) + k'ets (temporal particle) + -auk' (suffixed particle) INSIDE.



axa. ʔemūʔltʔiyūsxaʔx. qauwā<sup>2a</sup> intskʔiʔs  
 ʔhilkwaiʔsʔnx; ʔpūʔpenhaut, ʔEyaʔhatsʔlit,  
 ʔLkuʔkumkwaut, tsxwāʔtsxwataut, ʔxwīʔ-  
 ʔxwīyaūt." — "āʔa, kʔex-āʔ axa ayaʔiʔmiʔ"

- 5 — "āʔa, kʔin-axa qalpaʔiʔm ayaʔiʔm." —  
 "kʔeaiʔsa, kʔin-axa ūstaʔyū."

- Temauʔx muʔhū kʔeʔa ayaʔiʔ. ʔLauxiyaʔ  
 qāʔʔtsE yāʔxau, temauʔx muʔhū haiʔhaitxaʔi.  
 "hanhūʔu tEhaʔm mūʔkutsʔū!" temuʔhū  
 10 kʔeʔa ihīʔyuxʔ. temuʔhū tsiṃaiʔnx  
 txwaiʔnx. "hē+, xa-ʔLiyaʔ taʔaxwai  
 tsāʔʔme! xa-tkʔisaʔa sin hīʔhisxaū,<sup>1</sup>  
 sin kʔiʔstEx.<sup>2</sup> sin taʔ ts-taʔakʔ tem-axa  
 ts-taʔakʔ ts-mūʔkutsʔūkʔ." — "muʔhū kʔeʔa  
 15 aqāʔʔt tEhaʔm mūʔkutsʔū." kʔis-axa  
 qalpaʔa txwaʔa. "hē+, xa-ʔLiyaʔ taʔaxwai  
 tsāʔʔme! hūʔtskʔEx tkʔisaʔa." qalpaʔiʔ  
 kʔauʔxuts xēʔtsuxʔ. halāʔtsī kʔEts muʔhū  
 iʔmstE qalpaʔiʔ. tem kʔauʔxuts muʔhū  
 20 qalpaʔiʔ xēʔtsuxʔ. "ʔpūʔkʔlus-ū āʔʔqa  
 qōmaʔts, hūʔtskʔ qauʔkʔeai qaiʔkwaʔyū."  
 kʔiltas<sup>3</sup> ʔLiyaʔ; hakʔiʔʔyaisī hīʔkʔe yāʔxau.  
 "heheʔ, ʔLaxaūyaʔ<sup>4</sup> ʔpūʔkʔluyEṃtsx. ʔpūʔ-  
 kʔlus-ū!" kʔEts muʔhū qaʔhalt ʔpkʔūiʔnx,  
 25 kʔEts hīʔkʔe saʔxtʔelī tspaʔhalyustʔEmkʔ.<sup>5</sup>  
 haiʔhaitxaʔiʔaux qalpaʔiʔ sūdāʔʔstkʔemyukʔ.  
 "hanhūʔu tEhaʔm mūʔkutsʔū! kʔin qan  
 spaiʔdī tEhaʔm mūʔkutsʔū." — "ʔLiyaʔ.  
 xa-kʔimhaʔkʔ ʔLiyaʔ iltqaʔyusi. māʔ-  
 mhatEx." tem kʔEts muʔhū qalpaʔiʔnx  
 30 txwaiʔnx. kʔEts xūʔsī hīʔkʔe ʔtExwaʔyutx.  
 "hē, xa-ʔLiyaʔ taʔaxwai! hē, xa-ʔLiyaʔ  
 taʔaxwai!" txwaiʔnx kʔēʔtkʔi tsāʔʔme.  
 "hē+, xa-ʔLiyaʔ taʔaxwai! aitwaiʔ<sup>6</sup> sin  
 35 mūʔkutsʔū!" — "ʔLiyaʔ! kʔEx-axa ihīʔ-  
 yEṃtsū asiʔn hāʔtʔlōo, kʔins-axa ihīʔyEṃ  
 tEhaʔm mūʔkutsʔū." — "kʔeaiʔsa, tem  
 ait-ū sin mūʔkutsʔū!" — "ʔLiyaʔ! haʔaits  
 qauʔwis hā aiʔait aʔsin hāʔtʔlōo, kʔins-axa

come home. All sorts of things are done  
 (there), — shinny-playing, guessing, running,  
 wrestling, throwing spears through hoops."  
 — "All right, wilt thou go back?" — "Yes,  
 I am going back once more." — "All right,  
 I will go back with thee."

Then, verily, they two went. They two  
 did not go long, when they two took a rest.  
 "Let me have this thy bow!" (said the  
 young man). Thereupon, indeed, (Skunk)  
 gave it to him. So then he tried to pull it.  
 "Hey! do thou not pull it hard! Thou wilt  
 break my ancient heirloom, (the thing) which  
 was left to me. (This is) the bow of my  
 father's father, and then (of) his father."  
 — "Now, verily, thy bow is good." Again  
 he would begin to pull it. "Hey! do thou  
 not pull it hard! Thou wilt break it, per-  
 chance." Again they two started out. Once  
 more then similarly (it was done) thus.  
 Then they two would start out again.  
 "Follow me close right behind, perchance  
 somebody might hurt thee." Nevertheless  
 (the young man would) not (do this); he just  
 kept on going alongside (of him). "Hey! thou  
 art not walking behind me. Keep right be-  
 hind me!" Then (the boy) would pretend to  
 walk behind him, whereupon (Skunk) began  
 to open his anus. At the fifth time they two  
 rested again. "Let me see this thy bow! I  
 am going to carry thy bow." — "No. Thou  
 mayst not (know) what to do with it. Thou  
 art young (yet)." (Finally the boy persuaded  
 Skunk to part with his bow.) And then he  
 began to pull it again. He would pull it  
 quickly just a little. "Hey! do thou not pull  
 it! Hey! do thou not pull it!" He pulled it  
 a little harder. "Hey! do not pull it! Give  
 me back my bow!" — "No! Thou shalt  
 (first) give me back my elder brothers, then  
 I will return to thee thy bow." — "All right,  
 but give me back my bow!" — "No! First

<sup>1</sup> Reduplicated stem *hixx*.

<sup>2</sup> Nominalized verbal stem.

<sup>3</sup> *kʔis* temporal particle; *ʔtā* particle.

<sup>4</sup> *ʔLiyaʔ* NOT + *-x* (2d per. sing.) + *-aū* (suffixed partic-  
 ple) HERE.

<sup>5</sup> Without, however, killing him.

<sup>6</sup> Consists of *ait* + *-ū* + *-aʔ*.

mu<sup>n</sup>hū ihī'yem teha'm mūkuts'lū." —  
 "k'ei'sa." temu<sup>n</sup>hū k'e'a ayai'xa.  
 'Līya<sup>2</sup> qā'a'tse pai'yux<sup>u</sup>, te'mitaLx-axa  
 wilx. qau'watilx-axa spaa'yaux. "hūn'-  
 5 k'i teha'm hā't'ōo." — "ham mū'kuts'lū  
 ā as anhū'u?" — "ā'a." — "hen,  
 'Līya<sup>2</sup>, sin anai's. ham pa'halyust!em,  
 'Līya<sup>2</sup> ham mū'kuts'lū." txwai'nx  
 mu<sup>n</sup>hū. tai<sup>2</sup> mu<sup>n</sup>hū. mis tā'xusanx,  
 10 k'ets hī'k'axa hya<sup>2</sup>qai'txa. temu<sup>n</sup>hū  
 lqaya'yū ts-mū'kuts'lūk'. hī'k'axa tsiya'-  
 qtēx, qē'ntēx mu<sup>n</sup>hū.  
 Tai<sup>2</sup> mu<sup>n</sup>hū.

2. COYOTE AND THE TWO OTTER-WOMEN<sup>1</sup>

Hamstī<sup>2</sup> hī'k'e intsk'i's lhīlkwaī'sex  
 15 Mō'luptsinī'sla. nāmk' mis qamī'n  
 qai'hai' LEYā'tsit, temu<sup>n</sup>hū tī'ūt!wantxai'  
 is le'wī'. nāmk' mis-axa wī'lal kus  
 tsūdaī's, tem tī'ūt!wantxai' is k'ea<sup>n</sup>-  
 k'elaū, is tsūdaī's ts-k'ea<sup>n</sup>k'elaūk'.  
 20 temu<sup>n</sup>hū k'ilwī' is tsūdaī's ts-k'ea<sup>n</sup>-  
 k'elaūki'k's.<sup>2</sup>

Tem-auk' mu<sup>n</sup>hū t'lxai'nx ts-hai<sup>n</sup>'k',  
 k'-lōqudī'im is mukwa<sup>2</sup>stELī. temau'x  
 me'lā'nx xe'lk'it-s-tsā'sidōo. tem-auk'  
 25 lt!a'xsalx tshai<sup>n</sup>'k'. "k'in mukwa<sup>2</sup>tstELīya'a  
 xam<sup>2</sup>." hī'k'aux Lhayā'nix ts-xa'lxask'  
 hamstī<sup>2</sup>. temau'x 'Līya<sup>2</sup> tqaia'ldex,  
 sau'xus<sup>3</sup> xam<sup>2</sup> nā yā'tsī. k'aux hī'k'e  
 k'a'axk'e yā'tsī. temau'x-auk' hī'k'e  
 30 qā<sup>2</sup>lte ī'mstē lt!a'xsalx ts-hai<sup>n</sup>'k'.  
 "k'-Līya<sup>2</sup> nā yā'tsī ku'sin qtīm. k'-xan  
 hī'k'e k'a'axk'e yā'tsī." lā'ltasaux  
 Lhayā'nix hī'k'e tsā<sup>2</sup>me haihaya<sup>2</sup>t ts-  
 k'elī'sk', lā'ltasaux-auk' ī'mstē ts-hai<sup>n</sup>'k',  
 35 "xan-'Līya<sup>2</sup> nāmk' yā'tsī. xan-qal'k'-  
 aī'm, lā'ltā mī'sxan 'Līya<sup>2</sup> tqaia'ldex.  
 k'-Līya<sup>2</sup> sāl'sxaīm is mukwa<sup>2</sup>stELī, sis  
 teplī'i; kus tsa<sup>2</sup> haihaya<sup>2</sup>t ts-k'elī'sk'."

<sup>1</sup> Told by William Smith in 1910. Compare Frach-  
 tenberg (CU 4 : 88 et seq.).

<sup>2</sup> This part of the story hardly belongs here. It may

bring back here my elder brothers, then I will  
 return to thee thy bow." — "All right."  
 Then, indeed, he went. He was not absent  
 long, when they (all) came back. He brought  
 them all back. "Here are thy elder brothers."  
 — "Is this here thy bow?" — "Yes." — "Hm!  
 no, my friend! (It is) thy anus, not thy bow."  
 So he began to pull it. Only (this much was  
 necessary). As he kept on pulling it, (Skunk)  
 just whined all the time. Finally his bow  
 broke. (Then Skunk) just straightened out  
 again, and died.

Only now (the story ends).

## 2. COYOTE AND THE TWO OTTER-WOMEN

Coyote did all sorts of things. When long  
 ago he was ready (for) people, he created the  
 world. Again, after the salmon (began to)  
 arrive regularly, he made a fish-basket, — a  
 fish-basket for salmon. Thereupon the salmon  
 went into their fish-basket.

Then (one day) he thought in his inner  
 mind that he would take (unto him) a wife.  
 Now, he knew (of) two women. So he  
 thought in his inner mind, "I am going to  
 marry one (of them)." *Modo videbat vulvas*  
*utrarumque*. But they two did not desire  
 that one of them should live somewhere (else).  
 They two were just going to stay together.  
 Thus they two were always thinking in their  
 inner minds: "My younger sister is not going  
 to live somewhere (else). We two are just  
 going to stay together." *Quia illae duae*  
*videbant penem eius modo longum esse,*  
*propterea eae duae sic cogitabant.* "We two  
 shall never stay with him. We two are going  
 to run away, because we two do not like him.  
*Mulier cum qua hic copulabit non superstes*  
*erit; valde longus penis eius est."*

be looked upon as a description of the part which Coyote  
 had in the Creation.

<sup>3</sup> Consists of *sis* conditional particle; -aux 3d per.  
 dual.



- Tem is xa'met-s-qamli's tem-axa wilx.<sup>1</sup>  
 tem yāsau<sup>2</sup>yaí'nx xa'mELI. "xa-lelō'-  
 qudixwai'm is tsūdaí's kwē'k's-<sup>3</sup>auk."  
 tem yāsau<sup>2</sup>yaí'nx ts-qtí'mk. "xa-tsíla'a  
 5 kus tqaulí'ts!. k'in spai'dí sin puū'ya<sup>4</sup>,  
 sins<sup>2</sup> ayai'mi kō'kus." temu<sup>5</sup>hū mis  
 pk'laí'nx kus tqaulí'ts!,<sup>3</sup> tem mu<sup>6</sup>lii  
 hí'tslem pí'ūsxaí. lā<sup>2</sup> kus aili'k'i yū'xtex  
 kus lku'husal ltsā'nt. "nāmk' sins  
 10 <sup>1</sup>Liya<sup>2</sup>-axa wíl há'aíqā, k'xau'k's<sup>4</sup> t!xa'yūs  
 'k'xa'm hai<sup>2</sup>, 'mu<sup>6</sup>hū tsqwa qal'k'ai'."  
 tem yāsau<sup>2</sup>yaí'nx ts-qtí'mk. "k'in  
 hak'i'm mā'ntitxū. k'ist <sup>1</sup>Liya<sup>2</sup> nāmk'  
 yā'tsELI, k'ist <sup>1</sup>Liya<sup>2</sup> nāmk' sā'lsxaím.  
 15 tsā'mE hí'k'e haihaya't ts-k'eli'sk."  
 temu<sup>5</sup>hū ayai'. temu<sup>5</sup>hū mis ayai'  
 ats-sā'ak', tem pí'ūsxa<sup>2</sup>yaí' ats-temxts'isk<sup>5</sup>  
 ts-ili'diyūk. "<sup>1</sup>Laniya<sup>2</sup> tqaia'ldex sxas  
 ayai'm k'i'mhak's. <sup>1</sup>Liya<sup>2</sup>, sin mukwa<sup>2</sup>-  
 20 stELI."

- Temau'x mu<sup>6</sup>hū qal'k'ai'. temu<sup>5</sup>hū  
 k'i'mhak's lqwā'milx ats-sā'ak'. "tsa'ti  
 sex tas wilx. k'ist qal'k'ai'm ní'sk'ik's."  
 te'mlta <sup>1</sup>Liya<sup>2</sup> qā'tsE tem LEai'sx ats-  
 25 sí'tek' awí'lau. temu<sup>5</sup>hū yāsau<sup>2</sup>yaí'nx  
 ats-sā'ak'. "aūl'íxa. k'-Liya<sup>2</sup> qā'tsE k'ist  
 lqwā'mits." temu<sup>5</sup>hū meyā'saux ats-  
 sā'ak'. "k'ist <sup>1</sup>Liya<sup>2</sup> le'wí'yaisi qal'k'-  
 aím, k'ist k'ilū'waisi qal'k'ai'm." temau'x  
 30 mu<sup>6</sup>hū k'e'a imstí'; k'ilū'wasyaux qal'k'ai'.  
 tem meyā'saux ats-sā'ak'. "k'ist k'i-  
 mhak's k'a<sup>2</sup> wíl, tem mis qalpai'm  
 qwā'mstoxs haits, k'i'stauk's<sup>6</sup> kū'kus  
 ayai'm." te'mlta <sup>1</sup>Liya<sup>2</sup> qā'tsE tem  
 35 lksu'ai' tem xūdūi' yaí'x-<sup>4</sup>auk' is hai<sup>2</sup>.  
 te'mlta <sup>1</sup>Liya<sup>2</sup> qā'tsE tem LEai'sx mukwí-  
 sta. tem-axa hak'i'm qalpai' xē'tsux<sup>u</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> In the mean while Coyote seems to have succeeded in persuading these women to become his wives.

<sup>2</sup> Consists of sis conditional particle; -n 1st per. sing.

<sup>3</sup> This pitch was to answer in her stead, in case her husband called for her.

Then one night he came back. Then he said to one (of them), "Thou shalt fetch the salmon at the canoe." So (the older woman) said to her younger sister, "Thou shalt split this pitch-wood. I am going to take my bucket along when I go to the river." So, after she stood up that pitch-wood, it produced sounds just like a human being. Now, the one who went down to the river to fetch water had already disappeared. (But before she left, she told her younger sister,) "Should I not come back right away, thou shalt think in thy inner mind, 'Now she must have escaped.'" Then she (also) told her younger sister, "I shall wait for thee there. We two shall never live with him, we two shall never survive. Modo valde longus penis eius est." Then she went (away). And after her older sister went (away), her husband kept on shouting his (following) message: "I do not want that thou shouldst go there. (Do) not (act so), my wife!"

So they two escaped. And now she overtook her older sister there. "(I) am glad that thou hast come. We two are going to run away far." But not long (afterwards) she saw her husband coming. Then she said to her older sister, "He is coming nearer. It will not be long before he will overtake us two." So then her older sister kept on saying, "We two shall not escape on land, we two shall travel on the water." Thereupon they two did so, they two began to travel on water. Then her older sister said, "We two shall stop there for a while; and if (we two) are overtaken here again, we two will go into the middle of the ocean." Then not long (afterwards) it began to rain and blow exceedingly hard. And not long (afterwards) she saw him (come) in a canoe. So (they two) departed from there

<sup>4</sup> k'is (temporal particle) + -x (2d per. sing.) + -auk' (suffixed particle) INSIDE.

<sup>5</sup> te'maxi BROTHER-IN-LAW.

<sup>6</sup> k'is (temporal particle) + -st (inclusive dual) + -auk' (suffixed particle) INSIDE.

"k'ist 'Līya<sup>1</sup> ayaī'm k'i'lūk's qalpaī'm.  
 k'ist hī'k'e q'lulī'm kwas nā'tk'au."  
 temau'x mu<sup>n</sup>'hū ayaī' k'i'mhak's qauxa'-  
 nk's kwas tsk'ī<sup>n</sup>'tsī. temau'x k'i'mhaisī  
 5 MEYā'xauxa. te'mlta 'Līya<sup>1</sup> qā<sup>n</sup>'tse mis  
 MEYā'sauxa. "aūhī'xa, aūhī'xa." temau'x  
 mu<sup>n</sup>'hū lqwā'mīlx qaux is tsk'ī<sup>n</sup>'tsī.  
 "nāmk' st-lqwā'mīts, k'ist ayaī'm kū'k'us.  
 k'ist k'i'mhak's spai'dī." temau'x  
 10 mu<sup>n</sup>'hū k'e'a imstī'xa.

Tem meqami'nt as kul'ai's hī'k'e  
 tsā<sup>n</sup>'me. nāmk' k'au'xuts qtī'xa i'k'as  
 kū'x<sup>n</sup>, k'au'xuts hī'k'e hamstī<sup>2</sup> LEai'stū  
 ts-spaī'k'. tsā'maux hī'k'e mā'k'st ts-  
 15 spaī'k'. tem is i'mste tem-auk' lta'xsalx  
 ts-hai<sup>n</sup>'k'. kuts-sī'tek'aux, "lā'xauxs<sup>1</sup> nī'-  
 sk'ik's ayaī'm, k'i'naux 'Līya<sup>1</sup> nāmk'  
 Lxaaī'. is i'mste ts-kwā'ink' lā'xauxs  
 nī'sk'ik's ayaī'm, k'i'naux 'Līya<sup>1</sup> nāmk'  
 20 Lxaaī', lā'ltasaux mā'k'st ts-spaī'k',  
 lā'ltā aqā<sup>n</sup>'titaux s-mukwa<sup>n</sup>'stELī.<sup>2</sup> nī'-  
 tsk'aux-auk' lta'xsalx ts-hai<sup>n</sup>'k', temau'-  
 xin-auk' me'lā'nīyux<sup>n</sup> ts-k'a'ltūk'." tem-  
 auk' i'mste ts-hai<sup>n</sup>'k'. "k'inau'x 'Līya<sup>1</sup>  
 25 nāmk' Lxaaī'." temi'lX mu<sup>n</sup>'hū MEYā'-  
 xauxa. temi'lX mu<sup>n</sup>'hū wīlx LEYā'tstik's.  
 "st-hak'ī<sup>n</sup>'k'ī qalpa'a k'i'stī." tem  
 yāsau<sup>n</sup>'yaī'nx kuts-qtī'mk'. "me'lā'nīyem-  
 tsxast nī'tsk'ast-auk' lta'xsalx stin hai<sup>n</sup>'  
 30 k'ist k'i'stī, nāmk' sis atsk'ai'm." nā'-  
 mk'silX wīlx LEYā'tstik's, "tsā'men  
 hī'k'e lqa'lhīyū." temu<sup>n</sup>'hū yāsau<sup>n</sup>'yaī'nx  
 kuts-qtī'mk'. "xa-'Līya<sup>1</sup> ā'tsk'a! nāmk'  
 sis lūnq!waixwai'm, k'i'stis ta'mink'ink'  
 35 k'i'stī." temu<sup>n</sup>'hū k'e'a lūnq!waixwai'xa.  
 temu<sup>n</sup>'hū yāsau<sup>n</sup>'yaī'nx ts-qtī'mk'. "k'ist  
 qal'k'ai'm mu<sup>n</sup>'hū; atsk'ai' mu<sup>n</sup>'hū."  
 temau'x mu<sup>n</sup>'hū qal'k'ai'. "xa-xe'īlk'e  
 lhayā'nauwī. xa-'Līya<sup>1</sup> tsā<sup>n</sup>'ame tū'msa<sup>3</sup>  
 40 kus tū'msa! k'ist limlā'ntemts." temau'-

<sup>1</sup> lāxs (particle) + -aux (3d per. dual).

<sup>2</sup> The plural form *ma'mkusū* would have been more proper here.

once more. "We two shall not go into the water again. We two shall just go upstream along that creek." So then they two went there on top of a mountain. Then they two kept on travelling there. But (it was) not long before she said (again), "He is approaching, he is approaching!" So then he overtook those two on top of the mountain. "If he should overtake us two, we two will go west. We two will lead him there." Then, verily, they two did so.

Now (on that place), there were very many windfalls. Whenever they two went over a log, (Coyote) modo de more videbat vulvas ambarum. Valde modo pingues vulvas illae duae habebant. And it was for that reason that their (dual) husband was continually thinking in his inner mind, "Even if they two should go far, I shall never give them up. For that reason will I never give them up, although they two may go far, propterea vulvae ambarum pingues sunt, propterea eae duae formosae mulieres sunt. Whatever they two are thinking in their inner minds, I know their (dual) inner thoughts." Then such (were) his inner thoughts: "I shall never give those two up." Then they kept on going. And then they came to a village. "We two are going to leave him behind right here." Then (the older woman) said to her younger sister, "He knows (what) we two (are going to do, and) whatever we two are thinking in our inner thoughts. We two will leave him when he is asleep." When they came to the village, (the younger woman said,) "I am very tired." Thereupon (the older woman) said to her younger sister, "Thou shalt not sleep! As soon as he begins to snore, we two will leave him at that time." And then, verily, he began to snore. So then she said to her younger sister, "We two will escape now; he is asleep now." So they two ran away. "Thou shalt watch him carefully. Do thou not close the door hard! He will find us two

<sup>3</sup> *limsu-* TO SHUT (of door only).



x-auk· mu<sup>n</sup>hū kō'k<sup>s</sup> ayai'. "stis<sup>1</sup> qal-  
pa'yemts Lqwā'mits k'i'mhak's, k'i'stauk's  
kō'k<sup>s</sup> px'ilmisai'm." temau'x mu<sup>n</sup>hū  
meyā'xauxa. k'au'xuts-axa lnaī'; <sup>1</sup>Lauxiya<sup>2</sup>  
5 lā<sup>3</sup> Lhayā'nix.

Temu<sup>n</sup>hū Lqōu'tsxa kuts-si'tek'aux.  
aili'k'aux wa<sup>2</sup> i'leli'ts. tem-auk· mu<sup>n</sup>hū  
t'lxai'nx ts-hai<sup>n</sup>k'. "<sup>1</sup>Lauxiya<sup>2</sup> tai<sup>2</sup> qō'tse  
tsā'sidū. meqami'nt tsā'sidū." tem  
10 kus-auk· t'lxai'nx ts-hai<sup>n</sup>k'. "k'aux  
<sup>1</sup>Liya<sup>2</sup> hi'tslem. k'aux hi'k'e k'ilū'tlin,  
k'aux hi'k'e <sup>1</sup>k'qē'xan yā'tsi is qalxa'tsit!  
ts-Li'qayūk'. k'aux hi'k'e k'ilū'tlin ts-  
lānk', k'aux <sup>1</sup>Liya<sup>2</sup> hi'tslem ts-lānk'.  
15 k'aux hi'k'e qā'lte yā'tsi is k'i'lū, k'aux  
meitsai'st is qalxa'tsit! ts-Li'qayūk', aul  
hi'k'e is k'i'lū."

Temu<sup>n</sup>hū tsqa'mtliyū.

### 3. COYOTE AND THE TWO FROG-WOMEN<sup>3</sup>

Xa'met-s-hi'tslem<sup>3</sup> yā'tsx. wa'na' ts-  
20 mukwa'slik'. <sup>1</sup>Liya<sup>2</sup> qau'keai tqaia'ldex.  
tem is xa'met-s-pi'tskum tem-auk·  
t'lxai'nx ts-hai<sup>n</sup>k', k'-ayai'mi kō'k<sup>s</sup> phai-  
nai'st is lōwa'qatit-s-tsūdaī's, k'ai'i  
qlōwī'i. temu<sup>n</sup>hū k'e'a ayai'. <sup>1</sup>Liya<sup>2</sup>  
25 qā'tse yā'xau, te'mlta lyai'xai'lx xe'Lk-  
it-s-tsā'sidū k'in'wā'txau. temau'x  
pi'ūsxa'yai'nx. "nā'k'sex-e'n yā'xau?"  
k'ets ta'me <sup>1</sup>Liya<sup>2</sup> tsku'yai'x. k'ets  
psini'k'lekemyuk ts-piwi'slnsk tem k'ets  
30 qa'halt tskwai'tex. "lā-e'n k'ipst tqaia'-  
ldex?" — <sup>1</sup>Liya<sup>2</sup>. hi'k'exan pxē'itsūsa'-  
txux". — "is intsk'i's-en?" — "ā'a,  
nā'k'sex-e'n yā'xau?" — "kū'k<sup>s</sup>sin phai-  
nai'st is tsūdaī's." — "k'ei'sa. k'-xan-  
35 axa ā' hā'qwāwits<sup>4</sup> k'ha'm yā'xau, sxas-  
axa yālā'sautxam?" — "k'ei'sa." tem  
k'ets mu<sup>n</sup>hū xē'tsux".

<sup>1</sup> sis (temporal particle) + -st (inclusive dual).

<sup>2</sup> Told by Thomas Jackson in 1913. A similar tradition was also obtained among the Kalapuya Indians.

out." Then they two went to the middle of the sea. "If he should again overtake us here, we two will travel in the centre of the ocean." Then they two kept on going. They two looked back occasionally; they two did not see anything.

And now their (dual) husband woke up. The two (women) were already gone long ago. So he was thinking in his inner mind. "They two are not the only women (in this world). There are many (other) women." Then he thought in his inner mind, "They two shall not be human beings. They two shall just be Otters, they shall simply live beneath the roots of the alder-tree. Their (dual) names shall just be Otter, their (dual) names shall not be People. They two shall always live in the water, they two shall have for a house the roots of the alder-tree, just close to the water."

And now (the story) comes to an end.

### 3. COYOTE AND THE TWO FROG-WOMEN

A man was living. (It was Coyote.) He had no wife. Nobody wanted him. So one day he decided in his inner mind that he would go to the coast to look for dried salmon, in order that he might buy it. Then, verily, he went. He was not going long, when he came upon two women (who) were digging the ground (for camas). Then they two repeatedly hailed him. "Where art thou going?" He acted as if he did not hear. Upon his being hailed for the third time, he seemed to pay attention. "What do you two want?" — "Nothing. We two have just been asking thee (a question)." — "What is it?" — "Oh, where art thou going?" — "To the coast I (am going) for the purpose of looking for salmon." — "All right; art thou going to leave us two (some) on thy way, after thou wilt be going back?" — "Certainly." Thereupon he departed.

<sup>3</sup> For example, Coyote.

<sup>4</sup> haqu- TO LEAVE.

Tem k'au'k'ets mu<sup>n</sup>hū t'laxsal<sup>8</sup>ya'inx  
ts-hai<sup>n</sup>k'. "k'i'naux hī'te mu<sup>n</sup>hū lā<sup>a</sup>  
k!waya'a?" iLīya<sup>8</sup> qā<sup>a</sup>'tse yā'xau, te'  
mlta LEai'stsiLx as la<sup>8</sup>wus i'k'qē'lyem.  
5 temu<sup>n</sup>hū plī'xanx tem yūxayū'Lx tem  
timsiyū'Lx, k'ai'i iLīya<sup>8</sup> k'lila'tsxam.  
tem-uk<sup>a</sup> mu<sup>n</sup>hū qaayū'Lx i'k'ts-sa'yūk'.  
temu<sup>n</sup>hū mis-uk<sup>a</sup> lqaa'i'Lx, tem-axa  
mu<sup>n</sup>hū wahayū'Lx, tem-uk<sup>a</sup> mu<sup>n</sup>hū  
10 lī'yEqa lqinqē'nx ats-sa'yūk'. temu<sup>n</sup>hū  
mis ltlā'msitEX, temu<sup>n</sup>hū tsūlqanayū'Lx,  
tem-axa mu<sup>n</sup>hū yālsai'.

Wilx<sup>\*</sup> mu<sup>n</sup>hū-axa k'i'mhak's nā'k'ei  
i'k'a'saux xe'Lk'it-s-tsā'sidōo k'in'wā'txa.  
15 k'ets ta'mE iLīya<sup>8</sup> ts!ōwai'nx-slō, mis-axa  
wilx k'i'mhak's. pī'ūsxa'ya'inx k'au'xuts  
mu<sup>n</sup>hū xas tsā'sidū. "yālā'sautxax-ā'  
axa?" — "ā'a, yālā'sautxan-axa." —  
"qami'nt-ā axa ham yā'xau?" — "iLīya<sup>8</sup>  
20 ha tsā'mE." — "xan-axa hā'qūts hī<sup>n</sup>sk'."  
— "k'ei'sa, ai'xepst-ū!" temau'x-axa  
mu<sup>n</sup>hū k'e'a ayāi', temau'x mu<sup>n</sup>hū  
tsqē'wiLx i'k'as yā'tsx. temau'x mu<sup>n</sup>hū  
wahau'hīnx. "pst-ū awi'lxasxam ts!a'wa."  
25 tem-uk<sup>a</sup> mu<sup>n</sup>hū k'ikuyū'Lx ats-tsōla'qank'.  
"siyai'tipst-uk<sup>a</sup> pstin lōk' i'k'ta'sin sa'yū!"  
temau'x k'e'a hīlkwaīsa'inx. temu<sup>n</sup>hū  
mi'saux sī'yaītex ts-lō'k'ik', temu<sup>n</sup>hū  
stuqwa'yut!iLx<sup>1</sup> ats-tsūla'qank'. tem  
30 hī'k'e xupūi'txa tas la<sup>8</sup>wus, te'maux mu<sup>n</sup>-  
hū Lxui'inx as tsā'sidūwauX, te'maux  
mu<sup>n</sup>hū ha'sk'EX. tem mi'saux ha'sk'-  
istEX, temau'x mu<sup>n</sup>hū yū'xtlayux<sup>a</sup> ts-  
spai'k'aux, temau'x mu<sup>n</sup>hū k'i'stinX.  
35 mu<sup>n</sup>hū nāmk' k'ūts<sup>2</sup> hitūwai', k'is  
mu<sup>n</sup>hū spa'a kus le'wī', k'is k'i'mhak's  
k'tsla'a kus spai', k'is mu<sup>n</sup>hū k'wai'mi  
k'i'mhak's.

Temu<sup>n</sup>hū mi'saux-axa sālsxa'yaī', tem  
40 iłt!i'xasx kwas xam<sup>8</sup>. "wa'na' sin spai'.  
kwa'la' tenī'x?" temu<sup>n</sup>hū k'e'a qalpai'

<sup>1</sup> *stgu-* TO KICK.

Now, he was constantly thinking in his inner mind, "(I) wonder how I am going to play a trick on those two?" He was not going long, when he happened to look at some yellow-jackets where (they were) hanging on a branch. Thereupon he went to the (nest) and took it off (the tree), and closed it so that (the yellow-jackets) would not come out. Then he put (the nest) into his basket. And after he put it (into his basket), he opened (the nest) again and tied his basket tightly. Then, after he finished, he carried it like a pack, and went back.

Then he came back there, where those previously mentioned two women were digging the ground. He did not seem to pay any attention to (those two) after he came back. Then those women shouted at him, "Art thou on thy way home?" — "Yes, I am on my way home." — "Is it much (what) thou art bringing back?" — "Not very much." — "Thou shalt leave some behind for us two." — "All right, do you two come here!" So they two, verily, went, and came near to where he was staying. Thereupon he beckoned to those two. "You two shall come nearer here." Then he began to untie his pack. "Do you two put your (dual) heads inside this basket!" Then they two did it, indeed. Thereupon, after they two put their heads inside, he quickly kicked his pack. Then the yellow-jackets just became active, whereupon the two women were stung, and then they two died. And after they two were dead, he took off them their (dual) female organs and left those two. Nunc quodcumque congressum habere desiderabat, terram fodebat atque vulvam ibidem ponebat atque ibidem cohabitabat.

Then after those two (women) came to life again, one of them began to examine herself. "My female organ is gone. How art thou?" Thereupon, verily, the other one in turn ex-

<sup>2</sup> *k'ets* temporal particle; -ū suffixed particle HERE.



ilt'li'xasx tas xam<sup>2</sup>, te'mlta miu<sup>n</sup>hū ita<sup>2</sup>  
halā'tsi wa<sup>n</sup>na' spaī'k'.<sup>1</sup> "ā'a, Mō'luptsi-  
ni'sla qa'sist k'wa'yemtsx."

I'mste tem kus wa<sup>n</sup>na' ts-spaī'k' kus  
5 wulā'tat. tai<sup>2</sup> mu<sup>n</sup>hū i'mste.

#### 4. COYOTE'S AMOROUS ADVENTURES<sup>3</sup>

##### I

Xa'met-s-hi'tslem<sup>3</sup> wīlx k'aū'k's. te'  
mlta LEai'sx xe'Lk'it-s-tsā'sidū lū<sup>n</sup>'tsxau.  
temau'x pqai'txainx. "k'inau'x hi'te  
mu<sup>n</sup>hū lā<sup>a</sup> mehīlkwai'si? maaī'tsitx-ū  
10 mu<sup>n</sup>hū k'e'a. melā'nxan k'inau'x  
iltqa'a." tem k'ets mu<sup>n</sup>hū lqait'a'yūsx  
tem k'ets mu<sup>n</sup>hū silxūi'nx k'aū'k's ats-  
k'eli'sk'. yāsau'yai'nx ats-k'eli'sk'.  
"xa-kwas mukwa'ntsit k'ex qō'tse lqaa'-  
15 yutelī."

Temu<sup>n</sup>hū ayai' aūl is lqamī'laut.  
temu<sup>n</sup>hū wīlx k'aū'k's, temu<sup>n</sup>hū qalxē'xa.  
temu<sup>n</sup>hū kūyā'inx. temu<sup>n</sup>hū mis  
lqai'inx, temu<sup>n</sup>hū quwī'. tem-axa  
20 mu<sup>n</sup>hū lqai'yusinx k'aū'k's. tem pxēltsū-  
saī'. "qami'nt-ā tas hi'tslem?" — "ā'a."  
— "ta'xti-en silī'kwex?" — "līya<sup>2</sup> ta'xti.  
xa'met tai<sup>2</sup> tk'a'mk-la lqali'tex tsā'me."  
— "ā'a, lā-en lqali'tex?" — "ā'a, p'ūi'x  
25 ts-qalō'nak." — "ā'a." temu<sup>n</sup>hū wī-  
lsinx k'aū'k's temu<sup>n</sup>hū ayai' LEyā'tstik's.  
k'ets lts!ūya'tesalx-slō. temu<sup>n</sup>hū tipxa-  
inx, te'mlta līya<sup>2</sup> tsā'me nūnsai'. tem  
pxēltsūsa'inx, sis līya<sup>2</sup> ā' ts!ūya'telī-slō?  
30 tem ma'yex. "ā'a, ts!ūya'telīn-slō."  
tem pts!ūitelīya'inx-slō.<sup>4</sup> tem wustlinai'  
temu<sup>n</sup>hū ayai'. temu<sup>n</sup>hū metsimxaxai'.  
līya<sup>2</sup> qā'tse metsi'mxaxa, temu<sup>n</sup>hū  
ma'yex, k'-uk<sup>n</sup> qūi'siyūln is tsexai'.

<sup>1</sup> Simplified for *ts-spaī'k'*.

<sup>2</sup> Told by Thomas Jackson in 1913.

<sup>3</sup> Compare Boas (JAFL 11:140-141); Dixon (PAES 4:75); Sapir (PAES 2:11). Similar stories were

amined herself, but likewise her female organ was gone. "Yes, (it was) Coyote who played this trick on us two."

For that reason frogs have no female organs. Only now thus (it ends).

#### 4. COYOTE'S AMOROUS ADVENTURES

##### I

One man (Coyote) went across the river. Then he saw (on the other side) two women in the act of bathing. So he watched those two on the sly. "I wonder what I can do to those two! Verily, (they two) are nice to look at. I know (what) I am going to do with those two." Nunc abscindebat penem suum atque transmittibat. Loquebatur ad penem suum. "Thou shalt go in quickly into that pretty one."

Then he went on towards evening. Then he came to the other side, and shouted (for some one to take him across). Thereupon somebody came down to the bank after him. Then, when (the unknown person) crossed over to him, he got into the canoe. And then (the ferryman) came across with him. Then (Coyote) asked, "Are there many people here?" — "Yes." — "What are they all doing?" — "Nothing at all. Only one girl who has attained the age of puberty is very sick." — "Oh, what ails her?" — "Well, her abdomen has swollen up." — "Oh!" So then he was arrived with at the other side, whereupon he went towards the village. He acted (like) a medicine-man. Then food was placed before him, but he did not eat much. Then he was asked if he were a medicine-man. And he said, "Yes, I am a medicine-man." Then he was asked to try (his skill as a) medicine-man. So he agreed, and went (into the house). Then he began to doctor. He was not doctoring long, when he said that a partition should be put in front (of the sick

also recorded among the Molala, Thompson River, and Kwakiutl Indians.

<sup>4</sup> Passive.

temu<sup>n</sup>hū k'e'a imsti'lnx. temu<sup>n</sup>hū  
qalpai' tsi'lhidux<sup>u</sup>. "ha'mk'ix,<sup>1</sup> ha'mk'ix,  
ha'mk'ix!" temu<sup>n</sup>hū ainī'sūwītxai' as  
mukwa<sup>s</sup>slī. "ānā'+, la'ltqai'x-E'n tsa<sup>s</sup>tī  
5 a'sin ma'hats?" ts-yeai'sk' ats-Lī'yak'.  
iLiya<sup>s</sup> qā<sup>s</sup>'tsE temu<sup>n</sup>hū k'eaī'. tem-axa  
mu<sup>n</sup>hū yūxē'lnx as tsEXai'. "ma'yEX  
mis k'eaī' mu<sup>n</sup>hū limtsi'mxaxamt."  
tem-axa mu<sup>n</sup>hū qal'k'ai'. La'qayū-axa<sup>2</sup>  
10 mu<sup>n</sup>hū tsimtsi'mxaxak'.<sup>3</sup> tem k'ETS  
mu<sup>n</sup>hū qal'k'ai'. xūts hī'k'e mis qai'-  
slō, temu<sup>n</sup>hū xē'tsux<sup>u</sup>.

## II

Temu<sup>n</sup>hū<sup>4</sup> qalpai' wilx is tsā'mst  
nā'tk'. temu<sup>n</sup>hū ayai'. te'mlta LEai'sx  
15 as tsā'sidū k'aux lū<sup>n</sup>'tsxa. "k'i'naux  
hī'tE mu<sup>n</sup>hū lā<sup>a</sup> k'waya'a? ā'a, k'in  
qa'halt ma'hats k'laī'tiyut!E'mxus<sup>5</sup>  
mukwī'st-auk'." tem k'ETS mu<sup>n</sup>hū  
laai'tiyūt!Em as mētā'lkust!xatū,<sup>6</sup> k'ETS  
20 ā'niyux<sup>u</sup> temau'x LEai'sx xas tsā'sidū  
as mētā'lkust!xatū k'layā'tauyem, temau'x  
mu<sup>n</sup>hū plī'xanx. te'mlta mu<sup>n</sup>hū k'e'a  
hauwī'tit-s-ma'hats. temau'x mu<sup>n</sup>hū  
k'!ōqudīyū'Lx, temau'x mu<sup>n</sup>hū  
25 pxē'pxēltsūsī'ltlx. "k'ist iltqa'a-En?  
xukwai'tist-auk' a'!" temau'x mu<sup>n</sup>hū  
k'e'a imsti'lnx. tem mi'sxwauk'.<sup>7</sup> lha'-  
kwai'tEX, k'ETS yaī'x-auk' is hai<sup>u</sup>  
ā'niyux<sup>u</sup>. k'ETS hī'k'e hauk's tsila'tal.  
30 iLiya<sup>s</sup> qā<sup>s</sup>'tsE tsila'tal hauk's, te'mltak<sup>u</sup>  
pā'kantxai. "pqanī'sEX!<sup>8</sup> qō'tsE k'ETS  
ta<sup>s</sup> Lxama'k'ink'alsx." temu<sup>n</sup>hū Lxauwai'-  
stEX yā'sau: "ū'k'EX-E'n? tas S'ū'ku  
yai'tsxa ham hīlkwaī's."<sup>9</sup> tem k'ETS  
35 mu<sup>n</sup>hū tsīqū'xa. "hē+, tsilhū<sup>u</sup>nak<sup>u</sup> tas  
tk'a'mk'la."

Tai<sup>s</sup> mu<sup>n</sup>hū.

<sup>1</sup> mk'- TO JOIN.

<sup>2</sup> aq- TO BE WELL.

<sup>3</sup> Contracted for ts-metsi'mxaxak'.

<sup>4</sup> Compare Boas (JAFL 11:145); Sapir (PAES 2:3).

<sup>5</sup> ail- TO DRIFT.

<sup>6</sup> tū'lkust! RECEPTACLE.

person). Thereupon it was done so. So then  
he began to sing his song: "Come together,  
come together, come together!" Then the  
woman (whom he was doctoring) attempted to  
cry. "Well, what on earth is he doing to my  
child?" (those were) the words of her mother.  
Then (it was) not long, when he finished.  
Thereupon the partition was removed. "He  
said that he was now through doctoring." And  
then he ran away. Now, his subject for doc-  
toring became well after he ran away. As  
soon as daylight appeared, he started out.

## II

And then he came again to another river.  
Then he went on. Soon he saw two women  
who were bathing. "(I) wonder in what way I  
can fool those two! Yes, (disguised) as a child  
I will float in a canoe." Then he floated in a  
basket, crying all the time. Then the two  
women saw the basket as it was floating,  
whereupon they two went to look at it. And,  
verily, a young child (was in that basket).  
Then they two took hold of it, and began to  
ask each other, "What shall we two do with  
it? Pray, let us take it out (from the basket)!"  
So, verily, they two did this. And after they  
two had taken it out, (the child) kept on cry-  
ing very hard. It was just reaching out (with  
its hands) everywhere. It was not reaching  
out everywhere (very) long, cum vulvam  
(puellae quae infantem tenebat) tangere  
inchoaret. "What a nasty thing! Why! it is  
bent upon mischief!" Thereupon it was  
thrown (away, and the two girls) kept on say-  
ing, "Who art thou? Thy actions are differ-  
ent (from) those (of) S'ū'ku." And then  
(Coyote) laughed. "Hey! macilenta est vulva  
puellae eae."

Only now (it ends).

<sup>7</sup> Transposed for mi'saux-auk'.

<sup>8</sup> A term denoting anger, and corresponding to the  
English expletive "S'- death!"

<sup>9</sup> This sentence is not correct; for, as a matter of fact,  
S'ūku, the Transformer, tried to perform a similar trick.



## REVIEWS

LINGUISTIC PUBLICATIONS OF THE BUREAU  
OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY, A GENERAL  
REVIEW

If only by virtue of its historical position, the Bureau of American Ethnology is easily the most prominent American institution engaged in scientific research and publication on the ethnology, archaeology, physical anthropology, and linguistics of the natives of America, particularly of the tribes north of Mexico. For linguistic students there is cause for congratulation that from the very first the Bureau has devoted a considerable share of its attention to the study of the languages of these tribes. For this policy they must ever remain thankful to the founder of the Bureau, J. W. Powell, who, though not a linguist, clearly perceived the value of linguistic data to Americanistic studies. He himself set the ball rolling with his "Introduction to the Study of Indian Languages," published in 1877. Since then there has been a steady stream of Bureau linguistic publications, of varying interest and importance, but, on the whole, of constantly increasing merit, until the total output has reached the respectable figure of well-nigh ten thousand printed pages. It is now just forty years since the Bureau, or rather its immediate government precursor, published the "Introduction" referred to, so that this would seem to be an appropriate enough time to get a bird's-eye view of the whole linguistic output. A specific review of each and every publication would be both useless and impossible, but perhaps a few general impressions may not be without value. The publications themselves are listed in the following bibliography.

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### V. Grammatical Material

44. FURUHELM, J. (communicated to G. Gibbs). Notes on the Natives of Alaska (Appendix, CNAE 1 [pt. 1, 1877] : 111-116).
45. GIBBS, GEORGE. Note on the Use of Numerals among the T'sim si-an' (CNAE 155-156).
46. GATSCHET, A. S. The Klamath Indians of Southwestern Oregon (Grammar, CNAE 2 [pt. 1, 1890] : 199-711).
47. RIGGS, S. R. (ed. by J. O. Dorsey). Dakota Grammar, Texts, and Ethnography (Grammar, CNAE 9 [1893] : 3-79).
48. GODDARD, P. E. Athapaskan (Hupa), in Handbook of American Indian Languages (BBAE 40 [pt. 1, 1911] : 85-158).
49. SWANTON, JOHN R. Tlingit (BBAE 40 [pt. 1] : 159-204).
50. — Haida (BBAE 40 [pt. 1] : 205-282).
51. BOAS, FRANZ. Tsimshian (BBAE 40 [pt. 1] : 283-422).
52. — Kwakiutl (BBAE 40 [pt. 1] : 423-557).
53. — Chinook (BBAE 40 [pt. 1] : 559-677).
54. DIXON, R. B. Maidu (BBAE 40 [pt. 1] : 679-734).
55. JONES, WM. (revised by Truman Michelson). Algonquian (Fox) (BBAE 40 [pt. 1] : 735-873).
56. BOAS, FRANZ; and SWANTON, J. R. Dakota (Teton and Santee dialects), with remarks on the Ponca and Winnebago (BBAE 40 [pt. 1] : 875-965).



57. THALBITZER, WILLIAM. Eskimo (BBAE 40 [pt. 1]: 967-1069).
58. SAFIR, EDWARD. The Takelma Language of Southwestern Oregon, in Handbook of American Indian Languages (BBAE 40 [pt. 2, 1912]: 1-296).
59. FRACHTENBERG, L. J. Coos (BBAE 40 [pt. 2, 1914]: 297-429).
- 59a. — Siuslawan (Lower Umpqua) (BBAE 40 [pt. 2, 1917]: 431-629).

#### VI. *Comparative Linguistics*

60. POWELL, J. W. Indian Linguistic Families of America North of Mexico (RBAE 7 [1891]: 1-142).
61. HEWITT, J. N. B. Comparative Lexicology [of Seri and Yuman] (RBAE 17 [1898]: 299\*-344\*).
62. SWANTON, J. R. Social Condition, Beliefs, and Linguistic Relationship of the Tlingit Indians (Relationship between the Tlingit and Haida Languages, RBAE 26 [1908]: 472-485).
63. THOMAS, CYRUS; and SWANTON, J. R. Indian Languages of Mexico and Central America, and their Geographical Distribution (BBAE 44 [1911]: 1-108).
64. MICHELSON; TRUMAN. Preliminary Report on the Linguistic Classification of Algonquian Tribes (RBAE 28 [1912]: 221-290 b).

In brief, 370 pages are devoted to linguistic papers of a general nature, 1526 pages to linguistic bibliographies (not counting No. 7), 2612 pages to Indian text (including connected English translations), 3007 pages to lexical material, 2211 pages to grammatical studies, and 382 pages to comparative linguistics. Nor is this all, for a very considerable body of lexical and text material (chiefly songs and short ritualistic texts) is scattered up and down various ethnological monographs (for example, in Miss Fletcher's "Hako Ceremony," Mrs. Stevenson's "Zuñi Indians," J. P. Harrington's "Ethnogeography of the Tewa Indians," and elsewhere). Moreover, there is much unpublished manuscript of a linguistic nature in the hands of the Bureau, some of which has been drawn upon for the published papers.<sup>1</sup> As regards mere bulk, the linguistic

<sup>1</sup> And let us not forget that not a few linguistic papers and monographs published in anthropological journals and in the anthropological series of other institutions were based on material obtained under the auspices of the Bureau.

output of the Bureau is impressive enough, even when allowance is made for a considerable share of material (such as Nos. 6-16) that is intended merely as a help for scientific research. Nor should we forget that lexical and text matter, the indispensable raw material of all linguistic studies, is necessarily a somewhat forbidding item from the quantitative standpoint. The total readable volume of linguistic contributions (aside from translations of texts) boils down, therefore, to hardly more than a fourth of the whole.

How about quality? It is a thankless, certainly a somewhat dangerous, proceeding to pronounce judgment right and left wise-acre-fashion, so much depending on personal bias and the peculiar circumstances attending each publication. Nevertheless it seems safe to say that in quality the Bureau linguistic publications run a very long gamut indeed, extending all the way from the distressing amateurishness of, say, No. 34, to work exemplified, say, in No. 57, of as high a standard of phonetic finish and morphological insight as one could hope to find anywhere in descriptive linguistic literature. As these examples indicate, the general standard has improved with time, as was indeed to be expected on general principles. Yet this is not unreservedly true, for I should consider it beyond dispute that, for instance, J. O. Dorsey's text material (Nos. 18 and 19) can more than hold its own in comparison with much that followed.

Any general criticism of the linguistics of the Bureau should be tempered by three considerations. In the first place, much of the output is the work of men who were either not trained in linguistic methods at all, or, at any rate, did not receive a training rigorous enough to set them the highest desirable standard of accomplishment. Under the circumstances in which the scientific activities of the Bureau were launched, this is perfectly excusable; for most of the trained linguists were and still largely are men devoted

to specialist researches of a more traditional color, — men who shrink from the serious study of languages spoken by mere Indians with the same amusing helplessness that the conventional classicist seems to betray when he gets a whiff of modern ethnological method. The Bureau could not pick and choose, it had to avail itself of the services of such enthusiasts as could be found. In the second place, the languages studied by the Bureau were in most cases a veritable *terra incognita* when first handled by its investigators. It was not, as had already come to be the case among the Semitists and Indogermanists, a question of refined morphologic analyses and of subtle phonetic determinations. The problems were rougher and more fundamental, in many ways all the more fascinating on that account. The vast number of aboriginal American languages had to be roughly compared with one another, and grouped into at least temporarily exclusive "stocks;" the phonetic systems, vocabularies, and structures of these languages had to be painfully worked out point by point; the oral literature of the Indians had to be slowly recorded in the form of texts which might serve as a *bona fide* basis for the grammatical superstructures built out of the raw materials of field-work. The subject of North American linguistics was, when Powell first took the work in hand, a tangled thicket with few discernible trails; now, chiefly through the labors of the Bureau itself, trails have been blazed all through the thicket, and, though there are still many clumps of virgin forest, most of the trees have been felled, and a good part of the land turned over to agricultural uses. Finally, there is a third consideration, in part already anticipated, that makes any direct comparison of American Indian linguistic work with that of, say, most Indogermanic philologists highly misleading. The latter deals chiefly with written records whose accuracy is beyond personal control, the former includes and is further based on field-records for whose accuracy the

Americanist is himself responsible. There is therefore no use contrasting the breathless finesse of a German *Lautschieber* with the relatively rough-and-ready carrying-on of the majority of Indian linguists. One can be sword-maker and swordsman too, but is not likely to be equally clever at both jobs. Anyway, most of us have a shrewd suspicion that many a renowned denizen of the German universities, impressive in his balancing of imponderable phonologic nuances, would find himself sadly up a tree when confronted with the live problems of an intricate Indian language that he was forced to study by pure induction. In spite of the difficulties that we have mentioned, the general level of quality in the linguistic publications of the Bureau must be admitted to be high.

The corner-stone of the linguistic edifice in aboriginal North America, one might almost say of North American anthropology generally, is Powell's "Indian Linguistic Families of America North of Mexico" (No. 60 of the bibliography). Though the work generally passes under Powell's name, it is of course a compilation based on the labors of several members of the Bureau staff. This monumental work, with its appended map, has served, and on the whole still serves, as the basis of all classificatory work in North American linguistics, secondarily (and less justly) in ethnology as well. Despite its inevitable errors of detail, it has proved itself to be an eminently reliable guide. The lines of linguistic cleavage laid down in it still have a fundamental significance, though the interpretation of these lines of cleavage has been somewhat modified by recent research. There can now be no reasonable doubt that the "stocks" of Powell's linguistic map are not all to be taken in the mutually exclusive sense in which he defined them. New syntheses are forced upon us by further investigation, the terrifying complexity disclosed on Powell's map progressively yielding to simplification. On the basis of evidence



already present, and of advance statements whose validity remains to be demonstrated, I should say that the 57 distinct stocks recognized on the revised linguistic map of the Bureau may be expected to re-arrange themselves into perhaps not more than 16, or even less. Always bear in mind, however, that the great divisions recognized by Powell still have significance, only that many of them are now to be understood as major subdivisions of larger linguistic units. While nothing is further from my mind than to minimize the great usefulness of Powell's classification, I may be pardoned for regretting the too definitive and dogmatic form in which it was presented. This has had the effect until recently of discouraging further researches into the problem of linguistic groupings in America. It is always dangerous to erect a formidable structure on a largely negative basis, for one tends to interpret it as a positive and finished accomplishment. However, I would freely grant that the services rendered by Powell's classification have far outweighed its deterrent influence. A thoroughly revised map of linguistic stocks north of Mexico will sooner or later have to be issued; but it is as well not to be too precipitate about this, as the whole subject of the genetic classification of Indian languages is at present in a state of flux.

In reviewing the linguistic publications of the Bureau as a whole, we have a right to ask three leading questions: Is the standard of phonetic accuracy adopted in the recording of the languages adequate? Are the grammars of these languages so presented as to convey a satisfactory notion of the fundamental characteristics of their structure? and, Have various languages been treated from the comparative standpoint, so as to suggest historical perspectives transcending those obtained from the intensive study of particular languages? Let us briefly consider each of these queries.

Early in its career the Bureau outlined a phonetic alphabet, which, as compared with the best that phonetic research at the time had to offer, was quite inadequate, but which was so vast an improvement on the amateurish methods in vogue for recording Indian words, that its adoption must be considered a great step forward in the study of American Indian linguistics. It has undoubtedly done good work in its day, and must be taken as the basis for further improvements. However, as it was framed without any very deep knowledge of the actual phonetic problems presented by American languages, many of which are of exceptional difficulty and complexity in this respect, field investigators soon found it impossible to give an even approximately adequate idea of the requisite phonetic facts without straining its resources. In this way new symbols were added from time to time by various investigators, and the accuracy of linguistic notation, limited naturally by the native abilities of the recorders, grew apace. It is difficult to dispose of the phonetic quality of the series in a word. It is hardly fair to lay stress on the orthographies of some of the earlier works; e.g., Nos. 30-34 and 44. On the other hand, I do not think one could candidly say that much even of the more recent work is as good as we should like to have it (Nos. 18, 52, and 57 probably about represent the high-water mark). The general run of the linguistic papers might be not unfairly described as "reasonably good" in phonetic respects, certainly no better.

Had a really scientific and reasonably complete phonetic alphabet been adopted earlier in the life of the Bureau, I believe the phonetic standard of some of the later linguistic work done under its auspices would have been even higher than it is. Experience shows that a field-worker tends, in his hearing of unfamiliar sounds, to be influenced by the standard phonetic scheme that has made itself at home in his inner ear; he will assimilate

late to this scheme more readily than recognize and record as distinctive elements sounds not already provided for. For this reason the new phonetic scheme adopted by a committee of the American Anthropological Association, and recently published in the "Miscellaneous Collections of the Smithsonian Institution,"<sup>1</sup> is timely, and, let us hope, adequate. I believe that the Bureau cannot do better than adopt it as the standard alphabet for its future publications. While a fetich should not be made of uniformity in orthographic matters, I do not think it is altogether wise to indulge in too many individual vagaries.

It is in morphology that I think the Bureau has done its most valuable linguistic work. Chiefly under the enthusiastic guidance of Boas, we have presented to us in Nos. 48-59 (other sketches, such as Kutenai, Alsea, Siuslaw, and Paiute, are to follow) an excellent set of descriptive analyses of the structures of several Indian languages. How excellent, on the whole, they are, may be best gathered by contrasting them with the conventional grammatical treatment with a Latin bias, that we find in so many of the older Indian grammars (No. 47 is not altogether free from this bias). "The Handbook of American Indian Languages" is, indeed, easily the most significant linguistic achievement of the Bureau; taking it all in all, it probably marks the crest up to the present of research in American Indian linguistics, and at the same time constitutes one of the really important monuments to Boas's versatility as anthropologist. It would be idle to pretend that all are equally good, or that any one, indeed, is altogether perfect. Many valid criticisms could be made of all or most of them; but they certainly do succeed, for all that, in giving a vivid picture of the exuberant

variety and distinctiveness of American Indian linguistic morphology. To the linguistic psychologist and to the comparative philologist alike it is certainly something very like an æsthetic delight to have clearly revealed to him, for instance, two such unique linguistic organisms as those described in Nos. 48 and 51.

One cannot with such enthusiastic affirmation answer the third of our leading questions. Nos. 60 and 63 are really studies in linguistic geography and classification rather than in comparative philology proper, though they constitute a necessary preliminary to the latter type of investigation. No. 61 is a purely negative and rather fruitless type of linguistic research; while No. 62, despite its more positive outlook, is too hesitating and incomplete a presentation of evidence to merit unqualified praise. This leaves No. 64 as the only really serious work yet undertaken by the Bureau in comparative linguistics; and even this, valuable as it is, is too restricted in scope to mark a very notable advance. The truth is, that the Bureau has not yet fairly reached the comparative stage of linguistic work, but is still, and for quite some time to come necessarily will be, mainly concerned with purely descriptive labors. Nevertheless, I do not believe that this almost total lack of emphasis on comparative work is altogether due to the fact that so much remains to be done in the amassing of lexical and text materials and in the analysis of individual morphologies. Comparative work in linguistics, if it is to be of any scientific value, requires a keenly sensitive historical consciousness in the handling of linguistic phenomena. It is precisely the historical interpretation of cultural elements, however, that has up to the recent past been most conspicuously absent in Americanistic work. The lack of linguistic studies of a comparative nature is merely a symptom of this general defect.

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<sup>1</sup>Phonetic Transcription of Indian Languages, Report of Committee of American Anthropological Association (Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, vol. 66, no. 6, 1916), 15 pp. and 2 tables.



UHLENBECK, C. C., *Het Passieve Karakter van het Verbum Transitivum of van het Verbum Actionis in Talen van Noord-Amerika* ("The Passive Character of the Transitive Verb or of the Active Verb in Languages of North America"). Reprinted from "Verslagen en Mededeelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afdeling Letterkunde, 5<sup>e</sup> Reeks, Deel II," 187-216. Amsterdam, 1916.

In this highly suggestive and important paper the distinguished Dutch philologist Uhlenbeck undertakes to show that in many American languages (as, for example, also in Basque) the transitive verb or verb of action is not fundamentally active in voice, but rather passive; that the logical subject (from our own point of view) is really a sort of instrumental, or, better, agentive; and that the logical object is grammatically the subject of a passive verb. Thus, in a sentence like I KILLED HIM, the primary idea expressed by the verb-stem is BEING KILLED rather than KILLING: whence it follows that the I is really an agentive (BY ME, THROUGH MY MEDIATION), and that the HIM is best rendered as a subjective HE: HE WAS KILLED BY ME. Uhlenbeck does not assume this interpretation to hold generally for America, but is careful to point out that in a number of American languages (e.g., Klamath and Maidu) we have true active forms. Nevertheless, he looks upon the passive conception of the logically transitive or active verb as belonging to a particularly primitive stage of linguistic evolution. Even where a newer conception has supplanted the old, he sometimes finds reason to believe that the latter may still be traced in survival phenomena. In other words, he believes that the passive verb as fundamental concept belongs to the same group of antique linguistic phenomena as, say, grammatical gender.

I think it would be doing Uhlenbeck no injustice to say that his main interest in

writing the paper was not a strictly philological one, but rather to contribute to ethno-psychologic speculation on the basis of linguistic data. The gist of the paper, together with Uhlenbeck's psychological interpretation of the linguistic facts and the inferences made by him, is given towards the end (pp. 213-215), and it seems advisable to quote from this passage in some detail: "The pronominal elements in conjugation present, as we have already noted more than once, a certain case-value. In the languages with passive conception of the so-called active, or of only the transitive, verb, two case-values are to be clearly distinguished in the pronominal affixes; namely, that of a *casus energeticus* and that of a *casus inertiae*. Each of these two is found in two varieties, according to whether the whole active verb, or only the transitive verb, is passively conceived. The energetic, in other words, may be a transitive case (as, for example, in Basque), in which case it has an intransitive case opposed to it; or, as case of the logical subject in all verbs of action, it may be an active case (as, for example, in Dakota), in which instance it may be contrasted with an inactive case. It is easy to discover the nature of the *casus inertiae*, whether intransitive or inactive. It is the case of him who or that which is, or gets to be, in a certain state, aside from his (or its) own will and without his (or its) own participation, whether under the influence of a stronger person or thing or as if it were of himself (or itself). But what is the essential nature of the energetic case? It is a case of instrumental-like character, but nevertheless to be clearly distinguished from an ordinary instrumental. One might call the energetic the case of the primary instrument; the ordinary instrumental, that of the secondary instrument. For the primitive linguistic feeling, the real agent is a hidden power. It acts *via* the apparent agent, the primary instrument, which again can itself make use of a secondary tool. Take, for example, a

sentence like HE KILLS THE BIRD WITH A STONE. A Blackfoot would express this in the following manner: THE BIRD BY-MEANS-OF-IS-KILLED-BY-HIM A STONE. He who kills is what is generally called the 'agent,' but in truth is only the apparent agent, the primary instrument, which is itself controlled by a hidden power. The apparent agent, although itself dependent, works on the logical object (i.e., the grammatical subject) by its own emanating *orenda*; and even when it is the logical subject of an intransitive action,—which is often the case in the mentality of peoples that recognize the contrast, not of transitive and intransitive, but of active and inactive,—it works similarly by virtue of the same outstreaming mystic power. Therefore the energetic case, the exclusively transitive as well as the general active, can be called *casus emanativus* or 'case of outstreaming power.' When it is an active case, it can be more closely defined as the 'case of operative power;' when it is a transitive, as the case of power that operates on something else."

For us the main point of value in the paper is the fact that Uhlenbeck has striven to explain three distinct linguistic phenomena, each of which had been abundantly recognized as such, as symptomatic of one fundamental feature,—the passivity of the so-called transitive and active verbs. These phenomena are the close morphological resemblance in certain languages between normal passive forms and at least certain transitive forms; the classification of verb-stems on the basis of singularity or plurality, according to the number of the intransitive subject and transitive object; and the frequent classification of pronominal elements into two groups that do not correspond to our normal subjective and objective (i.e., either into intransitive subject and transitive object *versus* transitive subject, or into inactive subject and transitive object *versus* active subject). A few remarks on each of these points.

Uhlenbeck's data for the first class of evidence are taken from Algonkin alone (Ojibwa and Blackfoot; Michelson's corroborative evidence for Fox is also referred to). For certain Algonkin verb-forms there can, indeed, be no doubt that Uhlenbeck's findings are correct; but frankly I do not see that he has succeeded in showing that the Algonkin transitive as a whole needs to be interpreted as a passive. I would tend rather to feel that certain true passives had been dragged for purely paradigmatic reasons into transitive company; e.g., Jones's Fox form for HE—ME is evidently identical with his I as passive subject, and has morphologically nothing to do with such true pronominally compound transitive forms as THOU—ME. That the passive is unrelated to the true transitive in Fox, seems to me to be strongly suggested by the occurrence of two morphologically very distinct forms for the combination of two third persons,—a true transitive (e.g., HE SEES HIM), and a passive of the same structure as the HE—ME and similar forms already instanced (this passive occurs in two distinct forms,—an agentive, HE IS SEEN BY HIM; and a non-agentive, HE IS SEEN indefinitely). However, there no doubt are languages whose whole transitive is morphologically a true passive. This is notably the case with Yana, in which such a form as HE SEES ME is quite evidently to be interpreted as meaning properly I AM SEEN BY HIM; THOU SEEST ME, as I AM SEEN (BY THEE is merely implied); I SEE THEE, as THOU ART SEEN (BY ME is merely implied); and so on. Yet even where there is a close morphological resemblance between transitives and passives, it does not always follow that the transitives are of passive origin. Thus, in Takelma such a form as HE SEES ME is closely related to I AM SEEN, but is not derived from it. On the contrary, the passive is formed from the transitive by means of a suffix which differs for various tense-modes. Hence it seems plausible to interpret it as a sort of impersonal, though there is a true impersonal (with or without object) in



Takelma, besides. At any rate, the pronominal object of the transitive cannot in Takelma well be interpreted as the subject of a passive, for the simple reason that it shows no resemblance to the intransitive subject, which differs in turn from the transitive subject. This and other examples that might be adduced show conclusively that evidence of the relation between passive and transitive forms cannot without further ado be used to demonstrate the passive origin of the transitive. Morphological evidence for such an origin undoubtedly exists in some cases, but hardly so abundantly as to establish the general validity of Uhlenbeck's main thesis.

That in those American languages that distinguish singular and plural verb-stems the determining factor is not altogether the number of the subject, but, where the verb is transitive, the number of the object, is well known to Americanists. Uhlenbeck quotes examples from Athapascan, Haida, Tsimshian, Chinook, Coos, and Pomo. Naturally there are many other languages that present the same feature. Uhlenbeck considers it as a reflex of the primarily passive nature of the transitive verb; the logical object of an action being psychologically, and in many cases grammatically, the subject of the passive form of the action, and hence directly comparable to the subject of an intransitive verb. A rapid survey of American languages classifying verb-stems in the manner described soon discloses the fact, however, that there is no clear correlation between this feature and the classification of pronominal affixes into transitive *versus* intransitive, or into active *versus* inactive, as contrasted with subjective *versus* objective. Thus, while Haida classifies its pronominal elements into active and inactive (to use Uhlenbeck's terminology), and Tsimshian and Chinook into transitive and intransitive, there are not a few languages of subjective *versus* objective pronominal classification that recognize precisely the same feature of number-classification of

verbs as these languages. Shoshonean, for example, is a group of languages (I speak chiefly for Southern Paiute) that rigidly classifies its pronouns into subjective and objective; yet it makes an unusually liberal use of verb-stems that are distinct for singular and plural, singularity or plurality of the transitive verb being, as usual, determined by the object. One way out of the difficulty is to assume, as Uhlenbeck is evidently inclined to do, that in such languages as Shoshonean and Klamath the present classification of pronominal elements is a secondary feature, and that the numerical classification of verb-stems reflects an older status of pronominal classification. As I see no warrant for such an inference, I prefer to doubt seriously whether the two features are causally related. On general psychological principles, it seems likely enough that transitive activities are necessarily more closely connected in experience with the object than with the subject. A passive interpretation of the transitive is hardly necessary. I would suggest, however, that the link between the subjectively determined intransitive and the objectively determined transitive verbs lies in the causative origin of many transitives. If TO KILL is really in origin TO CAUSE TO DIE, then the difference between ONE MAN DYING and SEVERAL DYING would necessarily have to be reflected in a difference between CAUSING ONE MAN TO DIE, KILLING ONE MAN, and CAUSING SEVERAL TO DIE, KILLING SEVERAL. And, indeed, a survey of transitive verb-stems that recognize a distinction of number shows that they consist chiefly, if not entirely, of such as can be, in part even morphologically, explained as causative derivatives of intransitives. If such causatives be taken as a starting-point for number-discrimination in the object, other types of transitive with number-discrimination, if such exist, might be explained as due to analogy.

The greater part of Uhlenbeck's paper is taken up with his third class of evidence, the

classification of pronominal affixes. The Basque forms (intransitive subject and transitive object *versus* transitive subject) are taken as his starting-point, and attention is called to parallels in Eskimo and, hypothetically, an inferred stage in Indogermanic. The Indian forms are quoted from Tlingit, Haida, Tsimshian, Chinook, Muskhogean, and Siouan. Riggs's Dakota evidence, in particular, is presented in great detail; the conclusion arrived at being that all active verbs are passives in nature, the logical subject being really an agentive. Comparison with other Siouan dialects (Hidatsa, Ponca, Winnebago, Tutelo) shows the pronominal peculiarities of Dakota to be general to Siouan; the Catawba evidence throws no light on the subject (I cannot refrain, in passing, from remarking that there is no bit of American Indian linguistic research that more urgently needs doing than the preparation in the field of a Catawba grammar; Gatschet's sketch is worthless). It follows clearly enough from Uhlenbeck's evidence, which could no doubt be greatly augmented, that the ordinary contrast between subject and object does not hold in these languages; but I do not see that the interpretation of the transitive or active verb as a passive is a necessary one. At least two other possibilities seem open. Uhlenbeck's *casus inertiae* may be an intrinsically caseless form which takes on all functions not specifically covered by the transitive or active case (subject of transitive or active verb); in other words, the I of I SLEEP, and the ME of HE KILLS ME may be identical in form, not because of any identity of verb-morphology, but merely by way of contrast to the distinctively transitive form of the I of I KILL HIM. This explanation would probably imply a previous stage of complete lack of pronominal differentiation. Secondly, instead of interpreting the object of the transitive verb as a sort of subjective (in other words, deriving it from the intransitive or inactive

case), one may, on the contrary, look upon the latter as an objective, the inactive or intransitive verb being interpreted as a static verb without expressed subject, but with direct or indirect object. Thus, forms like I SLEEP or I THINK could be understood as meaning properly IT SLEEPS ME, IT SEEMS TO ME (cf. such German forms as *mich hungert*). Personally, I consider the latter explanation as very likely for those languages that, like Tlingit, Haida, Muskhogean, and Siouan, distinguish between active and inactive verbs. On the other hand, it seems considerably more far-fetched in the case of languages that distinguish between transitive and intransitive verbs (I RUN, for example, as IT RUNS TO ME). This brings me to what I consider the greatest weakness of Uhlenbeck's paper,—the inclusion under one rubric of transitive *versus* intransitive, and active *versus* inactive. I believe he would have made a more convincing case if he had confined himself to the former category, and adopted our second suggestion for the latter. In brief, the transitive verb *may* be plausibly interpreted as a passive, though this hardly seems necessary to me where there is not direct morphologic evidence of the kind that Uhlenbeck has produced for certain Algonkin forms; the active verb is far more plausibly otherwise interpreted.

To Uhlenbeck's speculations as to the primitiveness of the passive verb I am not inclined to attach much importance. Such questions must be attacked morphologically and historically, not ethno-psychologically. As long as we are not better informed as to the exact distribution of types of pronominal classification and as to the historical drifts inferred from comparative linguistic research, it is premature to talk of certain features as primitive, of others as secondary. For the present, I should like to point out that we know of at least five, fundamentally probably only three, types of pronominal classification



in America, as indicated in the following table:—

	Obj. tr.	Subj. intr.		Subj. tr.	Example.
		Inactive.	Active.		
1. . .	A		A	■	Chinook
2. . .	A	A	B	■	Dakota
3. . .	A		■	C	Takelma
4. . .	A		B	■	Paiute
5. . .	A (sometimes subj. of passive)		A	A	Yana

Identity of letter symbolizes identity of pronominal form. Type 4 is probably either simplified from type 3 or else represents an earlier stage of it; both developments may well have taken place. Type 5 is no doubt a specialized simplification of type 4. What the historical relations between types 1 and 2 and between each of these and types 3–5 are, it is impossible to tell at present, though there is at least some evidence to show that type 4 tends to develop from type 2. The interpretation of the nature of the verb in each of these types is not always easy. The passive interpretation of the transitive may apply in certain cases of types 1 and 5.

E. SAPIR

UHLÉNBECK, C. C., *Het Identificeerend Karakter der Possessieve Flexie in Talen van Noord-Amerika* ("The Identifying Character of the Possessive Inflection in Languages of North America"). Reprinted from *Verslagen en Mededeelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afdeling Letterkunde*, 5<sup>e</sup> Reeks, Deel II," 345–371. Amsterdam, 1916.

Uhlenbeck calls renewed attention in this paper to the well-known fact that in many American languages the possessive pronouns, generally affixed to the noun, occur in two more or less morphologically distinct series,—one for nouns possession of which is of an inseparable nature, the other for nouns

denoting separable possession. The former category includes chiefly terms of relationship and nouns denoting parts of the body. A careful survey of the evidence presented by Uhlenbeck shows, that, though body-part nouns and terms of relationship are not infrequently classed together in contrast to separable nouns, there are sometimes special morphological features that distinguish the two types of inseparable nouns; further, that in certain languages only the terms of relationship constitute a special class as regards possessive affixes. Languages distinguishing separable and inseparable possession as such are Tlingit, Haida, Tsimshian, Chimariko, Muskogean, and Siouan. As a rule, however, the two pronominal series are not fundamentally distinct, but are morphologically related; in Tlingit, Tsimshian, and Siouan, the separability of the noun is indicated by an affixed element, while only in Chimariko are the possessive elements of the two series radically distinct. Moreover, in both Haida and Siouan the terms of relationship are not treated in quite the same manner as the body-part nouns. In Algonkin, of which he treats Blackfoot in particularly great detail, Uhlenbeck finds that, while there is no rigid classification of possessed nouns into separable and inseparable, a suffixed *-m-* is used with great frequency to indicate the separability of the noun.

The relative independence of terms of relationship as a class, suggested by Haida and Siouan, is still further emphasized by Takelma, in which such nouns have a peculiar set of possessive affixes as distinct from all other nouns, including such as refer to parts of the body; further by Yuki and Pomo, in which only terms of relationship have possessive pronominal affixes. In Mutsun (Costanoan), moreover, where there is, properly speaking, no possessive inflection, terms of relationship have different endings, according to the person of the possessor. Such examples strongly suggest that alongside of, or inter-

crossing, the classification of possessed nouns into separable *versus* inseparable, there is to be recognized an independent classification of possessed nouns into terms of relationship *versus* all others. Uhlenbeck does not take this view. He prefers to consider such languages as Takelma, Yuki, Pomo, and Mutsun as survivals of an earlier condition, in which both terms of relationship and body-part nouns constituted a separable class of possessed nouns; and that, as they grew more analytic in character, the body-part nouns gradually yielded to the analogy of the vast majority of nouns. Such a language as Haida, according to Uhlenbeck, represents a transition stage.

So long as we look at the facts in a purely schematic way, Uhlenbeck's historical theory seems plausible; but further consideration of the facts tends to cast doubt on the correctness of his view. Leaving Chimariko aside, it certainly seems suggestive that the fundamental difference between the separable and inseparable pronominal affixes of such languages as recognize the distinction merely lies in the presence of an affix of separable significance. The example of Algonkin, further, strongly suggests that this type of affix is a morphological element that has *per se* nothing to do with pronominal classification. On the other hand, the pronominal relationship-term affixes of Takelma, Yuki, Pomo, and Mutsun form a morphologically distinct class of elements. In other words, the two types of classification of possessed nouns (separable *versus* inseparable, and terms of relationship *versus* other nouns) work, on the whole, along quite distinct lines; whence we must conclude that they are historically distinct phenomena, and merely intercross in certain languages (Haida, Siouan).

That our point of view is sound (i.e., that the concept of separability or inseparability is generally, directly or at last analysis, indicated by an affix, and that, on the other

hand, the terms of relationship generally owe their distinctness as a class to the factor of pronominal classification), is further indicated by other linguistic data, in part not accessible to Uhlenbeck. In Southern Paiute there is no real classification of possessed nouns into separable and inseparable, nor any classification of possessive pronominal affixes; but there are two suffixes of not infrequent use that bear on the concepts of acquirement and inseparability, —*-i'ni-* ACQUIRED BY, OWNED BY (e.g., *qani-i'ni-* HOUSE OWNED BY ONE, *qani-* HOUSE, HOUSE ONE LIVES IN); and *-a-* INSEPARABLY BELONGING TO, chiefly used with body-part nouns that in ordinary experience often occur disconnected from the body, like BONE, SALIVA, SINEW, FAT, HORN (e.g., *oo-* BONE, *oo-a-* BONE IN ONE'S BODY).

In Nootka, again, there is, with certain interesting exceptions to be presently noted, but one series of possessive pronominal affixes; but before the possessive suffix proper normally appears one of two suffixed elements, —*-uk-*, *-'ak-*, indicating that the possessor and the object possessed are physically separable (hence including terms of relationship); or *-'at-*, indicating that they are not physically separable (hence applying, above all, to parts of the body). The latter element is morphologically identical with the passive suffix in verbs. The Nootka *-'at-* forms suggest that, in any reduction of the range of the inseparable class of possessed nouns, it would be the terms of relationship—not, as Uhlenbeck assumes, the body-part nouns—that would be levelled out by analogy. From another point of view, however, the Nootka terms of relationship stand in a class by themselves. Not only are most of them provided with a distinctive relationship-term affix *-qso* (cf. the corresponding *-mp* of Kwakiutl), but the second person singular possessive is either formed in the regular manner (*-qso* plus separably possessive *-'ak* plus pronominal *-'itqak*, contracted to *-qsak'itqak*) or, far more frequently, by using the bare stem without



any affix whatever (*-qso* drops off: hence *THY UNCLE* is a simpler term than *UNCLE*). Further, the terms for *MY FATHER* and *MY MOTHER* are irregularly formed by adding the first person singular "objective" element *-s* directly to the stem, the vowel of which is lengthened (the normal affix for *MY* is *-qsak-gas*). These facts mean, for example, that while the forms for *MY FATHER* and *THY FATHER* have no suffix of physical separability, and fall outside the ordinary possessive pronominal scheme, such forms as *HIS FATHER*, *OUR FATHER*, and *MY UNCLE* are treated, as far as the possessive pronominal affixes are concerned, like an ordinary possessed noun; in neither sets of forms is the suffix of physical inseparability in place. As far as the Nootka evidence is pertinent, it is obvious that the concepts of separability and relationship-term classification are morphologically and historically unrelated.

The pronominal distinctness of terms of relationship is not as isolated a phenomenon as Uhlenbeck implies. Wishram<sup>1</sup> (Upper Chinook) affords us some interesting data. The possessive pronominal prefixes of terms of relationship in this language are precisely the same as for all other nouns, except for the first and second persons singular of the words for *FATHER* and *MOTHER*. In these isolated cases *MY* and *THY* are respectively expressed by *-na-* and *-ma-* instead of the normal *-tc-*, *-k-* *MY* and *-mi-* *THY*; the interesting point is, that *-na-* and *-ma-* are evidently closely related to the verbal pronominal prefixes *n-* and *m-*. Body-part nouns with possessives are in no way peculiarly treated in Wishram.

The combined evidence of Takelma, Yuki, Pomo, Mutsun, Nootka, and Chinookan for the occurrence of a distinctive series, sometimes only preserved in very fragmentary form, of possessive pronominal affixes for terms of relationship, can hardly be set aside

as pointing to a merely secondary reduction of the inseparable class of possessed nouns. A little reflection shows that terms of relationship as modified by possessive pronouns differ from most other nouns so modified, not so much in the matter of inseparability as in the fact that in the former a personal relation is defined, while in the latter true possession or some allied concept is indicated. Thus, *MY FATHER* is not one who is owned by me, but rather one who stands to me in a certain relation; moreover, he may be some one else's father at the same time, so that *MY FATHER* has no inherently exclusive value. On the other hand, *MY ARM*, like *MY HAT*, indicates actual and exclusive possession. Hence we can readily understand both why certain non-kinship nouns that indicate relationship are sometimes morphologically classed with kinship terms (e.g., *FRIEND* in Takelma, *SWEETHEART* in Nootka), and why, on the other hand, such relationship terms as do not involve an inherent or non-controllable relation frequently fall outside the true set of kinship terms (e.g., *HUSBAND* and *WIFE* are not treated like relationship terms in either Takelma or Nootka). That personal relation, not possession, is primarily expressed by the possessive pronominal affixes of relationship terms, is beautifully illustrated by the Iroquois usage of expressing many such relations as transitive verbs; thus, one cannot say *MY GRANDFATHER* or *MY GRANDSON* in Iroquois, but uses formal transitives which may be respectively translated as *HE GRANDFATHERS ME* or *I GRANDFATHER HIM*. Clearly, the morphological isolation of possessed terms of relationship finds abundant justification in psychological considerations. I would, then, in contradistinction to Uhlenbeck, allow for three fundamental types of classification of possessive pronouns in America:—

1. All nouns treated alike (Yana, Southern Paiute).

2. Relationship terms contrasted with other nouns (Takelma).

<sup>1</sup> The Paiute, Nootka, and Wishram facts are quoted from my manuscript field-notes.

3. Possessed nouns classified into inseparable (comprising chiefly body-parts and terms of relationship) and separable (Chimari-ko).

Sometimes types 2 and 3 intercross, when we get the triple classification of languages like Sioux and Haida.

Uhlenbeck's desire to look upon inseparability as the most fundamental concept involved in the so-called possessive relation is evidently largely determined by reasons of a speculatively psychological order. He notes with justice that the possessive pronouns of the inseparable category are generally simpler than those of the separable category; that the latter are, indeed, frequently derivatives from the former. From this he argues that originally only inseparable nouns (body-part nouns and terms of relationship) had possessive affixes at all. Further, aside from certain exceptions (Miwok, Mutsun, Chumash), he finds that where, as is generally the case, the possessive pronouns are related to the pronominal affixes of the verb, they agree in form, not with the subjective or energetic, but, on the whole, with the objective or *casus inertiae*. The evidence for this important and well-known fact is drawn from Tlingit, Haida, Tsimshian, Chinook, Chimari-ko, Maidu, Yuki, Pomo, Muskhogean, and Siouan, to which we might add Shoshonean and Nootka.

Uhlenbeck's psychological interpretation of this fact, as well as of the greater primitiveness of the possessive pronominal affixes of inseparable nouns, is given at the close of the paper: "Where there is identity of the possessive elements with inert personal elements, there can hardly be any talk of real 'possession,' seeing that, where real 'possession' is involved, we should rather expect similarity of possessive with energetic elements, as opposed to a distinct series of inert personal pronouns or personal affixes. If, now, we recollect the excellent remarks of Lucien Lévy-Bruhl on 'possession' in Melanesia, and bear in mind

that, for example, in Dakota a noun with inseparably-possessive affixes has entirely, or nearly so, the form of a conjugated adjective, or, aside from the, in Dakota, differently placed pronominal element, of a verbalized independent noun, we shall not go wrong in recognizing in the so-called possessively inflected noun an identifying expression. A [Dakota] form [meaning 'my heart'] thus does not signify 'my heart' in the manner of our civilized languages, but indicates the identity of myself with the one heart with which I, and no other, stand in the closest relation. Similarly the inclusive [Dakota form meaning 'child of us two'] is not so much 'child of us two' as indeed 'the child that we both are,' 'the phase of us two which is the child.' But it is impossible to transcribe into modern words the thoughts and feelings of 'primitives,' even though we are perhaps able to think and feel ourselves into them."

This psychological interpretation strikes me as extreme, the more so as I see no conclusive reason for assuming that possessive pronominal affixes were originally not employed with separable nouns. If we interpret Uhlenbeck's *casus inertiae*, as suggested in the preceding review, as a neutral form of no intrinsic case significance, then the identification of a functional possessive with a specifically intransitive or inactive case is arbitrary. As a matter of fact, in quite a number of American languages we find that the possessive affixes, while generally closely related to a series of pronominal affixes in the verb, are composed of a distinctively possessive element of non-personal significance and a pronominal element proper. This is the case, for instance, in Nootka and most of the Takelma possessive affixes. In such cases the possessive affix must naturally be periphrastically interpreted: MY as OF ME, BELONGING TO ME. Where the sign of general possessive relation is lacking, the pronominal affix can be conceived of as standing in an implicit position-determined genitive relation to the noun,



more or less as in noun-compounds (i.e., I-HOUSE, for MY HOUSE, might be conceived of as a compound with merely implied genitive relation, precisely as in a form like HEN-HOUSE if interpreted as HOUSE OF HENS). There is still a further method of interpretation, corresponding to the objective interpretation of the inactive or intransitive case given in the preceding review. This is to look upon the possessive affix as frankly objective (or dative) in character; e.g., to interpret a form like MY HOUSE as a semi-verbal HOUSE (IS) TO ME. As a matter of fact, the line between such predicative forms as IT IS MY HOUSE and such purely denominative forms as MY HOUSE is often very difficult to draw; e.g., in Chinookan. Either of these explanations of the verbal affiliation of the possessive pronouns of so many American languages seems preferable, in my opinion, to Uhlenbeck's mystical theory of identification. The less we operate with "primitive" psychology, the better. Modern research is beginning to make it clear that the psychology of civilized man is primitive enough to explain the mental processes of savages.

One more point before closing. I feel that Uhlenbeck is too much inclined to look for

functional or semantic explanations of possessive pronominal differentiation where purely phonetic factors are probably all that is really involved (e.g., in Washo; Salinan; Algonkin; and Takelma, aside from terms of relationship). A striking example of the failure to evaluate purely phonetic factors is afforded by his discussion of the Blackfoot terms *isk* BUCKET and its possessives (e.g., *no-xk* MY BUCKET). He considers the forms *isk* and *-(o)xk* as representing two etymologically unrelated stems, and connects this surprising phenomenon with such suppletive examples in Blackfoot as HORSE and MY HORSE (as also in Southern Paiute; similar cases occur frequently for DOG in America). It seems very much more likely to me that we are not here dealing with independent stems at all, but that an original *osk* was in Blackfoot regularly shifted to *oxk* (the back vowel and *k* pulling the *s* to a back position; namely, *x*). This explanation is practically demonstrated by comparing *no-xk* with Blackfoot *mo-xkats-is* FOOT (from Algonkin *\*-skat-*; cf. Cree *miskât*<sup>1</sup> LEG).

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<sup>1</sup> Quoted from Lacombe.

## TEPECANO PRAYERS

By J. ALDEN MASON

### INTRODUCTION

THE following prayers or *perdones* as they are locally termed were collected during the months of December, 1911, to March, 1912, and from November of the latter year to January, 1913, while I was enjoying the facilities for field work afforded me as representative from the University of Pennsylvania to the International School of Mexican Ethnology and Archeology. They were secured in Azqueltán, a little pueblo in the northeastern corner of the state of Jalisco, some hundred miles west of Zacatecas and nearly the same distance north of Guadalajara. Here live the remainder of the Tepecanos, at present the southernmost people speaking a language of the Piman group. A brief sketch of their life and customs<sup>1</sup> and collections of their folk-tales<sup>2</sup> have been published as well as a short account of one of the religious fiestas.<sup>3</sup>

The principal results of the residence in Azqueltán, in addition to the above-mentioned sketches, were studies of the language and of the religion of this group. An exposition of the language is being published by the New York Academy of Sciences.<sup>4</sup> To the same Academy is due no little credit for the appearance of the present paper, since it supplied

the needed funds for its preparation. The present collection of prayers is presented partly as illustrative material for the afore-said linguistic sketch and partly as basic material for the study of the religion which is to be prepared. For this reason the prayers are presented with little introduction and no attempt has been made to explain the ceremonial allusions. Footnotes have been appended only to elucidate grammatical points.

The greater number of the prayers were given me by my principal informant, Eleno Aguilar. A few were given by the *Cantador Mayor* or High Priest, Rito de la Cruz, and one was secured from Francisco Aguilar. But all were revised and corrected by Eleno.

The religion of the Tepecanos appears to be very similar to those of the other neighboring peoples of the Sierra Madre Occidental, the Huichol, Cora, Tepehuane and Tarahumare. Preuss has published a voluminous account of the religion of the Cora<sup>5</sup> and Lumholtz more or less detailed accounts of those of the other groups,<sup>6</sup> particularly the Huichol.<sup>7</sup> The religion of the latter appears to be somewhat specialized but those of the other groups are doubtless basically the same. Preuss gives many songs and prayers very similar in form and concept to those given here and Lumholtz mentions the same among other groups.

<sup>5</sup> K. T. Preuss, *Die Religion der Cora-Indianer*, Leipzig, 1912, and many smaller articles in various periodicals.

<sup>6</sup> Karl Lumholtz, *Unknown Mexico*, New York, 1902, and several smaller articles.

<sup>7</sup> Symbolism of the Huichol Indians, *Memoirs of the American Museum of Natural History*, New York, III, May, 1900, and other papers.

<sup>1</sup> The Tepehuán Indians of Azqueltán, *Proceedings of the XVIII International Congress of Americanists*, London, 1912, p. 344.

<sup>2</sup> Four Mexican-Spanish Fairy-Tales from Azqueltán, Jalisco, J. A. F. L., XXV, p. 191; Folk-Tales of the Tepecanos, *ibid.*, XXVII, p. 148.

<sup>3</sup> The Pinole Fiesta at Azqueltán, *University of Pennsylvania Museum Journal*, III, p. 44.

<sup>4</sup> Tepecano, A Piman Language of Western Mexico, *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences*. The appearance of this article is delayed on account of the war.



The old Tepecano religion is now practically abandoned in favor of Catholicism and the Christian influence may be traced in several of the prayers. Fortunately it is slight. But it must be borne in mind that the prayers are traditional material and many have not been recited for years. Probably a large number have been lost beyond possibility of record. The possibility of inaccuracy is therefore considerable. In many cases, the exact meaning of esoteric phrases has been forgotten or they are interpreted differently by different informants. In other cases the purpose of the prayer itself is disputed by various authorities or changes suggested in the final revision. It is with a full realization of these possible inaccuracies that the collection is presented.

For the greater part, the texts have been printed exactly as written down even in cases where cumulative evidence of many records of the same word indicates that a certain instance was incorrectly recorded. In addition to certain regular changes to conform with the orthography now in standard usage,<sup>1</sup> the principal change in preparation of manuscript has been in the cases of the complexes *pb*, *td*, and *kg* where the initial surd is not released, to *B*\*, *D*\*, and *G*\*, respectively.

For a complete account of the phonetics and morphology of the language the reader is referred to the before-mentioned linguistic paper. A brief résumé of the phonetic key used is here appended for ready reference:

a	as in <i>arm</i>
e	as in <i>end</i> (very rare and probably reduced from diphthong <i>ia</i> )
i	as in <i>machine</i>
o	as in <i>orb</i>
õ	as in <i>urn</i> ( <i>ĩ</i> and <i>ũ</i> were occasionally written as variants of <i>õ</i> )
u	as in <i>rule</i> (approaches <i>o</i> of <i>note</i> )
y	as in <i>yes</i> (generally as an <i>i</i> glide)
w	as in <i>wet</i> (generally as an <i>u</i> glide; also confused with <i>v</i> )
w	semi-voiceless <i>w</i>

<sup>1</sup> Phonetic Transcription of Indian Languages, Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, publication 2415, Washington, D. C.

m	as in <i>men</i>
M	semi-voiceless <i>m</i>
n	as in <i>net</i>
N	semi-voiceless <i>n</i>
ŋ	as in <i>sing</i> (rare)
r	as in Spanish <i>pero</i>
R	semi-voiceless <i>r</i>
l	approaching <i>r</i> but untrilled (rare)
v	as in Spanish <i>pavo</i>
V	semi-voiceless <i>v</i>
s	as in <i>so</i>
c	as in <i>show</i> (but approaching <i>s</i> )
h	as in <i>hat</i> (probably not differentiated from <i>x</i> )
x	as in Spanish <i>jota</i> (probably not differentiated from <i>h</i> )
b	as in <i>bed</i>
d	as in <i>day</i>
g	as in <i>go</i>
B	intermediate surd-sonant <i>p-b</i>
D	intermediate surd-sonant <i>t-d</i>
G	intermediate surd-sonant <i>k-g</i>
p	as in Spanish <i>pero</i>
t	as in Spanish <i>tan</i>
k	as in Spanish <i>casa</i>
ts	as in <i>hats</i> (rare)
tc	as in <i>church</i> (rare)
·	glottal stop or occlusion
ˈ	accent after vowel denotes stress accent
ˊ	accent over vowel denotes pitch accent
ˋ	grave accent denotes secondary accent
˙	iota subscript denotes nasalization
ˉ	raised period denotes doubled length
˚	period denotes hesitation, cessation of breath or voice, or separation of normally connected elements of diphthongs or other combinations
ˆ	superscript characters are pronounced with less than normal force

#### 1. TO PREPARE THE PATIO FOR THE FIESTA OF THE RAIN

*adiu's.um*<sup>2</sup>      *naparin.Q'G*<sup>3</sup>      *naparinda'D*<sup>4</sup>  
To God,<sup>2</sup>    thou who art my Father,<sup>3</sup>    who art my Mother,<sup>4</sup>

<sup>2</sup> *Adios* is the most frequent beginning for most of the prayers and is, of course, a Christian influence. It is a question whether it represents a dedication to the Christian God or merely an exclamation of greeting, in which sense it is frequent in Spanish usage. It has been most frequently translated as "Hail!" The particle *um* here is of doubtful nature.

<sup>3</sup> The stem means FATHER; it has frequently been translated as "Lord."

<sup>4</sup> The stem means MOTHER; it has frequently been translated as "Lady."

ganavarcí'vgok o'hi tó'tvag.wót'a pihö'  
they which are seven beautiful skies beneath, where

napimpuma'r'gid kutsapica'tivbö'hi'möd  
that ye are formed. We say we hither came

amta'nim ha'gicdara para  
begging you pardon, in order

nantu.i'ntamtuha'na<sup>1</sup> nanpu.i'ni.ci'a.da'rsa  
that I here may meddle, <sup>2</sup> that I here them may place,

hidi nampurictökö'dam cidu'dkam<sup>2</sup>  
these which are powerful fetishes<sup>2</sup>

nampumtö'tök anihö' nampu.a'r'gidic<sup>3</sup>  
that they are named hereabouts, that they are-  
formed,<sup>3</sup>

hacnaci'dúdu<sup>4</sup> kuha'pu.pí'c.ō'B nica'm'a'tud  
thus that hoards.<sup>4</sup> Then likewise also I give you-  
to know

kupimitunha'gicda hidi hō'mad go'k  
that ye me will pardon these one two

va'ik ni'o'khököt nicputö'mai.amta'n  
three word with. I continually you beg

ha'gicdara<sup>5</sup> kupiminma'kia lise'nsia  
pardon<sup>5</sup> that ye me will give permission

ku'n.inta'mto'nimör.cituha'na nanpu.i'ni.tu'-  
that I here suddenly may meddle that I here may pass-

kagda para nanpu.i'n.cituna'da hidi  
the night in order that I here may make fire this

navarictö'dog<sup>6</sup> am'ai'niG.dám<sup>7</sup> pihö'dör  
which is green<sup>6</sup> your *petate*<sup>7</sup> on. Where from

napuixi'kmaD napuivo'pmiG ganavaramhi'-  
that it clouds up that arises that which is your-

koma navarica'pma'citká't na.icva'ut'ak<sup>8</sup>  
cloud which is well appearing, spread out which-  
drizzles<sup>8</sup>

navarictö'dgitká't pihö' napum.a'r'gid  
which is very green, spread out. Where that it is formed

navarni'.okid<sup>9</sup> ganavarinsu'sBidat<sup>10</sup> inci'u'G<sup>11</sup>  
which is her<sup>9</sup> word she who is my Guide,<sup>10</sup> my-  
Morning Star,<sup>11</sup>

in.o'G napuböitö'kdim gano'vid para  
my Father, that he hither to us comes reaching that-  
his hand in order

natpuha'bantuD'a'gimöD gamtönö'f.dida  
that we in it enveloping ourselves will go beholding

wö'c.oras.a'ba pihö napua'r'gidic<sup>12</sup> navarci'-  
all hours in. Where that it<sup>12</sup> is formed which is-

a'r.wöta.hövan pihödör napuböiwö'pgö  
east beneath there whence that lightning down

natpubö'.iniö<sup>13</sup> amöhödör natpua'.vo'm  
that spoke<sup>13</sup> down hither. From afar that has arisen

natpuma'.nio'k'i gava'varipkam hu'r'nipkam  
that has spoken to him he of the north westerner

<sup>1</sup> It has been difficult to translate this stem succinctly. It is better translated by the Spanish *manejar*, the idea being to putter around, putting things in order.

<sup>2</sup> Probably from the stem *cidu*, TO HOARD OR CHERISH. They are commonly known by their native name but are translated on demand as IDOLS. They are small objects of stone, bone, etc.

<sup>3</sup> This stem has given great trouble as it seems to be used in a passive sense either with or without the passive particle.

<sup>4</sup> This is a word of esoteric meaning which has practically been forgotten. My informant translated it by different phrases until at last he settled on *como pertenece a los cuatro vientos*. It seems to contain the same stem as *cidukam*, TO GUARD AND CHERISH.

<sup>5</sup> The phrase "to beg pardon" seems to carry both the idea of craving forgiveness and beseeching favor.

<sup>6</sup> Always translated "green" but probably signifies "blue" as well.

<sup>7</sup> Nahuatl *petlatl*, MAT, generally translated CARPET.

<sup>8</sup> *Lloviznar*.

<sup>9</sup> The singular pronoun is frequently used in apposition to the names of several deities. It is one of the most puzzling problems which of the divinities named is referred to or whether they are conceived as being various attributes of one individual. At other times the plural pronoun is employed.

<sup>10</sup> Evidently combined of *sob'*, PROTECT, and *dad*, MOTHER. The *guia* is interpreted as a small star which rises immediately before the Morning Star.

<sup>11</sup> Evidently related to *cic*, ELDER BROTHER.

<sup>12</sup> Reference doubtful.

<sup>13</sup> The thunder is conceived as a voice, the Word. In many of the prayers the Word seems to be conceived as an entity, arising, being formed, speaking and performing other anthropomorphic functions. This concept has rendered certain translations very equivocal.



o'gipaskam anihö'.ci'kor hō'van tuma'-  
southerner. Hereabouts there has gone-  
agdimök namitpum'átök gama'dára-iwa  
conversing, that they knew they already sat  
namitpubö.át'ö'k hōganavarano'v *para*  
that they to us have reached that which is their hand  
in order

natpuha'bantuD'a'gimöD gamtönöfidida kuga'-  
that we in it having wrapped ourselves may go be-  
holding. Then

gurahö'mi.iu'rnida hōga navaricto'nkam  
aside will go casting that which is heat

hōga navara.u'umi.hö'köt<sup>1</sup> mipuga'gurahö'.-  
that which are their arrows<sup>1</sup> with they aside will-

iu'rnida ganavaraka'kvarakhö'köt<sup>2</sup> miput-  
go casting that which are their *chimaless*<sup>2</sup> with. They-

so'sbidida gahactucko'k'dakám napubö.m.a'-  
for us shall go attacking whatever sickness that may-

gida *porki* a'tiamnö'nö atictu'kipgamtönö'ID  
come being reported. Because we do not see, we-  
in darkness go peering

*porki* ti'carici'korakam iti'kradö'köD  
because we are vile our filthiness with

ti'cputso'sbidim *konki*'hapö'gia.f ni'cpuam'-  
we go obstructing ourselves. With which this only I-

a'tut kupiminka'ök kupimi'tunha'gicda  
cause you to know. Then hear ye me. Then ye me-  
will pardon

nanpui'nicituhá'n hi'di navaramnö'fk'ar.dám  
that I here meddle this which is your *patio* in.

kuni'pui'nicikö'sa gana'varam'ai'niG gana'-  
Then I here will place this which is your *petale* that-

varicta' amba'tu.dám<sup>3</sup> pixö' napimpuma'r'git  
which is white your *tapextle*<sup>3</sup> on where that ye-  
are formed

wös.oras.a'B *kunkin*icputömaiam'a'tuD  
all hours in. With which I constantly give you to-  
know.

*kudio*'spöcambi'ak'a  
Then God feel for you.

<sup>1</sup> *u'mi* is the ceremonial arrow, as distinguished from *u*, the hunting arrow.

<sup>2</sup> *Chimal* is the native adaptation of the Nahuatl *chimalli*, SHIELD. The *chimal* is the little diagonal or

## NOTE

This prayer is recited by the *Cantador Mayor*, the principal functionary of Tepecano religion, to beg permission of the divinities to clean and prepare the ceremonial *patio* for the celebration of the Rain *Fiesta*, the principal *fiesta* of the year, held on the fifth of April. This is done in the late afternoon. After reciting this, the *Cantador*, or Chief Singer, sweeps the dance *patio*, lights the fire and decorates the altar with the necessary ceremonial objects.

## TRANSLATION

Oh ye who are my Lord and my Lady who were created beneath the seven beautiful heavens! Hither have we come to ask your forgiveness so that I may here prepare and may place here these powerful *Cidudkam*, as they are called hereabouts where they are formed and cherished. Also do I say unto you that ye must forgive me these few words. Continually do I implore you that ye give me leave to work here and to pass the night here that I may kindle fire on this your green carpet.

Thence the heaven becometh overcast and your cloud ariseth, beautifully outspread, which drizzleth and is very green. There is formed the Word of Him who is my Guide, my Morning Star and my Lord, who cometh teaching unto us his hand that we, gathering ourselves into it, may go beholding in all hours. There beneath the east is it formed whence he hath sent his lightning and spoken. From afar it hath arisen; he hath spoken to them of the north, the west and the south, telling to all parts. Thus did they know it; they have seated themselves and have reached unto us their hand that we, wrapping ourselves in it, may go observing.

They will repel the heat with their arrows; with their *chimaless* will they cast it aside.

hexagon of yarn, the "God's eye" of the Huichol. To the Tepecanos it is God's face.

<sup>3</sup> Nahuatl *ilapextle*, the white cloth erected on the altar.

They will shield us from whatever pestilence may come. For we may not see and in darkness we grope, for we are vile and with our filthiness we impede ourselves.

This only do I say unto you. Hear ye me! Ye will pardon me for meddling here in this your court. Here will I place your white cloth on your carpet where ye are formed in all hours. Continually do I implore you. May God bless you.

## 2. TO COMMENCE THE FIESTA OF THE RAIN

(PERDÓN MAYOR)

*adio's*      *ino'G*      *inda'D*      *inci'u'G*  
To God, my Lord, my Lady, my Morning Star.

*ati'puhi'möt*    *aptu'i'*    *napimaringö''korak*<sup>1</sup>  
We have come; to be that ye are my *manes*<sup>1</sup>

*a'möho'van*      *napimarda'dar'kam*      *hö'*  
there              that ye are the sitters              that-

*ga'riktumá'M*    *ictö'dog*      *ci''ar*      *wö't'a*  
is five              green              east              beneath.

*a'mömö'dör*      *napimivo'pmigda*      *höga*  
There from              that ye will lift              that

*na'varicda'dik'am*    *navarumu''umi*<sup>2</sup>    *naB-*  
which is health.      Which are thy<sup>2</sup> ceremonial arrows  
that-

*aituda'giuna*    *höga*    *na'pgama'.itwi'cturda*  
thou hither us wilt cleanse that that thou, coming-  
wilt force away from us

*hög'ac'ko'k'dakam*      *aric'i'ko'r*      *umtö'*  
that sickness              is vicinity              thy-

*tvagiwöpta*      *a'bi'dör*      *na'puiwu'wacda*  
skies beneath.      There from      thou wilt select

*navarumvo'p'oikam*    *a'nihödör*    *naB'ai'*  
which is thy path.      Here from      that thou-

*tuda'giuna*      *höga*      *navaricxö'pitkam*<sup>3</sup>  
hither us wilt cleanse that which is the coldness<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Translated "Our Fathers and Mothers of the heavens." It is not quite certain whether these are the major divinities, minor divinities or ancestral spirits.

<sup>2</sup> The changes in person in this and other prayers are very confusing. Their signification is most puzzling.

*navarumno'v*      *hó'köt*      *na'puhö'köt.itka'*  
which is thy hand      with;      that thou with it for us-

*pkaturda*      *navarum.öra'dakam*      *napit'ö'*  
wilt constrain      which is thy inwardness;      that-

*vö'rturda*      *höga*      *navarumhi'mda*  
thou for us wilt lengthen      that      which is thy way

*napgamipkitöt'kö'hiniD'a*    *höga*    *navaruma'*  
which thou also now us wilt cause to tread      that  
which is-

*t'vagi.sa'giD*    *ku'hidi'köD*    *apictunha'gicda*  
thy altar between.      Then this with      thou me wilt-  
pardon,

*dio's*      *in.o'G*      *inda'D*      *inci'u'k*      *hidi*  
God      my Lord,      my Lady,      my Morning Star,      this

*hömad*      *go'k*      *ba'ik*      *tak'u'gumö'köt*  
one              two              three              fragments with

*nanitaitumnö'i'puctur*      *navaricda'dik'am*  
which I to thee have recited              which is health

*navarumni'o'k*      *kuhi'di*      *hö'madakamö'köt*  
which is thy word.      Then this      creation with

*api'ctunha'gicda*      *porki*      *aniamai'cturda*  
thou me wilt pardon      because      I not may fulfill

*höga*              *na'varumhi'mda*              *höga*  
that              which is thy way              that

*navarumtö'vorig*      *höga*      *napubö'.ima'c*  
which is thy length      that      which hither appears

*höga*      *avemicmökör*      *havaricda'dik'am*  
that      it very distant      and it is health

*havaric'i'du'k'am*      *ku.ha'bandör*      *a'niam-*  
and it is treasure.      Then with it from      I not-

*pihöamtö'giD'a*<sup>4</sup>      *kuhi'diöma'dakam.hök'öt*  
anywhere you may see.<sup>4</sup>      Then this creation with

*adio's*      *in.o'G*      *inda't*      *inci'u'k*.  
to God, my Lord, my Lady, my Morning Star.

*ha'pihö'van*              *napimaringö''korag*  
In that place              that ye are my *manes*

*amihövan*      *napimarda'dar'kam*      *ictö'dog*<sup>5</sup>  
there              that ye are sitters              green<sup>5</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Cold and wind are conceived as health-giving and purifying, heat as synonymous with sickness.

<sup>4</sup> Possibly auditory error for *-um-*, *THEE*.

<sup>5</sup> The color appropriate to the east.



ci'a'rwö'ta' hōga navarictö'dog  
east beneath that which is green

o'hi' so'so'B navarum.a'toc'kar<sup>1</sup>  
beautiful bead which is thy<sup>1</sup> seat,

ha'bandör nagamida'dig nagamihi'komag  
where from that comes health that it clouds up

nagamiwö'pgövi' ha'ban'dör naB'iva''utaG  
that comes lightning where from that it hither-  
drizzles.

kua'mömödör napum.a'rgida<sup>2</sup> navarictö'do  
Then there from that will be formed<sup>2</sup> which is-  
green

o'hi' hi'komö''kōD gö'gö'r o'hi'  
beautiful cloud with great beautiful

hi'komsa'gid na'puwö'pöga'ma.iwö'cnia  
cloud between. That advancing will start

na'puwa'tönö'idida va'viar<sup>3</sup> o'hi'  
that will go beholding gray<sup>3</sup> beautiful

tö'tvagwö'ta napumai'vanio'kida ba'viar  
skies beneath. That hence already will go speaking  
gray

o'hi' so'so'Btio'D amömö' navarda'kam  
beautiful bead-man there that is sitter

navarva'viar tö'vawöt'a' na'purnu'-  
that it is gray sky beneath that he-

k'ad'am navarva'viar o'xi'  
is guardian which is gray beautiful

navarumva'p'amörig ha'ba'ndör naB'-  
that are thy lakes. Thence that-

öixa'dug<sup>4</sup> na'puivi'ngi ku'.a'mömö'dör  
it hither<sup>4</sup> . . . that it . . . Then there-  
from

napuivo'm'gia na'puva'tönö'idida  
that will arise that already will go beholding

navargö''gö'r va'paviar o'xi'  
which are great gray beautiful

hi'kom.ör a'bimö na'puvadu'via  
cloud within. There that already arrives

<sup>1</sup> Possibly auditory error for -am-, YOUR.

<sup>2</sup> From here on, the references of the third person are doubtful. Most if not all of them probably refer to the journey of the Word, the prayer, the formula, through the heavens though some may have reference to the habitant spirits of the cardinal directions.

<sup>3</sup> Yellowish-gray, the color of the north.

na'puvam.a'rgida gö'gö'r hikomsa'gid  
that will be formed great cloud within.

naB'ai'vatuda'giuna navaricda'dik'am  
That thou already wilt cleanse which is health

navarumsa'kumigö'köD ku.a'bimö'dör  
which is thy tears with. Then there from

na'pumgökiptötugia navargö'gö'r va'pavia'r  
that to both sides will look which are great gray

xi'komsa'gi'D na'pgamisá'ki'D'a  
cloud within. That thou wilt weep,

naB'ai'vada'giuna avarichö'pitkam  
that thou hither already wilt cleanse it is coldness

navarumu''umihö'köD na'pgama.itwi'cturda  
that it is thy ceremonial arrows with. That thou from  
us wilt chase away

navaricko'kdakam ci'k'o'r tö'tvagwö'pta  
which is pestilence vicinity skies beneath

navaricxö'pitkam ka'va'r navarumwu'-  
which is coldness chimal which is-

p'uivas hö''köD anihö' napuvatönö'-  
thy faces with. Hereabouts that already-

idida aric'i'k'o'r na'va'rumtö'tvagiwö'pta  
will go beholding is vicinity which is thy skies-  
beneath

napuma'r'gidida navaricxö'pitkam  
that will be formed which is coldness

hö''kia ma'mcim navarumxi'komagö'köD  
how many apparitions which is thy cloud with.

na'puva'tönö'idida navarictu'k<sup>5</sup> o'xi'  
That already will go beholding which is black<sup>5</sup>  
beautiful

navarumtö'tvagiwö'ta napumai'vatuda'-  
which is thy skies beneath which hence-

giuniD'a na'varichö'pitkam navarumu''-  
already wilt cleanse which is coldness which are-

umi hö'kö napumai'vaniók'ida  
thy ceremonial arrows with. That hither already-  
will go speaking

<sup>4</sup> These two stems evidently carry an esoteric ceremonial significance which has been forgotten by the present natives. None of the authorities interrogated was able to give a translation of them. They probably refer to various phases of the rain.

<sup>5</sup> The color of the west.

ha''kic u'vikam na'puarinda'D  
 tell womankind who is my Lady.  
 arictu'G o'xi tö'vagwöt'a  
 Is black beautiful sky beneath  
 napur'da'kam na'purnu'k'ad'am  
 that is sitter that she is guardian  
 navarumba'pamörin a'midör naB'ivo'-  
 that are thy lakes there from that thou-  
 pmigid navaricda'dik'am navarumci'-  
 liftest which is health which is thy-  
 cvordad ha'ban'dör na'puio'hi  
 plumes. Thence it becomes beautiful,  
 naB'iha'dug ha'ban'dör napuivi'ngi  
 that it . . . whence that it . . .  
 naB'a'id'a'giuna navarum'a'mar i'nimö  
 That thou hither us wilt cleanse who are thy sons here  
 na'tputuwo'inug hi'di navaricda'dik'am  
 that we wander this which is health  
 navarum.ö'k'ad'a wöt'ta kuB'ai'.id'a'giuna  
 which is thy shadow beneath. Then thou hither us-  
 wilt cleanse  
 navaricda'dik'am navarumsa'kumgihö'köt  
 which is health which is thy sorrow with.  
 napgama.it'ö'vörturda navarumgö'gu'cdara  
 That thou for us wilt increase which is thy succor.  
 ku.a'mi'dör na'pivo'mgia navarictu'tuk  
 Then there from which will arise which are black  
 navarumhi'komaG örhödör na'puva'tönö'-  
 which is thy cloud within from which already-  
 idida navargö'gör o'xi xi'komör  
 will go beholding which are great beautiful cloud within  
 naphö'kö'pa'.uma'rgida navaricdadik'am  
 Which with will be formed which is health  
 navarumxi'komaG.ö'kö't ha'ban'dör  
 which is thy cloud with whence  
 nagamiwö'pgöv ha'ban'dör naB'iva'uta  
 which it lightnings whence which drizzles.  
 a'bi.möddör napuga'miniök na'pu.umhö'gö  
 There from that speaks that to thee replies  
 höddör navarumxi'komaG.öra ku.a'bimöddör  
 alone which is thy cloud within. Then there from  
 napumgo'kiptötu'gia naB'ai'vatuda'giuna  
 that to both sides will look that thou hither already-  
 wilt cleanse

navaricxö'p'itkam navarumu''umidö'köD  
 which is coldness which are thy ceremonial arrows-  
 with.  
 na'puva'tönöidida a'rici'k'or  
 Which already will go beholding is vicinity  
 navarumtö'tvagiwö'ta napubai'vatuda'-  
 that is thy skies beneath. That hither already-  
 giuna navarichö'pitkam navarumsa'-  
 wilt cleanse which is coldness which is thy-  
 kumigö''köt navarci'k'or navarumbo'-  
 sorrow with which is vicinity which are-  
 poiga'ba napubai'vaha'du'G napubai'-  
 thy paths in. Which hither already . . . which-  
 vavi'ngi ha'ban'dör naB'ai'vahi'komaG  
 hither already . . . Thence which hither-  
 already clouds up  
 umhi'komaksa'gid na'pgamiwöpgöv  
 thy cloud between that thou sendest lightnings  
 naga'maictuma'ma'c navarumbo'poiga'ba  
 that appear which are thy paths in.  
 ku.a'miD'ör napuma'vatönöidida a'rici'a<sup>1</sup>  
 Then there from that hence already will go beholding  
 is white<sup>1</sup>  
 o'hi umtö'vagiwö'ta a'rici'a o'hi  
 beautiful thy sky beneath is white beautiful  
 hi'komö''köD na'puwama'rgida napuma'-  
 cloud with that already will be formed. Which-  
 ivanio'k'ida a'rici'a o'hi so'so'Btio'D  
 hence already will go speaking is white beautiful  
 bead-man  
 a'rici'a o'hi umtö'vagiwö'ta napurdak'am  
 is white beautiful thy sky beneath that is sitter  
 a'rici'a o'hi so'so'B navaruma'toc'kardám  
 is white beautiful bead which is thy seat on  
 naparnúkad'am navarumba'p'amö'rit  
 which is guardian which are thy lakes.  
 ku.a'miD'ör napivo'pmiD'a a'rici'a o'hi  
 Then there from that thou wilt lift is white  
 beautiful  
 navarumci'cwordad ha'ban'dör na'puio'hi  
 which are thy plumes whence that becomes-  
 beautiful

<sup>1</sup> The color of the south.



ha'ba'ndör	na'b'uida'di	ku'ganavaricta'	na'varit.o'G	to'no'r	hi'kom	ci'vo't
whence	that thou	healthenest.	who is our	Sun	Cloud	Plume
white		Then that which is-				
o'hi	navarumci'cvoD	a'pdör	cidúkam	ha'ba'ndör	na'gamida'dig	
beautiful	which are thy plumes	in from	Fetish,	whence	that comes health	
na'puiha'dug	na'b'uivi'ngi	napuha'-	hö''kia	ma'mcim	hi'komö'köD	
that it . . .	that it . . .	that-	how many	apparitions	cloud with.	
bandör	na'puihi'komaG	hi'komsa'gid	na'b'ida'giuna	va'pa'viar	o'hi	
whence	that it clouds up	cloud within	That thou wilt cleanse	gray	beautiful	
na'pgamiwö'p'göv		nagamictuma'ma'c	navarumu''umihö'kö'D		ku.a'bimödör	
that thou sendest lightnings		which they appear	which are thy ceremonial arrows with.		Then there from	
a'rieta'	o'hi	navarum'ai'nigdam	na'parda'k'am	arici'vgo'k'	o'hi	
is white	beautiful	which is thy <i>petale</i> on.	that thou art sitter	is seven	beautiful	
kuamömö'dör	napugo'kip.a'ptötúgia		navaruma'tockardám		naparnu'kad'am	
Then there from	that in both sides wilt look		which is thy seat on		that thou art guardian	
na'puva'tunöidida	a'rieta'	o'hi	arici'vgo'k'	ó'hi	navarumva'p'amörig	
that already will go beholding	is white	beautiful	are seven	beautiful	which are thy lakes	
hi'kom.ör	naphö'kö'D.uma'rgida		napivo'pmikda		navaricda'dik'am	
cloud within;	that with it will be formed		that thou wilt raise		which is health	
arictá'ta	hi'komö'kö't	napuha'bandörbi.ivo'-	navarumci'cvordaD	arici'ko'r	na.ima'-	
are white	cloud with.	That whence hither wilt-	which are thy plumes	is vicinity	which-	
pmikda	navaricda'dik'am	navarumu''umi	ma'ci''a'rwö''ta	va'varip'	hu'r'nip'	
raise	which is health	which are thy ceremonial-	appear east beneath	north	west	
arrows						
bai'vatuda'giuna	arici'k'o'r	navarumtö'-	o'gipas	ku.a'bimödör	naB'iwö'pgöv	
hither already cleanse	is vicinity	which are-	south.	Then there from	that it lightnings	
tvagiwö't'a	na'pumöratönöi'dida		na'gamistuma'ma'c	arici'vgo'k'	hi'kom.ör	
thy skies beneath.	That within will go beholding		that appear	are seven	cloud within.	
a'rieta'má'M	tö'do	tövakwö't'a	a'bimödör	na'pgaminio'k'ia	napumhö'kda	
it is five	green	sky beneath	There from	that thou begin wilt speak	that to-	
			thee will reply			
na'puhö'köuma'rgida	a'rieta'má'M	o'hi	a'rici'ko'r	tö'tvagwö''ta	ba'varip'	
that with will be formed	is five	beautiful	is vicinity	skies beneath	north	
navarumhi'komagö''kö't	na'pamömödör		hu'r'nip'	o'gipas	a'ricivgo'k'	
which is thy cloud with.	That there from		west	south	are seven	
napiwo'ngia	a'rieta'má'M	navarumni'-	hi'kom.ör	naB'iku'G-ida	na'varictumám	
that will arise	is five	which is-	cloud within.	That thou hither wilt go ceasing		
			which are five			
o'k'hö'köD	napuba'vatunöidida	arici'i'-	o'hi	navarumni'o'k'	kuhi'di	
thy word with,	that hither already will go beholding		beautiful	which is thy word.	Then this	
are-						
vgo'k'	o'hi	tö'vagdam	hö'ma'dakam	hö'köD	api'ctunha'gicda	
seven	beautiful	sky on.	creation	with	thou me wilt pardon.	
na'puvadu'via	naB'ai'vanio'k'ida		adio's	in.o'G	inda't	inciu'k
that already arrives	that hither already will come-		To God	my Lord	my Lady	my Morning-
speaking			Star.			

## NOTE

This is the *Perdon Mayor* or principal prayer, it being the opening prayer of the most important of the four annual *fiestas*. After the *patio* has been prepared, the altar arranged and the fire lighted, the communicants arrive. Then, after darkness has set in, the Chief Singer takes his seat facing the altar to the east and recites the prayer.

This prayer must also be recited by one desiring to become a shaman in order to prove his knowledge and ability.

## TRANSLATION

Oh my Lord, my Lady, my Morning Star! Hither have we come. Ye are my spirits who are seated there in the five heavens beneath the green east. From there will ye bring health.

With thy arrows thou wilt purify us; thou wilt quit from us the pestilence which surroundeth us beneath thy heavens. From there thou wilt lead thy path. Thou wilt cleanse us with the cold which is thy hand, with which thou wilt intensify for us thy spirit. Thou wilt lengthen for us thy way which thou wilt now cause us to tread, which is between thy altar. With these few fragments which I have recited unto thee thou wilt pardon me, God, my Lord, my Lady, my Morning Star, for they are thy Word which is health. With this formula thou wilt pardon me for I may not fulfill thy commandment, thy course which hither leadeth, for it is very far; it is health and treasure. Therefore I never may behold thee. So with this formula Hail! my Lord, my Lady, my Morning Star.

There are ye seated, my spirits, beneath the green east, on the beautiful green bead which is your throne, whence come health and the clouds, lightning and drizzle. There will it be created of the beautiful green cloud between the great beautiful clouds.

Forward will it proceed, observing beneath the beautiful gray heavens. Hence will go

speaking the beautiful gray Bead-man who sitteth there beneath the gray heaven, the guardian of thy beautiful gray lakes. Then from there will it arise and go observing within the beautiful great gray cloud. Far away will it arrive where it will be formed within the great cloud. There wilt thou purify it with thy tears, which are health. Thence will it look to both sides, within the great gray clouds. Thou wilt weep and purify it with thy arrows which are the cold. Thou wilt quit from us the pestilence round about beneath thy heavens with the cold of thy *chimal* which is thy countenance. Here will it go about observing beneath thy heavens where it will be formed of the cold with thy many-colored cloud.

Then will it go about observing beneath thy beautiful black heavens where thou wilt cleanse it with the cold of thy arrows. Hither will come speaking and reciting the Woman who is my Lady. Beneath the beautiful black heaven is she sitting, guarding thy lakes whence thou drawest health, thy plumes. From them cometh beauty. Thou wilt cleanse us who are thy sons who wander here beneath thy healthful shadow. Thou wilt purify us with thy health-giving tears. Thou wilt increase for us thy succor. Thence will it arise from out thy black cloud and will go beholding within the beautiful great cloud. It will be created with thy healthful cloud whence come the lightning and the drizzle. From there he speaketh, answering thee within thy cloud, alone. Then will it look to both sides and thou wilt cleanse it with the cold of thy arrows. Round about beneath thy heavens will it gaze and thou wilt purify it with the cold of thy tears, round about in thy paths. From it thou sendeth the clouds and, within the cloud, thy lightning which appeareth in thy paths.

From there will it go beholding beneath thy beautiful white heaven where it will be formed of the beautiful white cloud. Hence will go speaking the beautiful white Bead-



man who sitteth beneath thy beautiful white heaven on the beautiful white bead which is thy throne, guarding thy lakes. From these wilt thou raise thy beautiful white plumes whence come beauty and health. From thy beautiful white plumes cometh the rain; from them come the clouds and within the cloud thou sendest lightnings which flash on thy beautiful white carpet. From there will it look to both sides, gazing within the beautiful white cloud where it will be formed of the white cloud. From it thou wilt bring health and wilt cleanse with thy arrows, round about beneath thy heavens.

It will go about gazing beneath the five green heavens where it will be formed of thy five beautiful clouds. From there will it arise with thy five Words and will go about observing in the seven beautiful heavens. There will arrive speaking our Lord, the Sun, the Cloud, the Plume, the *Cidukam* from which cometh health in the many-colored cloud. With thy beautiful gray arrows wilt thou cleanse it. Thou art seated on thy seven beautiful thrones guarding thy seven beautiful lakes whence thou wilt raise thy health-giving plumes which appear round about beneath the east, the north, the west and the south. From there afar the lightnings flash through the seven clouds. From there thou wilt speak and they will reply unto thee from all around beneath the heavens, from north, west and south within the seven clouds. So wilt thou end thy five beautiful Words.

With this formula thou wilt forgive me. Hail! my Lord, my Lady, my Morning Star.

### 3. TO CONCLUDE THE FIESTA OF THE RAIN

a'tiputhi'möt	a'ptu'i'	dio's	in.o'G
We have come	be	God	my Lord.
api'ctunha'gicda	i'nimö	napiti'd'a'kta	
Thou me wilt pardon	here	that thou didst us-	
leave			

hi'd'i	navarictö'd'oG	um'ai'niGdam
this	that is green	thy <i>petate</i> on.
kuamömö'dör	naB'ivo'pmigda	hög'a
Then there from	that thou hither wilt raise	that
va'viar	óhi	gamu''umi
gray	beautiful	those thy ceremonial arrows
	which thou with-	
kötitsö'sbida	hög'a	navaricko'k'dakam
us wilt go shielding	that	which is sickness
arici'ko'r	navarumtöt'vagi	ci'a'r
is vicinity	which are thy skies	east
wöt'a'	ba'varip	hu'rnip
beneath	north	west
		south
a'ricivgo'k'	óhi	töt'vagdam
are seven	beautiful	skies on.
		Then there from
ab'ai'd'a'giuna		na'varichö'pitkam
thou hither us wilt cleanse		which is coldness
na'varumno'v		na'pgama.i'twi'cturda
which is thy hand.		That thou, beginning, from us-
		wilt repel
hög'a	navaricko'k'dakam	xu'p'ur
that	which is sickness	wind
ci'cvorig	na't'unön'ö'	hidi
plumes	which fly	this
navarum'ai'niGdam		a.möm'ödör
which is thy <i>petate</i> on.		There from
naB'ai.i'd'a'g'id'a		na'varumgö'gu'cdara'
that thou hither us wilt send		which is thy succor
na'phök'ötit'ö'vörtu'rda		na'varum.-
which thou with to us wilt extend		which is thy-
ö'rad'ak'am		
inwardness.		

#### NOTE

This prayer is recited by the Chief Singer at the close of the Rain *Fiesta* about dawn on the following day.

#### TRANSLATION

Oh God, my Lord! We have come where thou art. Thou wilt forgive me, thou who didst leave us here on this thy green carpet. From afar thou wilt raise thy beautiful gray arrows with which thou wilt shield us from sickness round about in thy heavens, beneath

<sup>5</sup> The stem *ma:c* denotes APPEAR; the stem *cia* is evidently related to *ci'a'r*, EAST. Both are used with the idea of ARISING AT SUNRISE, *amanecer*.



ganamaritgö'korak                      konkihapögia-  
they who are our *manes*.              With which thus only-

ti'cpuam'á:tud              hidi              taku'gumö''köt  
we you give to know              this              fragment with

*porki*              avi'a'mhacicbaig              natamá:töd'a  
because              not anyhow can              that we you will cause-  
to know

ganavaramni'o'k                      navaramhi'mda  
that which is your word              which it is your way

*porkia'*tiv              iti'kradö'köt              putso'sbidim  
because we              our filthiness with              us go obstructing.

*konki'*hapí              itkaök              kudiu'spöcambi'ak'a  
With which thus is;              us hear.              That God you will-  
sympathize.

## NOTE

The *Fiesta of Elotes* or ripe ears of corn is held on September fifth. The Chief Singer arrives early in the evening and recites this prayer to the divinities to beg permission to prepare the *patio* for the *fiesta*.

## TRANSLATION

Hail! my Guide, my Morning Star and my Father.

My Mother, who sadly appearest beneath the east, whence thou didst speak, sending thy lightnings and clouds, we crave thy forgiveness. Beneath the seven beautiful heavens thou wast created.

Continually do we implore you to forgive us and to give us leave to pass the night here, to array your court for you, to make you plumes of our Corn, and to place here the powerful *cidudkam*, as they are called, on their white cloth beneath their white carpet. We will play for them in worship, that we may be enabled to eat. Also will we make plumes for you with your seven words, that we may teach you the Word of our spirits who have gone before. They come reaching unto us their hand that we, enfolding ourselves in it, may go beholding in all hours.

Likewise do we beg forgiveness first of Him who is our Morning Star. He will come

to watch over us where we perform, where we pass the night and rise with the dawn, so that no ill may befall us and we may arise with strength. Our spirits will come to watch over us.

Only this fragment do we say unto you, for we may not teach you more of your Word, which is your Way, for we are confused by our sinfulness. This, no more. Hear us! May God bless you.

## 5. TO COMMENCE THE FIESTA OF THE ELOTES

*adio's*              na'par.inq'k              tunha'giciD  
To God,              that thou art my Father.              Me pardon

hi'di              hōmaD              gok'              ba'ik              ni'.o'k.hōk'öt'  
this              one              two              three              word with.

tunha'giciD              *porke*              na'naric.i'kra'k'aM  
Me pardon              because              that I am vile

hōg'ahököd              a'nicponsó'Bdim              gōkō  
that with              I myself obstructing.              Therefore

nipumtán              hágicdara              ku'pi'am.ago'-  
I thee beg              pardon.              Then thou not in two-

kiptönö'nöik'da'              picina'ptunda'gia'<sup>1</sup>  
places wilt look.              Thou in me me wilt seize<sup>1</sup>

namarit.gö'korak              vöpöhímdam              na'pu.pui'-  
that they are our *manes*              before go on.              Thus-

cōp              pi'miambi'ak'a              napimarapim  
also              ye not will need              that ye are ye

pimia'm.soi'umö'rid'a              pi'micböintö'kda  
ye not sad selves will feel.              Ye hither me will extend

hōg'a              navaramno'v              *para*              nan.-  
that              which is your hand              in order              that I-

a'ptunda'gia              *para*              nanickō'k'.hōk'öd.-  
in it me will seize              in order              that I happy with-

ima'cdida              ga'gurahō'van              pimi.iu'rnida  
will go appearing.              Aside there              ye will go casting

gacto'nkam              hōga              navaramu'umi              hō'ga  
that heat              that              which are your ceremonial arrows  
that

navaramkávarakhö'kōD              pi'mi.potso'sbidim  
which are your *chimales* with              ye us go protecting

<sup>1</sup> If correctly given, this form is inexplicable.

bö'c            ci'ko'rhôvan            hógactö'nkam  
all            vicinity there            that heat.  
ku'pigama.iwa'hida            hōga            ictönkam  
Then thou wilt go repulsing            that            heat  
natpöid'am.hagö'i            gö'kö            ni'pumta'n  
that it did us over already fall.            Therefore            I thee-  
beg  
ha'gicdara            pia'mbi'ak'a            napsoi'umö'rid'a  
pardon.            Thou not wilt need            that thou sad thy-  
self wilt feel.  
apica'p'tumda'gia            ganamaritgökorak  
Thou in them thyself wilt seize            they that are our-  
manes  
amöhödör            namitpöihikmat  
there from            that they did cloud up  
namitpöböiwöp'gö            hōga            na'vargö'-  
that they did hither lighten            that            that is great-  
tö'vakwö't'a            navarci'a'r            amöhö'van  
sky beneath.            That is east            there from  
natpöva'nio            ha'va            natpöbia'hök  
that did already speak            and            that he did hither-  
already reply  
ba'baripkam            natpöwa'nio            havahö'rnip  
North.            That he did already speak            and west  
natpö'vahök            hōga            hu'huktio'd  
that did already reply            that            Pine-Man  
na'tpu.böa'hök            ha'pu            natpöva'p'nio  
that did hither already reply.            Thus            that did al-  
ready again speak  
natpöbö.a'hök            hō'ga'            o'gipa            anihövan  
that did hither already reply            that            south.            There  
tum'a'agdimuk            c'kor'hövan            hi'di  
hence already gone conversing            vicinity there            this  
hö'köd            namitpöva'nio            ci'vgo'k'  
with            that they did already speak,            seven  
tö'tvagdam            natpuvák'ugat  
skies on            that did already arrive.

## TRANSLATION

Hail! thou who art my Father. Pardon me these few words; forgive me them. For I am vile and therefore do I obstruct myself. Therefore do I beg thy forgiveness. Look not askance; thou must be possessed of our spirits who have gone before.

And ye who are ye, do not feel sad. Ye will reach unto me your hand that I may be held in it and arise with gladness. With your arrows will ye cast aside the heat; with your *chimaes* will ye shield us from it, round about.

Thou wilt repel the heat that has fallen upon us. Therefore do I beg thy forgiveness. Be not sad. Thou must be gathered unto them who are our spirits who from afar send the clouds and the lightnings beneath the great heaven.

From the east he spoke and He of the North replied. He spoke and the West replied, replied the Pine-Man. Again he spoke and the South replied. And so did each in turn repeat the word they had spoken till it came unto the seven heavens.

6. TO CONCLUDE THE FIESTA  
OF THE ELOTES

adiu's            naparin.q'g            naparinci'u'k  
To God            that thou art my Lord,            that thou-  
art my Morning Star,  
insu'sbidat            ati'cpuböhmöd            puctuga'i'm  
my Guide.            We hither came            desirous of roasting  
hi'dimnöi''kar'dám            böc            na'tpuin.da'r'im  
this thy *patio* on            all            that we here are sitting  
navarumnöi''kardám            pihövan            na'-  
that is thy *patio* on            where            that-  
pitpuda'fwak'            sa'sa'kic            navarumo'k  
thou didst, having sat down            weep for him            who is-  
thy Lord,  
na'varumda't            ci'arwö't'ahö'            napu-  
who is thy Lady,            east beneath there            that-  
a'rgidic pixö'            napukát'            ganavarumhävul  
is created,            where            that is hung            that which is-  
thy *jicara*<sup>1</sup>

böc            umu''umihök'ö't            umka'kvarhöku'd  
all            thy ceremonial arrows with            thy *chimaes* with

<sup>1</sup> A cup or bowl made from a gourd and generally decorated with beads impressed in wax.



navaricta'm'ai'niGWöt'a    navaric'i'kmatká't'  
which is white thy *petate* beneath    which is cloudy-  
overspread

napucva''u'tag    napucbi'gikam    pihö'  
which drizzles    which . . .    where

napui.vu''sandim    ganavarhi'ko'm    pihö'  
that arises    that which is cloud    where

natpuböiwö'p'gö    natpubö'iniö'    ganavarci'-  
that did hither lighten    that did hither speak  
they which

vgok    o'hi    tö'tvagwöt'a    amuhö'dör  
are seven    beautiful    skies beneath.    There-  
from

napubö'iniö'k'im    napuböiva''u'tag  
that hither comes speaking    that hither drizzles.

amuhödör    napuvacka't'im    hö'ga  
There from    that already comes listening    she

navarmárad    natpubö'ihó't'    ga.o'gad  
who is his daughter    that he did hither send    he,  
her father

hidi    navarictödog    mai'niGDám  
this    that is green    *petate* on

napuica'picda'tpam'á:c    natpui'nimöhö'-  
that it well clean appears.    That she did here-

vadúvia:    hidi    nöikargiDám    böchök'u't  
already arrive    this    his *patio* on    all with

hacnapuci'dúdu    ci'korhúwan    puva.'o'imö  
thus that hoards    vicinity there    already walked

pihö'dör    natpubö'ixo't'    gaó'gat  
where from    that he did hither send    that her-  
father.

kuna'tpunö'vadu'via:    hidi    nöikargiDám  
Then she did here already arrive    this    his *patio* on

sá'kimög    ganavarci'vgok    o'hi  
having wept    they which are seven    beautiful

tö'tvakwöt'a    ba'bariB    hu'r'niB  
skies beneath    north    west

o'gipa    ci'arwöt'a    pixödör  
south    east beneath    where from

natpuböiho't'    gao'gad    para  
that he did hither send    he her father    in order

<sup>1</sup> This form is impossible; the future suffix is proba-  
bly superfluous.

na'puini.ma''Riat    hidi    nöi'kargiDám  
that she here should appear    this    his *patio* on.

kuna'titpua'bö'i    para    nat.ivo'migda  
So we did already take up    in order    that we will lift

natpuva.a'r'gi(dida)<sup>1</sup>    ha'cnacidúdu  
that he did already (will)<sup>1</sup> create    thus that hoards

ci'korhúwan    napurnöf'kargiDám  
vicinity in    that is his *patio* on

puva'tö    ganavarictödog    ba't'ogiDám  
already placed    that which is green    his *tapete* on

pixö    napua'r'gidic    natitpuva'ga'í  
where    that creates    that we did already roast

natitpuva'hu'    kuvictuthá'gicda    ganavaró'-  
that we did already eat.    Then us will pardon    he-

gat    ganavardö.ut    wö:c    isa'-  
who is her father    she who is her mother    all  
her

sakumgidökö't    pihö'    natpumá'cir  
tears with    where    that she did appear.

natpuva'nu'k'    a'sta    kwiya'mivo'migda<sup>2</sup>  
That she did already guard    until    that not-  
will raise.<sup>2</sup>

ku'nkíhapi    nicpum'át'uD    konkidio's  
With which thus    I thee give to know.    With-  
which God

pícumbi'ak'a  
for thee will feel.

#### TRANSLATION

Hail! thou who art my Lord, my Morning  
Star and my Guide. Hither did we come to  
roast in this thy court, all of us who here are  
seated in thy court. There thou didst seat  
thyself and didst cry unto Him who is thy  
Lord and thy Lady who was created beneath  
the east. There is hung thy *jícara* with all  
thy arrows and thy *chimaies* beneath thy  
white carpet o'erspread with drizzly clouds.  
There ariseth the cloud whence came the  
lightnings and the voice beneath the seven  
beautiful heavens. Thence it cometh speak-  
ing and drizzling.

<sup>2</sup> Probably a direct translation of the Spanish idiom  
*hasta que no* in the sense of UNTIL.

From afar cometh hearkening she who is his daughter whom he, her father, did send to this green carpet, beautifully clean. Here she arrived in this his court with every adornment that belongeth to her, having journeyed from whence her father sent her. At last she came, weeping, unto this his court, beneath the seven beautiful heavens, beneath the north, the west, the south and the east. From there did her father send her that she might appear in this his court.

Therefore did we grasp her to raise up her who was created round about; laying her on her green cloth in her court, where she was created, we did roast and eat her. Therefore will He who is her father and her mother forgive us because of all her tears. There did she appear and wait until we should raise her up.

Thus do I give thee to know. May God have mercy on thee.

# 7. TO PREPARE THE PATIO FOR THE FIESTA OF THE PINOLE

*adio's*      *naparinsu'sbidat*      *inci'u'k*  
To God      who thou art my Guide,      my Morning-  
Star,

*in.o'G*      *inda'D*      *anihö*      *napimpuda'dar*  
my Lord,      my Lady.      There      that ye are seated

*ci'ko'r*      *ganavarica'p.ma'cim*      *am.a'*  
vicinity      that which is well appearing      your-

*tockardá'm*      *navarictôdog*      *kuha'pu.-*  
seat on      that is green.      Then thus-

*puicô'B*      *nicamtan*      *ha'gicdara*  
also      I you beg      pardon

*napimitunha'gicda*      *hidi*      *hömat*      *gok*  
that ye me will pardon      this      one      two

*vaik*      *ni'o'khököt*      *navartakugamhököt*  
three      word with      which is fragment with

*porki*      *aniamha'cicba'fk*      *nanam'átod'a*  
because      I not any can      that I you will cause to-  
know

<sup>1</sup> Nahua *pinolli*, PULVERIZED CORN-MEAL,

*ganavaramni.o'k*      *höga*      *navaramtótñorik*  
that which is your word      that      which are your-  
suns.

*kunsapi'tuwó'cka*      *hídi*      *navarictôdo*  
Then I say will sweep      this      which is green

*amnöfkardá'm*      *para*      *nansapi'ni.i'.*  
your *patio* on      in order      that I say here-

*citu'kakda*      *nanpu.i'ni.tuna'da*  
will pass the night      that I here will make fire

*navaramnöfkardá'm*      *para*      *nan.i'ni.adá'rsa*  
that is your *patio* on      in order      that I here them will-  
place

*höga*      *ciduðkam*      *nampumtôtök*      *hidi*  
that      idols      that they are named      this

*navaricta'*      *ava't.o.dám*      *navaricta'*  
that is white      their *tapexte* on      that is white

*amainigwôt'a*      *ganavarau'umihököt*      *höga*  
their *petale* beneath.      That which are their ceremonial ar-  
rows with      that

*navaraka'k'varak*      *pihö'*      *nampuököditso'.*  
that are their *chimales*      where      that they with us-

*sbidim*      *anihö*      *wöc'ikorhövan*  
go protecting      there      all vicinity there.

*kuti'puama'töd'a*      *kutsapi'pumiwá'G*      *höga*  
Then we them will cause to know      that we say hence-  
scatter      that

*navaratui'spi<sup>1</sup>*      *navaravámuit<sup>2</sup>*  
which is their *pinole<sup>1</sup>*      which is their *atole<sup>2</sup>*.

*kuti.ini.pücitö'kia*      *hidi*      *navaraha'vu'ôra*  
Then we here will place      this      which is their-  
*jícara* within.

*kuticpu.ama't'ut*      *ganamaritgökorak*  
Then we them cause to know      they who are our *manes*

*wöpuhi'mdam*      *anihö'*      *nampuda'dar*  
before go on      there      that they are seated

*nampuböitnöid*      *wöcorasa'ba*  
that they hither us watch      all hours in

*nampuböitö'k'it*      *höganavarano'v*  
that they hither us extend      that which is their hand

*natpwa'ban.tuð'a'gimöt*      *gamtönöfidim*  
that we in it having wrapped ourselves      going observing

<sup>2</sup> Nahua *atolli*, PINOLE MIXED WITH WATER AS A GRUEL.



wöcorasab'a kuti'cpuatán ha'gicdara  
all hours in. Then we them beg pardon

ganavarinsusbidat inci'uk ino'k  
she who is my Guide, my Morning Star, my Lord,

inda'd kumi'puma'töhi itka'ök  
my Lady. Then they shall know. Us hear!

kumitutha'gicda konkidio'spöcambi'ak'a  
Then they us will pardon. With which God you will-  
sympathize.

## NOTE

This prayer is spoken by the Chief Singer upon arriving at the ceremonial *patio* early in the evening of the fifth of January in order to beg permission of the divinities to prepare the *patio* for the *Fiesta* of the *Pinole* to be held that night.

## TRANSLATION

Hail! my Guide, my Morning Star, my Lord and my Lady who are seated round about on your pleasant green throne. I beseech you, forgive me these few words, this fragment, for I may not teach you your word, which is your days. I will sweep this your green court that I may pass the night here, that I may kindle fire here in your court and place here the *Cidudkam*, as they are called, on this their white cloth beneath their white carpet. With their arrows and their *chimaes* do they protect us in all parts. We say unto them that we will scatter about their *pinole* and their *atole*, and will place them here in this their *jicara*.

Also do we implore our spirits who have gone before, there where they are seated, watching us in all hours, that they reach unto us their hand that we, wrapping ourselves in it, may go beholding in all hours.

Also do we beg forgiveness of my Guide, my Morning Star, my Lord and my Lady. So may they know. Hear us and forgive us! May God grant you his mercy.

## 8. TO COMMENCE THE FIESTA OF THE PINOLE

napimarinháha'cdun anihönapimtuda'da'r  
That ye are my relations there that ye are seated.

kupi'miambi'ak'a hactudö'kö't napimsoi'-  
Then ye not will feel anything with that ye-

um'ö'rid'a höga amömödör höga  
sad will feel. He there from that

dio's itq'k id'a't avipuböiam-  
God our Lord, our Lady he hither you-

da'giuna höga navaricxö'pitkam  
will cleanse that which is coldness

navaramu'umihököd kumgama.iam-  
which are your ceremonial arrows with. Then they-

wi'cturda höga navaricko'dakam  
you will quit that which is sickness

ga'gurahu'van nagamau'rna mökörhö'-  
aside there that he will raise distant-

van kuviambiha'k'turda ha'cid'u'nia  
within. Then not hither will finish any us will-  
happen

hi'ditu'ki'pságid i'nimö natitpubaiva-  
this night within here that we did hither-

da'ra-iwa hi'di navarictö'd'o o'hi  
already seat ourselves this that it is green  
beautiful

navaranöf'kardam höga namaritgökorag  
which is their *patio* that that they are our-  
*manes*.

kuxa'cumdúk'adhö'köd ku.a'mumödör  
Then any happening with. Then there from

amatö'vör'turd'a<sup>1</sup> gu'gucdara da'di  
they for them<sup>1</sup> will lengthen succor health

hi'ko'm natxök'ö'gamtötu'gia ku'hi'di  
cloud that we with will see. Then this

hö'mad'akamö'k'ö a'pimi'ctunha'gicda  
creation with ye me will pardon

napimarinháha'cdun napimitci'va.umtá't  
that ye are my relations. That ye did tired your-  
selves feel

amumödör napimitso'soigim  
there from that ye did sadly go

<sup>1</sup> Possibly should be *amit*—, FOR US.

napimitacihu't'ua  
that ye did stumble  
selves pain.

*pero* hōgakōt  
But that with  
think.

kugamumō'dō'r  
Then they there from

a'migama.itwi'cturda  
they from us will quit

navaricda'di ka'va'r  
that is health. *Chimal*

namhō'kōtso'sbi'da  
that they with will shield

ci'a'rwō'ta  
east beneath

va'varip  
north

hu'r'nip  
west

o'gipas<sup>1</sup>  
south<sup>1</sup>

arici'vgo'k  
are seven

o'hi  
beautiful

tō'-  
skies

tvagdam ku.a'bimōdōr  
on. Then there from

amibōimu'mgiad'a  
they hither will bend

hōg'a na'va'raci'cvōd'ad  
that that they are their plumes

namhōk'ō'itxō'-  
that they with-

pictōrda  
for us will chill

hōg'a  
that

navarha'k'da<sup>2</sup>  
which is complete.<sup>2</sup>

kuhidi'kō'd  
Then this with

pimictunha'gicda  
ye me will pardon.

ku'n-  
Then I-

i'nimō.ha'pu.am'a'tu'd  
here thus you give to know

napimarinha'ha'cdun  
that ye are my relations.

*dio's* picambi'ak'a  
God for you will feel.

## NOTE

This prayer is addressed by the Chief Singer to the communicants assembled to celebrate the *Fiesta* of the *Pinole*, or corn meal, at the beginning of the ceremony.

## TRANSLATION

Ye are my brethren who are seated here. Ye need on no account feel sad. For God who is our Father and our Mother will purify you from afar with your arrows, which are

<sup>1</sup> Eleno gave *o'gipa*; Rito insisted that *o'gipas* was correct.

napimit'atunkó'kdat  
that ye did already your-

pi'miamhacuma'k'a  
ye not any yourselves will-

namaritgō'k'orag  
that they are our *manes*

amiivo'pmigda  
they will raise

navarawō'p'uivas  
that is their faces

navaricko''k'dakam  
that is sickness

the cold. They will cast from you the pestilence which he will put far aside. No harm will come unto us this night while we are seated here in this beautiful green court of our spirits. From afar they will send us increased succor, health and clouds, that with their help we may behold.

Ye will pardon me this formula, my brethren. Ye have tired yourselves on your sad way hither; ye have stumbled and hurt yourselves. But do not on that account apprehend anything. Our spirits will protect us; they will bring health. With the *chimal*, which is their faces, will they shield us from sickness beneath the east, the north, the west and the south in the seven beautiful heavens. From there will they bend hither their plumes with which they will chill us.

With this ye will pardon me. Thus do I say unto you, my brethren. May God bless you.

9. TO CONCLUDE THE FIESTA  
OF THE PINOLE

*adiu's* inq'g inci'u'k tunha'gicid  
To God, my Father, my Morning Star. Me-  
pardon.

a'tivatsapi'cpuinda''rim amtánimōt  
We, we say here seating ourselves you begging

ha'gicdara *porki* titi'ma''wa gatui'sap  
pardon because we did hence already scatter  
that *pinole*.

kuti'cpuama'tu'd bō'cir natpuindádar  
Then we you cause to know all that we here are-  
seated

nati'tpua'.má'cid hidi tukasá'git  
that we did already appear this night within

natitupui'niva.dára'iwa ti'cputō'maiam-  
that we did here already seat ourselves. We continu-

sá'kcit napimargō'gur'kam ci'dú'dkam  
ally you weep that ye are greatnesses fetishes

na'pimuntōtōg kuha'pu.pui'cō'p  
that ye are named. Then thus also

<sup>2</sup> Difficult to translate.



ti'camtán há'gicdara kuvia'miD'am.tuō'ka  
we you beg pardon that not us over-  
will happen.

ku'ganavaramu''umihōk'ō pimitso'sbidida  
Then that which are your ceremonial arrows with ye-  
us will go shielding

hō'ga navaricko'k'dakam wōcorasa''ba  
that which is sickness all hours in

icxō'pitkamōk'ō'd pi'miD'a'giuniD'a  
coldness with ye us will go cleansing.

kuga''gurahōwan api'minō'niD'a  
Then aside towards ye will cause to fly

gactōnkam kuha'pu.pui'cōp ati'cumta'nim  
the heat. Then thus also we thee go begging

há'gicdara na'paritám.itci'u'G na'pu.o'fīdak  
pardon who thou art our yellow, our Morning Star  
that thou belongest

ci'arwō't'ahō'van na'pitpubō'iwōp'gō  
east beneath there that thou didst hither send-  
lightnings

na'pitpubō'ihī'kmaD napitpubōin'io  
that thou didst hither send clouds that thou didst-  
hither speak

na'pitpubō'it'ōk hō'ganavarumnōv  
that thou didst hither us extend that which is thy  
hand.

kuha'ctu.gō'kamō'k'ō't kuvia'miD'amha'c-  
Then anything greatness with. Then not over us

tuacumwáda kutiti'ctō'nimör.ba'cituháha'  
anything will happen. Then we did suddenly al-  
ready make *isquite*.<sup>1</sup>

kutiti'puma'vwá hōga a''rak.úv  
Then we did hence already scatter that child-  
female

navarum'ár na'pitpubōida'ktá hidi  
which is thy daughter that thou didst hither send  
this

oi'dadám kugōku.ti'pumtán há'gicdara  
world on. Then on this account we thee beg  
pardon

na'varci'vgók ó'xi tō'tvak.wōt'a  
that are seven beautiful skies beneath

na'pua'rgidic kutiti'cpubōidáraiwa  
that thou art created. Then we did hither seat-  
ourselves

<sup>1</sup> Nahua *isquite*, TOASTED CORN.

navaric.hi'dictō''do amnō'i'kardám vō'c  
that is this green your *patio* on all

itha'pu.hōk'ō ithio'cgihō'k'ō<sup>2</sup> havahidi.-  
our *jicara* with our flower<sup>2</sup> with and this

itvá'm'uit ku'pimia'mpihō'.sa'sar'kadid'a  
our *atole*. Then ye not anywhere will discompose

ganavaramhí'mda navaramní.o'k'  
that which is your way that which is your word

navaramtótñorik kutiti'cto''nimör.ba'cituhá  
that which is your suns. Then we did suddenly al-  
ready make *isquite*

hidi amnōi'kardám kuticpuamtánim  
this your *patio* on. Then we you go begging

há'gicdara hidi navarci'vgok  
pardon this which is seven

ni.'o'k'hō'kō't na'pitpubō'idak'ta  
word with. That thou didst hither leave

ganavarum'ár na'pitpubō'inió ci'vgok  
she who is thy daughter that thou didst hither-  
speak seven

ni'ō'k'hōkōt na'pitpubō'ihō't hidi  
word with that thou didst hither send this

navarictō'do amai'niDám navaricap-  
that is green your *petate* on that is beautiful

má'cim.ká't na'varichi'komak navaric-  
appearing, outspread, that is overclouded that is

va''utak navarichi'kmat.ká't kuha'pu.ō'p  
drizzly that is beclouded, outspread. Then thus also

ati'camá'tut ku'nkiha'p.i inka'ōk  
we you cause to know. With which thus is. Me hear

naparino'G naparinda't naparinsu'-  
who thou art my Father, who thou art my Lady,  
who thou art my

sbidat inci'u'k kunkidios pōcumbi'aka  
Guide, my Morning Star. With which God thee feel.

#### TRANSLATION

Hail! my Lord and my Morning Star.  
Forgive me. Seating ourselves, we beg your  
forgiveness, for we have scattered the *pinole*.  
We give you to know, all of us who here are  
seated, that we have this night appeared here  
and seated ourselves.

<sup>2</sup> The "flower" signifies *peyote*, Nahua *peyotl*, *Echino-*  
*cactus* or *Lophophora Williamsii*.

Continually do we beseech you, ye who are called the powerful *Cidudkam*. Likewise do we beg your forgiveness, that no ill may befall us. With your arrows will ye cast from us all sickness and in all hours will ye purify us with the cold. Ye will put to flight the heat.

Likewise do we beg thy forgiveness, our Golden Morning Star who belondest beneath the east, whence thou didst send the lightnings and the clouds, whence thou didst speak and didst reach unto us thy hand with magnitude. Therefore no ill will befall us because, unbidden, we have toasted *izquite*. We have scattered the maiden who is thy daughter whom thou didst send to this world. Therefore do we beg thy forgiveness, who wast created beneath the seven beautiful heavens.

We have seated ourselves in this your green court with our *jicaras* and our *peyote* and our *atole*. Ye will not interrupt your way, your word, your days because, unbidden, we have toasted *izquite* in this your court. Therefore do we beg your forgiveness with these seven words.

Here thou didst leave thy child. Speaking the seven words thou didst send her to this thy green carpet, beautifully outspread, overcast with drizzly clouds.

Likewise do we give you to know,

So be it! Hear me! thou who art my Father, my Mother, my Guide and Morning Star. May God bless thee.

## 10. TO PREPARE THE PATIO FOR THE FIESTA OF THE MILPA CUATA<sup>1</sup>

*adiu's*      *naparinsu's* *bidat*      *inci'uk*  
 To God    that thou art my Guide,    my Morning-Star,  
*ino'k*      *indat*      *anihö'*      *napimpudadar*  
 my Father,    my Mother,    there    that ye are-  
                  seated

<sup>1</sup> *Nahua milpa* properly signifies a cornfield; among the Tepecanos it connotes the growing corn plant. *Nahua cuale* means "twin;" Tepecano changes it to *cuala* to agree with *milpa*.

cikorhő'van ganavarictödó ama'tockardám  
surroundings in that which is green your seat on.

kupimi'tutmakia	<i>lisensia</i>	kutpu-
Then ye us will give	permission	that we-

i'nicituha'na      para      natkō'tudo'da      hidi  
here will handle      in order      that we decorated  
will make      this

navaramnōīkardām	<i>para</i>	natsapuka'īya
which is your <i>patio</i> on	in order	that we may-
hear		

höga	ni'ok'id	höga	o'B. <sup>1</sup>
that	his word	that	stranger <sup>2</sup>

napumöhödöra.umá.gim      ci'arwö'tahödör  
that he afar from already comes conversing      east-  
beneath from.

kutsapi'pu.ininö'ra      hidi      tōho'v      pixö'  
Then we say here will await      this      cave      where

namiamit·ōgia	hidi	navarictútu'k
that they not us will see	this	that are dark

u'u.c.ôr<sup>3</sup>      *para*      natpugamiká·hida  
mountains<sup>3</sup> within      in order      that we may go-  
hearing

gania'k'it	kuvipumöhödörva''umágim
that his word.	Then he there from already comes-
reminding	

pixödör	natpuböiho't	ganavarogat
whence	that he did hither send	he who is his-
father		

navardō.öt	<i>para</i>	napu.intam.soi-
who is his mother	in order	that he here sadly-

'má'cka initságít napuitkumpa'niaraD'a  
should appear here us between that he us should-  
accompany

pixō	napusoi'má·cka	itvō·m
where	that he sadly should appear	us with.

kupumöhödörva''hi'm	puböa'nio
Then he there from already comes	hither already <sub>s</sub>
spoke	

böawöp'gö	wö'c	kötui'kamököt
hither already lightened	all	decorations with

wöc·i'cvodgiD·ököt      hacnapua'r'gidic  
all his plumes with.      Thus as he forms

<sup>2</sup> This is the term applied to the Mexican neighbors.

<sup>3</sup> *Montañas*, WOODED HILLS; *uc* signifies TREE.



napuca'pma'cim      kötui'k'am      bö'him  
that good appearing      decoration      comes

ganavarictödok      tö'idököt      pumöhödörva'-  
that which is green      garb with      thence already-

umágim      wöc'i'korhövan      hacnapuci'dúdu  
goes counselling      all surroundings      thus that hoards.

kuti'puköb'ún'ahi      para      natpunö'ra  
Then we decorated ourselves will make      in order  
that we will await

hi'di      navarnöiskaraD'am      kuvi'puböi-  
this      that is his patio on.      Then hither-

du'via      para      natsap'ukafya      ganio'kit  
arrives      in order      that we may hear      that-  
his word,

para      natpunöfD'a      para      natputötgcidá  
in order      that we may see,      in order      that we-  
may repeat

höga      nio'kit      para      natpuh'nkoida  
that      his word,      in order      that we shall cry to-  
him,

para      natpumá'töD'a      navaro'gat  
in order      that we may give him to know      who is-  
his father

navardö.öt      natpuböiho't      hidi  
who is his mother      that he did hither send      this

oi'dadám      para      napurit'u'kuka<sup>1</sup>  
world on      in order      that he be our flesh<sup>1</sup>-  
will

para      natpuököt.gamtönöfD'a      hidi  
in order      that we with may go seeing      this

oi'da.dám      konkimi'puma'töhi      inka'ök  
world on.      With which they shall know it.      Me hear

ganamaringökorak      wöpuhi'mdam  
they which are my spirits      before gone on.

kuhapu.puicö'p      nicata'n'      hagicdara  
Then thus also      I them beg      pardon.

konkidiospöcambi'ak'a  
With which God you feel.

## NOTE

The *Fiesta* of the *Milpa Cuata*, celebrated on the fifth of March, is rather variant from

<sup>1</sup> The flesh of our bodies.

the other three *fiestas*. It is held in a cave or rock shelter and is quite different from the others in type. As before, the Chief Singer arrives early in the evening before the others and recites this prayer to the divinities to beg permission to prepare the dance *patio* for the celebration of the *fiesta*.

The *Milpa Cuata* is any corn plant which grows with a forked stalk and an ear on either branch. It probably has an intimate connection with the horns of the deer. At harvest time the forked stalks are garnered with a special prayer (no. 29). They are then bound in a sheaf and preserved until this *fiesta*.

## TRANSLATION

Hail! my Guide, my Morning Star, my Father and my Mother, seated round about on your green throne. Ye will give us leave to work here, to adorn this your court that we may hear the words of the stranger who from afar cometh counselling from beneath the east. Here will we await him in this cave among the dark forests where the neighbors will not behold us, that we may hear his word. He cometh counselling from afar whence his Father and his Mother did send him mournfully to appear here among us and accompany us. Already he cometh; he hath spoken in the lightnings with all his adornment, with all his plumes. He cometh arrayed in his glorious green garb with which he was created, counselling on every side.

Therefore will we adorn ourselves to wait for him in this his court. Here he will arrive that we may hear his word, that we may behold him, that we may repeat his words and that we may cry unto him. We will say unto Him who is his Father and his Mother that he did send him to this world to be our flesh, that we might go beholding in this world.

Thus shall they know it. May my spirits who have gone before give ear unto me. Likewise do I beseech them. May God bless you.

## II. TO COMMENCE THE FIESTA OF THE MILPA CUATA

*a'diu's*                      *in.o'G*                      *inda't*  
To God,                      my Lord,                      my Lady,  
*inci'u'G*                      *tu'tha'giciD*                      *hi'd'i*  
my Morning Star.                      Us pardon                      this  
*hö'mat*                      *go'k*                      *nío'khökö'D*  
one                      two                      word with  
*napimaritgö''koraG*                      *napimitnöídim*  
that ye are our spirits                      that ye us go beholding  
*vö'co'rasa''Ba*                      *nati'má'cdim*                      *pihö'*  
all hours in.                      That we go appearing                      where  
*natihúru'ndim<sup>1</sup>*                      *napimitnöídim*  
that we go retiring<sup>1</sup>                      that ye us go beholding  
*vöcorasa'Ba*                      *napimaritgö''korak*  
all hours in,                      That ye are our spirits  
*pi'miambi'a'ka'*                      *pihöna'pimago'kiptunö'*  
ye not will feel                      where that ye to both sides  
*nöikda*                      *ku'pimi'ctutha'gicda*                      *pihö'*  
will look.                      Then ye us will pardon                      where  
*natitúkaGdim*                      *pihö'naticía'dim*                      *na'pim-*  
we go passing the night                      wherever that we go  
                    dawning                      that ye  
*itnú'kad'a*                      *na'pimaritgö''koraG*                      *kupi'm-*  
us will guard                      that ye are our spirits.                      Then ye  
*iamgo'kiptunö'nöik'da'*                      *kuti'camta'nim*  
not to both sides will look.                      Then we you go begging  
*ha''gicdara'*                      *ga''gurrhá'*                      *pinöniD'a*  
pardon                      aside                      where will cause to fly  
*höganavarictón'kam*                      *pinat.a'tiviamóipö*  
that which is heat                      where that we we not walk.  
*ku'pimicbö'.ituda''giuna*                      *ichö'pitkamökö'D'*  
Then ye hither us will cleanse                      coldness with.  
*ku'pimi'nö'niD'a*                      *mö'khá''*                      *hö'ga-*  
Then ye will cause to fly                      distant                      that  
*navarictón'kam*                      *ku'pimicbö'.ituda''giuna*  
which is heat.                      Then ye hither us will cleanse.  
*kupimicnöniD'a*                      *mö'khá'*                      *va'p'a'viar*  
Then ye will cause to fly                      distant                      gray  
*u''umi.hö'k'ö'*                      *pinat.a'tiviamóipö*  
ceremonial arrows with                      where that we, we not walk

<sup>1</sup> *huru'n*, TO SET IN THE WEST, related to *hurnip*, WEST.

*na'varamka'va'rigö'kö'D*                      *napimbö'.ituso'-*  
that which are your *chimales* with                      that ye hither  
*sbidim*                      *höganavarickó'kdakam*                      *ku-*  
us go shielding                      that which is sickness.                      Then  
*ga''gura.hö'vinöniD'a*                      *ku'viamha'ctu.iD-*  
aside will cause to fly.                      Then not anything us  
*ám.ha'ctua'cumwáda*                      *ati'puta'ním*                      *há-*  
over anything will occur.                      We go begging                      par  
*gicdara*                      *hö'ganavaritsu'sBidaT*                      *itcfu'G*  
don                      he who is our Guide,                      our Morning Star,  
*navarit.ó'G*                      *na'pubö'itökö'dim*  
who is our Father                      that he hither us comes extending  
*ganavarnóvit*                      *natpuha'ba'ntuö'ági'm*  
that which is his hand                      that we in it ourselves may  
                    go seizing  
*para*                      *nagama'itwíc'turda*                      *höga*  
in order                      that he for us will go repulsing                      that  
*navarickó'kdakam*                      *ha'pu'picö'p*                      *tictá'nim*  
which is sickness.                      Thus also                      we go begging  
*há'gicdara*                      *hö'ga*                      *navariD'át*  
pardon                      she                      who is our Lady  
*wadalu'pi*                      *pihö*                      *napuaptu'i'*  
Guadalupe                      where                      that she is  
*hö'ganavaricta'híko'm.sá'git*                      *örxöva'n*  
that which is white cloud within,                      within there  
*napua'rgidic*                      *höga*                      *navarci'vgo'k*  
that she forms.                      That                      which is seven  
*o'xi*                      *tötvak.dám*                      *pihö'napusoi'.má'c*  
beautiful                      skies on                      where that she sad appears.  
*napuböitnöí'dim*                      *vö'co'rasa''ba*  
That she hither us comes looking                      all hours in  
*nata'mám'rat*                      *pihö*                      *natsoi'máma'c*  
that we are her children                      where                      that we sad appear  
*iti''koraksa'gid*                      *kuvi'pubö'itnóí'dida*  
our filthiness among.                      Then she hither us will come  
                    beholding,  
*avi'pugama'itwi'cturda*                      *gactón'kam*  
she from us will repulse                      that heat  
*á'tiv*                      *nata'rma'mrat*                      *kuvia'miD'a'm.tö'ö'k'a*  
we                      that we are her children.                      Then not us over  
                    will happen.



kumia'mpihö'.ita'riwa'da gapa'r'nio'k'dam<sup>1</sup>  
Then they not anywhere us small will make that-  
bad word on<sup>1</sup>

namarú'Nmam<sup>2</sup> ga'gurahö'van  
that they are foreigners.<sup>2</sup> Aside there  
pi'miaso'sbidida ha'ctuicto'nkamökö't  
ye them will cast any heat with.

bö'.itnöl'dida hö'ganavariD'a't  
Hither us will go beholding she who is our Lady,

avi'puta'gvida böco'rasa'ban  
she us will go covering all hours with.

kunkiha'p.i má'tök inka'ök  
With which thus is. Know! Me hear

naparinsu'sbidat inci'u'k in.o'G  
that thou art my Guide, my Morning Star, my-  
Lord.

konkihap'i diu'spö'cumbi'ak'a  
With which thus is. God thee feel.

## TRANSLATION

Hail! my Father, my Mother, my Morning Star. Forgive us these few words, ye who are our spirits who do watch over us through all hours. Ye watch over us when we arise at dawn and when we retire at dusk and in all hours. Ye need not look askance, our spirits. Ye will forgive us and ye will guard us, our spirits, here where we pass the night and the dawn. Do not look askance; we beseech you, put to flight the heat, aside where we walk not. Ye will cleanse us with the cold; far away will ye put to flight the heat. Ye will come to cleanse us. With your gray arrows will ye put it to flight, far away where we walk not. And with your *chimaies* will ye shield us from the sickness. Aside will ye put it to flight, that no ill may befall us.

We beseech him who is our Guide, our Morning Star and our Father that he reach unto us his hand that we may be gathered into it so that he may shield us from the pestilence.

Likewise do we beseech our Lady of Guadalupe, she who was created within the white

<sup>1</sup> "Unintelligible."

cloud in the seven beautiful heavens where sadly she doth appear. Hither she looketh in all hours, beholding her children, how pitiful we appear in our sinfulness. Hither will she look upon us who are her children and will cast from us the heat. Then will no ill befall us; then will the strangers who speak strange tongues not molest us. With the heat will ye cast them aside. And she who is our Mother will watch over us and will protect us in all hours.

So may it be! Know it and hear me, thou who art my Guide, my Morning Star and my Lord. So be it. May God bless thee.

12. THE CALL OF THE FIESTA  
OF THE MILPA CUATA

hu'giangiv ha'ha'cdun gamava'tiaG  
Come! relations. Having bathed,

gamamsu'sak cida'rsag kutsa'pmika'ya  
those your sandals having put on. Then we say-  
hence will hear

hōga' o'B' amöhödör  
that stranger there from

na'puamō'rin'ogim icamba'haG örhö'd'ör  
that he already goes running yellow broom within-  
from

na'puwa'nio'k'im hōg'a navarictu'tuk'  
that he already goes speaking that which is dark

o'idak hu'rap hōd'ör na'puva'-  
hill midway from. That he already-

mörimno'gim ic'a'pkö'cimdu'na'G  
goes running well decorated himself having made

ci'cwod'ökö puvatu'tuatuG gatuD  
his plumes with already them carries his bow

cibö'G havaga.u'uD havagana'vsogaD  
carries and that his arrows and that his wrist-  
guard.

ku'tsapmika'himöG a'möhödör  
Then we say hence having gone hearing there from

<sup>2</sup> Used in practically the same sense as O'B' but generally collective.

na'puva'nio'k'im                      mörin'ogimöd  
that already goes speaking            having gone running.

kutsapamika'ög    amina''bi                      ð:  
Then we say hence having heard      nearby.      Oh!

## NOTE

The festival of the *Milpa Cuata* has a particular extra prayer or announcement which has no counterpart in the other *fiestas*. Several times during the night's ceremony, at the end of every song, the Master of the *Fiesta*, the man who has brought the sheaf of *Milpa Cuata* and supplied the other paraphernalia for the celebration, advances to the four quarters of the dance circle, east, north, west and south in turn, in company with a small boy dressed to represent the Morning Star. Both carry stalks of the forked twin corn and raise these on high, while the Master, in a loud, joyful voice, shouts out the prayer over the hillside.

## TRANSLATION

Come, brethren! Come cleansed and with your sandals tied! Let us go to hear the stranger who cometh hither! He cometh running from out the yellow broom-grass. He cometh speaking from the slopes of the dark hills. Beautifully arrayed with his plumes he cometh. His bow he carrieth ready, his arrows and likewise his wrist-guard. Then, having given ear to him who cometh running and speaking from afar, let us go hence. Yea!

### 13. TO CONCLUDE THE FIESTA OF THE MILPA CUATA

*adio's*    in.o'G    inda'D    inci'u'G  
To God, my Lord, my Lady, my Morning Star.  
api'ctunha'gicda    hidi    go'k    va'ik'  
Thou me wilt pardon    this    two    three  
ni'.o'k'    nanitbaivaumnö'i'pöctur(da)<sup>1</sup>  
word    that I did hither already to thee (will)<sup>1</sup> recite.

<sup>1</sup> Probably incorrectly given in revision; future suffix is probably superfluous.

kuhi'dihö'madakamhö'kö'D    apictunha'gicda  
Then this form with                      thou me wilt pardon

navarumni''o'k'                      go'k                      va'ik'  
which is thy word                      two                      three

na'nitumha'kiactur    ku.inimö'd'ör.id'a'gid'a  
that I did to thee tell.    Then from here us will send

da'dig    gagö'gucdara    nat(it)go'kiptötu'gia<sup>2</sup>  
health    the succor    that we (did)<sup>2</sup> to both-  
sides may look.

ku'tiamha'ctuda.id'am'acumdu'                      hi'di  
That did not anything us over already happen    this

tu'kipsa'gid    i'nimö    na'titiva.citu'kak'  
darkness within    here    that we did already-  
pass the night

navaricda'dikam                      navarumnö'ik'ardam  
that is health                      that is thy *patio* on

ha'cumdu'kadhö'kö't                      kupi'puitma'kida  
some space of time with.    Then thou to us wilt give

hö'gagu'gucdara    natgamiumha'k'icturd'a  
that succor    that we to thee will tell

navarumka'k'io't<sup>3</sup>    *adio's*    in.o'G  
which is thy ceremonial rabbit.<sup>3</sup>    To God, my-  
Lord,

inda't    inci'u'G    kuhi'dihökö't  
my Lady    my Morning Star.    Then this with

pictunha'gicda    *porki*    aviamha'-  
thou me wilt pardon    because    not any-

cicbai'gi'D    nanma'sga'miamha''kiacturd'a  
how can    that I more to thee may tell

höga    na'varum.a'r'ag    *porki*  
that    which is thy form    because

höga    avaricda'ra'kam    havaric'idu'-  
that    it is value    and it is

k'am    höga'kö't    a'via'micbai'gid  
treasure.    That with    not can.

napgamaiumtö'vör.turda    höga    amöhö.vi'pu.-  
That thou shalt lengthen    that    there thus

imác    navarumhi'mda    a'tiambium-  
appears    which is thy way    we not hither for thee

<sup>2</sup> Probably incorrectly given in revision; past prefix probably superfluous.

<sup>3</sup> At the altar are placed several figures made of cooked cornmeal dough in the form of rabbits.



bö'p'a:uwa      itki'kiturda<sup>1</sup>      kuhi'di'  
may equal      our.....<sup>1</sup>      Then this  
api'citma'kia      gu'gucdara      nat(it)-  
thou us wilt give      succor      that we (did)<sup>2</sup>  
go'kiptötu'gia<sup>2</sup>  
to both sides may look.

## TRANSLATION

Hail! thou who art my Father, my Mother, my Morning Star. Thou wilt forgive me these few words which I have spoken unto thee. With this formula, with these few words of thine which I have recited unto thee, thou wilt pardon me. Thou wilt send us health, thy succor, that we may behold about us. No harm hath come unto us in the darkness; here have we passed the night in health, a short time on this, thy court. Thou wilt give thy succor, which is thy rabbit, to us who have prayed unto thee. Hail! my Lord, my Lady, my Morning Star.

Thou wilt pardon me this for I cannot recite to thee more of thy formula, for it is rare and dear. It may not be. Thou lengthenest thy way which here appears and we may never complete it. Thou wilt give us succor, that we may behold all.

14. TO LEAVE THE OFFERINGS  
IN THE HILLS

adin's      anihö'      napimputuda'da'r  
To God      hereabouts      that ye are seated  
ci'korhö'wan      hasnaci'dúdu  
vicinity there      as that hoards,  
kuticpuböhí'möt      to'nimöra'ciamnio'k'idim  
Then we hither were coming      suddenly already to-  
you go speaking.  
pero      pi'miamha'c.uma'k'a      pi'mica'p'tum-  
But      ye not any will think.      Ye in them yourselves  
da'gia      ganamaritgö'k'orak.ap<sup>3</sup>      kuha'-  
will seize      they that are our spirits in.      Then-

<sup>1</sup> Incomprehensible; informant was neither able to translate nor suggest revision.

<sup>2</sup> Probably incorrectly given in revision; past prefix probably superfluous.

pu.pui'c.ö'p'      pimi'cata'nida      ha'gicdara  
thus also      ye them will go begging      pardon

para napimiampihö'.ci't'ö'gia aticpuböhí'möt  
in order that ye not anywhere us will ignore. We-  
hither were coming

pubi'amnámö'kdam      hi'di      ha'vuhökö'd  
hither you paying      this      jícara with

ha'va      hi'di      so'so'B      kupimitut-  
and      this      bead.      Then ye us

ha'gicda      napimpurkiö'kam      hi'di  
will pardon      that ye are dwellers      this

oi'da.a'ba      natitpubö'idáda      hi'di  
hill at      that we did hither arrive      this

amnöi'kardám      na'titpui'n.igö'gu  
your patio on      that we did here stay.

kutö'maiamtán      ha'gicdara      pi'm-  
Then continually you beg      pardon.      Ye

iambi'aka      pihö'      napimsoi'mö'rid'a  
not will feel      anywhere      that ye sad will feel

na'pimago'kiptönö'nöid'a      ha'pu.pui'c.ö'p'  
that ye to both sides will look.      Thus also

pi'mi'cata'nia      ha'gicdara      gana'marit-  
ye them will beg      pardon      they who are our

gö'k'orak      ha'cnat.a'tiv.amtánim      ha'gicdara  
manes      as that we, we you go begging      pardon

hidita'kugumökö't      porki      avia'm-  
this fragment with      because      it not

ha'cicba'ík      hacnatma's.ama'töd'a  
anyhow can      as that we more you will cause to-  
know.

konki'hapi'      pim'a'tök      inka'ök  
With which thus is.      Ye know,      me hear.

konkidio'spöcamari'dak'am<sup>3</sup>  
With which God you smallness.<sup>3</sup>

## NOTE

After the conclusion of the *fiestas*, particularly after that of the rain, messengers are sent to the sacred places at the four cardinal directions around Azqueltán with *jícaras* decorated with beads and other ceremonial objects which they leave there as presents

<sup>3</sup> Difficult to translate.

to the divinities of the localities, after reciting this prayer.

## TRANSLATION

Hail! ye who are seated round about. Unbidden have we come here to speak unto you. But do not apprehend anything. Ye must be possessed of them who are our spirits. Also must ye beg their forgiveness, that ye may nowhere ignore us. We have come hither to pay you with this *jicara* and these beads, that ye may forgive us, ye who are the spirits of this hill, because we came here and stayed on this your court. Continually do we ask your forgiveness. Be not sad. Neither look askance. Ye must beg pardon of our spirits like as we now beg yours with this fragment, for we cannot tell you more.

So be it. Know it and hear me! May God be as a Father unto you.

### 15. TO BEG PERMISSION TO ENTER A SACRED PLACE

<i>adiosum</i>	<i>aticböhi'möd</i>	<i>to'nimör.vacitu-</i>
To God.	We hither came	suddenly already-
<i>ha'nim</i>	<i>pero</i>	<i>högakö't</i>
handling	but	that with
<i>amta'nim</i>	<i>ha'gicdara</i>	<i>kuhöga'köd</i>
you begging	pardon.	Then that with
<i>pimiambi'aka</i>	<i>napimago'kip'tönö'nöigda</i>	
ye not will feel obliged	that ye to both sides will-	look.
<i>kuga'gur.ahö'van</i>		<i>pimi.iu'rnid'a</i>
Then aside there		ye will go lifting
<i>högactö'nkam</i>	<i>hava</i>	<i>gacko'k'dakam</i>
that heat	and	that sickness
<i>havawö'cichöpitkam.hö'kö'd</i>	<i>pimi.id'a'giuna</i>	
and all cold with	ye us will cleanse.	
<i>ga'navaramu'umi</i>	<i>ganavaramka'kvarak</i>	
They which are your ceremonial arrows	they-	
which are your <i>chimales</i>		
<i>napimpuhö'kö't.itso'sbidim</i>	<i>ganavaric-</i>	
that ye with us go shielding	that which is-	

<i>ko'k'dakam</i>	<i>kuxa'pu.pwic.ö'p</i>	<i>pimiam-</i>
sickness.	Then thus also	ye not will-
<i>bi'ak'a</i>	<i>napimsoi'mö'rid'a</i>	<i>kuticböhimöt</i>
feel obliged	that ye sad yourselves will feel.	Then-
we hither came		
<i>amta'nim</i>	<i>lisensia</i>	<i>para</i>
you begging	permission	in order
<i>nat.i'nituha'na</i>	<i>kupimiamitnö'id'uk'a</i>	
that we here may handle.	Then ye not us will ignore.	
<i>kupimicma'kam</i>	<i>xö'p'ör</i>	<i>kunö'n'id'a</i>
Then ye give	winds.	Then will cause-
to fly		
<i>ga'gurahö'van</i>	<i>kupimpuma'tön</i>	<i>tun-</i>
aside there.	Then ye know.	Me-
<i>ha'gicid</i>	<i>adio's</i>	<i>naparinsu'sbidaD</i>
pardon.	To God	that thou art my Guide,
<i>inci'u'k</i>		<i>in.o'k</i>
my Morning Star,		my Father.

## NOTE

This prayer is spoken by anyone who enters a ceremonial *patio* or other sacred place for any purpose; particularly when coming to begin a religious performance or *fiesta*.

## TRANSLATION

Hail! Unbidden have we come hither to arrange, but on that account I have come to crave your forgiveness. Do not therefore look askance. To one side will ye put away the heat and the pestilence and with all the cold will ye purify us. With your arrows and with your *chimales* will ye shield us from sickness. So ye need not feel sad. We have come hither to beg your leave to perform here. Do not refuse us. Ye will send your winds and will put to flight all ills. Know this and forgive me.

Hail! thou who art my Guide, my Morning Star, my Lord.

### 16. TO BEG PERMISSION TO LEAVE A SACRED PLACE

<i>adiu's</i>	<i>na'parino'k</i>	<i>naparinci'u'k</i>
To God	that thou art my Father,	that thou art-
my Morning Star,		



naparinda't                      anihö'napimpuda'da'r  
that thou art my Mother.                      Hereabouts that ye-  
are seated

hasnacidúdu      ni'cpu.amtánim      ha'gicdara  
as that hoards.      I you come begging      pardon

napimaringö''korak      wöpuhímdam      anihö'  
that ye are my *manes*      before go on.      Hereabouts

na'pimpudádar                      ganavarica'p.ma''mcim  
that ye are seated                      that which is well appearing

am.a''tockar.dám      anihö'      napimpum-  
your seat on.      Hereabouts      that ye yourselves-

na'mök'      ci'korxövan      navarci'vgo'k'      o'hi  
encounter      vicinity there      that are seven      beautiful

tö'tvakdam                      pihö'                      napimpu-  
skies on                      where                      that ye-

a'r'gidic      ganavarictö'dog      am'ai'nikdám  
create.      That which is green      your *petate* on

navarica'pma'cimká't                      navaricvi'g'ikam  
that is well appearing outspread      that is.....

icxa'duk'am                      na'.icva''utakat.ká't  
.....                      that was drizzling, outspread

pixödör                      napuböixi'kmat  
where from                      that hither clouds up

na'tpuböiwöpgö      natpubö'.inio'      na'-  
that did hither lighten      that did hither speak.      That-

puamöhö'dör.apum.a'gim                      na'pumöhö'-  
there from already goes conversing                      that there-

dörmörin'ogim                      ganavaritsu'sbidat  
from comes running                      she that is our Guide

itci'u'k      it.q'k      id'a't      ati'c-  
our Morning Star,      our Father,      our Mother.      We-

puta'n                      ha'gicdara                      kuvi'tut-  
beg                      pardon.                      Then us will-

ha'gicda                      hidita'kugumökö't                      porki  
pardon                      this fragment with                      because

a'tiv.iamha'cicba'ik      natawöpa'u'da      porki  
we not anyhow can      that we them will equal      because

ti'carici'k'orak'am      porki      iti'kradökö't  
we are vile      because      our filthiness with

ti'cputso'b'dím                      puya'm.hacicba'ik-  
we ourselves go obstructing                      not anyhow can

natawöpa'u'da                      ganavarahi'mda  
that we them will equal                      that which is their way

navarato't'norik                      kugö'kuti'puata'n  
which are their suns.                      Then therefore we them beg

ha'gicdara                      pixö'                      nampuda'da'r  
pardon                      where                      that they are seated

nampubö'itnö.ít                      wöcorasa''ba                      intám  
that they hither us behold                      all hours in.                      Here

natpuda''rim      ticputö'maiasa'kcit      pihö'  
that we go sitting                      we continually to them-  
weep                      where

natitpua''má'cit                      navaranöi'kardám  
that we did already appear                      that is their *patio* on

navarica'p.ma'citká't      navaricta'      mai'-  
that is well appearing, outspread      that is white      *petate*-

nikwöta                      pihö'dör                      napuihi'k'mat  
beneath                      where from                      that clouds up.

ticputö'mai.am'a'turit                      ganavarci'vgo'k  
We continually them cause to know                      that which-  
is seven

o'hi      tö'tvakwöt'a                      kumi'tuthá'gicda  
beautiful                      skies beneath                      that they us will-

pardon

hidi                      takugumökö't                      bá'barip-  
this                      fragment with.                      North

hu'rnip'                      o'gipas                      hidi'kö't  
west                      south                      this with

id'a'mahöwan      nampubö.itnö.ít      pihödör  
over us there      that they hither us observe      where-  
from

nampuböit'ö'kdim      ganavarumnóv<sup>1</sup>      para  
that they hither us go extending      that which is thy-  
hand<sup>1</sup>      in order

natpuha'bantud'ágimöt                      gamtunöfídida  
that we in it ourselves having enfolded                      may go-  
beholding

wöcorasa''ba                      kuha'ctuicto'nkam  
all hours in.                      Then any heat

naböma'gida                      ga''gurahö'mi.u'r'nida  
that hither will come announcing                      aside hence will-  
go thrusting.

hö'ga                      navaraka'k'varhök'ö't  
That                      which are their *chimaes* with

mipuitso'b'ida                      navarau''umihök'ö't  
they us will go shielding                      which are their ceremonial-  
arrows with

<sup>1</sup> Probably error for -*anóv*, THEIR HAND.

mi'puga'gurahönönid'a gacto'nkam wö'c  
they aside there will cause to fly that heat all

icxö'pitkamököt mi.id'a'giunida  
cold with they us will go cleansing

ganamaritgö'korak böpuhímdam  
that which they are our *manes* before go on

ci'a'rwöt'ahö napua'r.gidic navaritci'ug  
east beneath there that create which is our-  
Morning Star.

konki'hapí ma'tök inka'ök  
With which thus is. Know; me hear.

kudiospöcumbi'aka<sup>1</sup>  
That God thee will sympathize.<sup>1</sup>

## NOTE

This prayer is spoken after the termination of a *fiesta*, the following morning when the communicants are about to depart, or when one who has come alone to a sacred place for any purpose desires to leave.

## TRANSLATION

Hail! my Father, my Morning Star, and my Mother who are seated round about. I come to beg your forgiveness, my spirits who have gone before. Round about are ye seated on your pleasant throne. Round about are ye met in the seven beautiful heavens where ye were created. On your green carpet, beautifully o'erspread with rain and drizzle, whence come the clouds, the lightnings and the voice, cometh running and counselling he who is our Guide, our Morning Star, our Father and our Mother.

We beg their pardon and they will forgive us this portion for we cannot equal them. For we are vile and with our filthiness do we obstruct ourselves; we may not equal their ways, their days. Therefore do we beg their pardon, where they are seated, watching us in all hours. Sitting here we do continually beseech them, having appeared in this

<sup>1</sup> Possibly *-ambi'aka*, YOU WILL SYMPATHIZE; this final phrase is very frequent and difficult to interpret precisely. It probably carries some esoteric significance.

their sacred place, beautifully outspread, beneath their white carpet whence spring the clouds. Continually do we, beneath the seven beautiful heavens, tell them that they must forgive us this fragment.

From above us do they watch us from north, west and south whence they reach unto us their hand that we, wrapping ourselves in it, may go beholding through all hours. They will thrust aside whatever heat may draw near. With their *chimaes* will they shield us, with their arrows will they put to flight the heat and with all manner of cold will they purify us, our spirits who have gone before to beneath the east where was created our Morning Star.

So be it; know it and hear me! May God bless you.

## 17. TO DELIVER THE FIRE TO THE CARE OF ITS GUARDIAN

esta' mui bien apiampum.a'gad  
It is very well, thou not wast thinking

putudá'kat kuto''nimör.puba.ciumnio'k'it  
seated wast that suddenly hither already thee-  
speak.

kupica'ptumda'gia höga namaritgö'korak  
Then thou in them thyself wilt seize that that-  
they are our *manes*

wöpuhímdam apiamago'kiptönönöikda  
before go on. Thou not in two places wilt look.

ati'cpumta'n há'gicdara apia'mhacuma'ka  
We thee beg pardon. Thou not any wilt think

hactugökamö'köt pica'ptumda'gia  
anything greatness with. Thou in him thyself wilt-  
seize

it.o'Ga'ba kupsapipui'ntámnöid'a  
our Father in. Then thou say here wilt look

höganavarito'G natpubö'i.ci'cvot amöhödör  
he that is our Father that did hither raise-  
plumes. There from

pixödör natpubö'ixo't ganavaro'gad  
where from that he did hither send he who is his-  
Father



ci'arwötahö'      napuo'idak      navarita'm  
east beneath there      that he belongs      who is our-  
yellow

itci'u'G      napubö.it-ök'dim      ganavarno'vit  
our Morning Star      that he hither us comes ex-  
tending      that which is his hand

natpuha'ban.tuð'ágimöt      gamtönö'ídim  
that we in it ourselves having seized      going beholding

wöcorasa''ba      kuti'pumtán      há'gicdara  
all hours in.      Then we thee beg      pardon.

kupitutha'gicda      hidi      navarictuma'm  
Then thou us wilt pardon.      This      that is five

o'hi      tötvakwöt'a      natpubö'iwöpgö  
beautiful      skies beneath      that did hither lighten

natpubö'.inió'      amöhödör      natpuixi'k'mat  
that did hither speak.      There from      that did cloud up

navarci'a'rwöta      ba'varip      xu'r'nip  
which is east beneath      north      west

o'gipa      anihö      ci'korhö      ofmörimök  
south.      Hereabouts      vicinity there      walking

aka'himök      namarmám'rat      kutipu-  
them hearing      that they are his children.      Then did-

i'nihövadu'viá      kuvia'mhacumdu'kat  
here already arrive.      Then not anything itself was-  
making.

api'tutha'gicda      hidi      hö'mat  
Thou us wilt pardon      this      one

go'k      vai'k      ni'o.khökö't      porkiatiamha'-  
two      three      word with      because we not-

cicba'íg      natma'sum'a'töd'a      ganavarni'ok'it  
anyhow can      that we more thee will cause to-  
know      that which is his word

högansu'sbidat      inci'u'k      in.q'G      porki  
she my Guide,      my Morning Star,      my-  
Father,      because

a'ni.ina''ba.ti'pua'p.ú'r'      porkianti'-  
I me in did also remain      because I did-

amnu'k'tur      höga      navara'r'gat  
not guard      that      which is his creation.

kugö'k'u      nipiua'm'at  
Then therefore      I not know

hacna'numtö'da      apicapma'mcimpuxo'hi  
what that I thee shall say;      thou well appearing-  
desirest

ica'picdápam      peroavia'mha'cicba'íg  
well explained      but not anyhow can.

haputu'ki'p      nicga'mup'tönö'ít  
Thus darkness      I also behold

pero      ma'skise'a      hidi      takúgumököt  
but      more than might be      this      fragment with

ani'cpuma'tuð      kupiama'cum'a'k'a  
I thee cause to know.      Then thou not any wilt think;

pica'aptumda'gia      ganamaritgökorak  
thou in them thyself wilt seize      they who are our-  
manes.

konkihapö'gia      nicum'a'tuð  
With which thus only      I thee cause to know.

kumsapicdiospöcumbi'ak'a      kupsapan'u'k'-  
Then they say God thee will sympathize.      Then thou-

turda      ganavarata'ík'      ganamaritgökorak  
say for them wilt guard      that which is their-  
fire      they that are our manes

anihö'      namda'dá'r      navaricapma'cim  
hereabouts      that they are seated      that is well-  
appearing

a'tockardám'      hidi      navaramnöikardám'<sup>1</sup>  
seat on      this      which is your <sup>1</sup> patio on.

konkidiuspöcumbi'ak'a  
With which God thee sympathize.

## NOTE

After the *Cantador* has prepared the fire for the *fiesta* and is ready to commence the ceremonies, he goes up to one of the men present, whom he has decided upon to be Guardian of the Fire (*ci'ciktio'*), and addresses him as follows. Thereafter no one but him may touch the fire.

## TRANSLATION

It is well that thou, seated there, didst not dream that of a sudden I would speak unto thee. Thou must be possessed by them who are our spirits who have gone before. Look not askance; we beg thy forgiveness. Neither be vain. Thou shalt be possessed of our Father. Thou must here watch for him

<sup>1</sup> Possibly should be *-anöikar*, THEIR PATIO.

who is our Father who here hath raised his plumes.

From there beneath the east where he belongeth, whence he, his father, did hither send our Golden Morning Star, he now cometh, reaching unto us his hand that we, wrapping ourselves in it, may go beholding through all hours. Thus do we beg thy pardon and thou must forgive us. Beneath these five beautiful heavens did he send his lightnings and his voice. From afar come the clouds beneath the east, the north, the west and the south, where wander and hearken his children. Here they arrived but nothing befell.

Thou wilt forgive us these few words, for we cannot teach thee more the Word of my Guide, my Morning Star, and my Father. For it remaineth within me, because I have not obeyed his commandment. Therefore I know not what I shall say unto thee; thou desirest it beautiful and clearly explained, but thus it cannot be. For in darkness I also grope, but nevertheless do I teach thee this fragment. Be not offended; thou must be gathered unto them who are our spirits. Thus only do I give thee to know; may God bless thee. Thou must guard the fire of our spirits who are seated round about on their pleasant seat in this their court. May God bless thee.

#### 18. TO CURE THE SICK

<i>adio's</i>	<i>ino'k</i>	<i>abimō</i>	<i>napaptu'i'</i>
To God,	my Father.	There	that thou art
<i>höga</i>	<i>navaric'ivgo'k</i>	<i>o'hi</i>	
that	which are seven	beautiful	
<i>tō'tvakdām</i>	<i>naparicidu'kam</i>		
skies on	that thou art treasure.		
<i>abimöhödör</i>	<i>napitumtō't'</i>	<i>napitbai'vahf</i>	
There from	that thou didst thyself name	that-	
	thou didst hither already come		

<sup>1</sup> Probably incorrectly given; past prefix probably superfluous.

<i>hidi</i>	<i>navarum'ai'nigdam</i>	<i>napitapdu'</i>
this	that is thy <i>petate</i> on.	That thou didst-
	already also do	

<i>tuvolunta'd</i>	<i>ku.i'na</i>	<i>hidi</i>	<i>mai'ndam</i>
thy will	then here	this	<i>petate</i> on

<i>kumu</i>	<i>tō'tvaGdām</i>	<i>kunapaitma'k</i>
as	skies on.	Then that thou us givest

<i>umgō'gucdara</i>	<i>vōc</i>	<i>to'nora''ba</i>
thy succor	all	sun at.

<i>kup(it)bai'itma'kia<sup>1</sup></i>	<i>umci'v</i>	<i>api'ctun-</i>
Then thou (didst) <sup>1</sup>	hither us will give	now. Thou-

<i>ha'gicda</i>	<i>umta'giv</i>	<i>vacitu'D'a</i>
me wilt pardon	thee before	already will dance.

<i>ku.i'ni</i>	<i>apictunha'gicda</i>	<i>porke</i>
Then here	thou me wilt pardon	because

<i>nicarici''krakam</i>	<i>kupictunha'gicda</i>
I am filthiness.	Then thou me wilt pardon.

<i>kupiamid'a'k'ta'ka</i>	<i>nati.i'akia'</i>
Then thou not us wilt permit	that we shall fall.

<i>apiamvi'ak'a</i>	<i>hactudō'kō</i>
Thou not wilt feel	anything with

<i>napasa'sa'rkadida</i>	<i>api.id'a'gid'a</i>	<i>vōc</i>
that thou wilt go withdrawing.	Thou us wilt send all	

<i>icko'k'dakam<sup>2</sup></i>	<i>ame'n</i>
sickness. <sup>2</sup>	Amen.

#### NOTE

Disease among the Tepecanos was commonly treated by a priest-doctor by ceremonial and magic means. The patient is laid on his back, the doctor standing at his feet. He blows tobacco smoke to the four winds and recites one of several prayers in a low voice. Five puffs of smoke are then blown on the invalid's hands, feet and forehead. The body is then stroked vigorously from the extremities to the center of pain and the latter is subjected to a vigorous suction. Thick spittle, blood, or a tangible object is extracted. The first is proof of affliction by a *chan*, a mythical water-serpent, the second of affliction by the spirits of the dead, the last of witchcraft. The object

<sup>2</sup> Undoubtedly error for *icxō'pikam*, THE COLD.



extracted is then rubbed and palmed until it disappears.

Smoke is then blown five times on the affected part and the cure is effected. The shaman rinses his mouth well and recites the prayer again to the west, whence the evil spirits flee. If the individual is very sick, a different prayer is repeated every third day.

The following prayer is of doubtful value. Together with no. 26 it was given to me to show the lack of antagonism between the old Tepecano and the Catholic religions, and was termed the "Our Father." The informant constantly compared the Christian prayer while giving it. It was originally claimed to be a prayer to beg permission to enter a sacred place.

## TRANSLATION

Hail! my Father who art in the seven beautiful heavens. Thou art dear. From there where thou wast named, thou didst come to this thy carpet. Thou didst thy will here on this earth as in the heavens. Thou givest us thy succor daily. Thou wilt give it us now. Thou wilt pardon me; before thee will we dance. Thou wilt forgive me for I am vile. Thou wilt not allow us to fall. Thou needst on no account hold aloof. Thou wilt send us all the cold. Amen.

## 19. TO CURE ONE VERY ILL

*adios in.o'G inda't inci'u'k amumödör*  
To God, my Father, my Mother, my Morning-  
Star. There from

*napivo'pmigda na'varumu'umi ha'ba'n*  
that thou wilt raise which are thy ceremonial-  
arrows whence

*dör napgamihi'komağda na'pu-*  
from that thou cloudest. That thou

*hō'köt.inö'nid'a navaricko''k'dakam*  
with wilt cause to fly which is sickness

*ga''gura.hōvan apid'a'gid'a gö'gu'cdara*  
aside to. Thou us wilt send succor

*nagamupkitötu'gia ica'pum.ō'rdad*  
that he again soon may see well himself may feel.

*ku'avi'amibiha''tuD'a.da'maN.a'cumdu'nia*  
Then not hither anything above already will make.

*kupipuso'sbid'a icko'k'dakam*  
Then thou wilt repulse sickness

*na'varicda'di k'ava'r navarumbu'puivas*  
which is health *chimal* which are thy faces-

*hō'kōD cīk'or navarumtōt'vagiwōp'ta*  
with vicinity which are thy skies beneath

*ci'a'rwōt'a ba'barip hu'rnip*  
east beneath north west

*ogipas kuhi'dihō'madakahō'kōt*  
south. Then this creation with

*api'ctunha'gicda hōga na'varum'ār*  
thou me wilt pardon that who is thy child,

*dios in.o'G inda't inciuk*  
God, my Father, my Mother, my Morning-  
Star.

## TRANSLATION

Hail! thou who art my Lord, my Lady, my Morning Star. From afar thou wilt raise thy arrows whence come the clouds. With them wilt thou put to flight the sickness. Thou wilt send us succor, that this invalid soon again may behold and feel himself well. No evil must come upon him. Thou wilt repel the sickness with the health of thy *chimal*, which is thy face, round about beneath thy heavens to east, north, west and south. With this formula thou wilt pardon me, who am thy son.

Hail! my Father, my Mother, my Morning Star.

## 20. TO CURE ONE ON POINT OF DEATH

*adiu's naparinsu'sbidat inci'u'k*  
To God, that thou art my Guide, my Morning-  
Star,

*in.q'G navarci'vgok ohi*  
my Father that are seven beautiful

*tōtvakdām pihō na'pudá*  
skies on where that thou art seated,

napubö'itnōi'dim      napuböit'ō'kdim  
That thou hither us comest beholding      that thou-  
hither us comest extending

gana'varumnóv      navarumtó'N      natpu-  
that which is thy hand      which is thy foot      that we-  
ha'bantu'a'gia      *para*      natga'mtunōi'da  
in it ourselves will envelop      in order      that we-  
will go beholding

hidi      gok      vaik      tótnor      pihō'  
this      two      three      suns      where

na'pitpubö'id'ákta      'hi'di      oi'dadám  
that thou didst hither us leave      this      world on.

na'tpuga'mtunōidim      *porki*      a'tiv      tu'ki'p  
That we going beholding      because      we      darkness

ti'cgamtunō'fidim      nataric'í'k'orak'am  
we going beholding      that we are vile

it.i'kra'dō'kut      ticputsóbdim      kuvitōka-  
our filthiness with      we ourselves go obstruct-  
ing.      Then above-

umbō'ya      gactónkam      kuvi-  
self will raise      that heat.      Then will-

xō'pria      hidickó'ok'am      kuti'cpumtán  
recover      this sick one.      Then we thee beg

há'gicdara      hidi      go'k  
pardon      this      two

va'ik      ní'q'k'hōk'ō't      kupi'puso'sbid'a  
three      word with.      Then thou wilt go repulsing

ganavarictónkam      umu'umihōk'ō't  
that which is heat      thy ceremonial arrows with

umka'k'varōkō't      hasnaci'dúdu  
thy *chimaes* with      thus that hoards.

kupia'mago'kiptunōnōikda      pi'cpubö'.it'ōkda  
Then thou not to both sides wilt look      thou hither-  
us wilt extend

höganavarumnóv      *para*      natwōc.oras-  
that which is thy hand      in order      that we all hours-

ába'n.tu'd'ágida      kuya'mid'am.ha'ctu-  
in us will go seizing.      Then not over us anything-

a'cumwá'da      kuwō'c.ichō'pitkamōk'ō't.pubö'-  
itself will make.      Then all cold with hither-

id'ágiuni'da      naparindá't      kuvixōpria  
us will come cleansing      who is our Mother.  
Then will recover

hidickó.o'k'am      *kunkiha'p.í*      nicumtá'n  
this sick one.      With which thus is.      I thee beg

há'gicdara      hi'di      hō'mat      gó'k'  
pardon      this      one      two

nío'k'hōk'ō't      cí'arwō't'ahō'  
word with.      East beneath there

nap'um.á'r'git      va'varip      hú'r'nip  
that thou thyself formest      north      west

o'gipa      hidi'köi'd'am'ōhō      na'pudá  
south      this with over us there      that thou art-  
seated

navarci'vgok      ohi      tōtvakdám  
that are seven      beautiful      skies on

napubö.itnōit      wōco'rasa'ba      kuhapu.puícōp'  
that thou hither us observest      all hours in.      Then-  
thus also

ti'cpumtá'n      há'gicdara      kuvi'-  
we thee beg      pardon.      Then-

pugamupkitōtō'gia      hōgackó'ok'am      hōga  
again soon will behold      that sick one.      That

navarumu'umihōk'ō'd     apidá'giuna  
which are thy ceremonial arrows with      that thou-  
wilt cleanse;

kuga'gura.xō'pi.iú'rna      gacko''k'dara  
then aside there wilt cast      that sickness.

kua'viamimu'k'ia      hidickó'ok'am  
Then he not will die      this sick one.

*kunkiha'p*      hōgia      nic.um'átut  
With which thus      only      thee cause to know

na'parin.ó'k      naparinsu'sbidat  
that thou art my Father,      that thou art my Guide,

inci'u'k      *konkidiospōcumbi'ak'a*  
my Morning Star.      With which God thee will-  
sympathize.

## NOTE

This is the last resort of the shaman, re-  
cited when the patient is nearly on point of  
death. The accompanying treatment is the  
same as for the other prayers.

## TRANSLATION

Hail! thou who art my Guide, my Morn-  
ing Star and my Father who art seated in  
the seven beautiful heavens. Thence thou



watchest us and reachest unto us thy hand  
and thy foot that we may be held in them and  
go beholding these few days in this world  
where thou didst leave us. In darkness we  
grope for we are vile and with our filthiness  
do we obstruct ourselves.

The heat must take itself hence that this  
invalid may recover. With these few words  
do we beg thy forgiveness. Thou wilt repel  
the heat with thy arrows and with thy  
*chimales*. Do not look askance. Thou must  
reach unto us thy hand that we may be gathered  
into it in all hours. Then will no evil  
befall us. With all manner of cold will our  
Lady purify us. Then will this invalid  
recover. So be it. With these few words  
do I beg thy forgiveness. Thou who wast  
created beneath the east, the north, the  
west and the south art seated above us in  
the seven beautiful heavens whence thou  
watchest us in all hours.

Thus do we beg thy pardon. Soon will  
this invalid see again. With thy arrows  
wilt thou cleanse him; thou wilt cast aside  
the affliction that he may not die. This  
only do I say unto thee, my Lord, my Guide,  
my Morning Star. May God bless thee.

## 21. TO CURE ONE SICKENED BY THE SPIRITS OF THE DEAD

<i>adio's</i>	naparicmu'k'am	nap'u.oí'dak
To God	that thou art Death	that thou per- tainest
oi'dawö'p'ta		navarumictôdog
world beneath		that is thy green
ma'i'nik.wö't'a	napimpurickof'k'am	
<i>petate</i> beneath.	That ye are the dead	
pihö'wan	ganavaricta'	amku'rar.ör
where	that which is white	your corral in
pihö	napimpuoidag	kuni'camta'n
where	that ye pertain.	Then I you beg
ha'gicdara	kupimiampihö'.tunko'k'datuD'a	
pardon.	Then ye not anywhere me will cause to-	
be sick,		

<i>ni</i>	a'ni	<i>pero</i>	<i>ninfami'lia</i>
neither	I	but	nor my family.
wöc	ichöpitkamökö't		pimipuböin-
All	cold with	ye hither	me will come-
da'giunida	kuga'gura		pimi.iu.'rnida
cleansing.	Then aside		ye will go casting.
kuvia'mindám.ha'ctu.indama'cumwa'da			
Then not over me anything over me itself will make.			
kupimia'mpihö'tunko'k'datuD'a	ganavargö'		
Then ye not anywhere me will cause to be sick. That-	which is great		
tö'tvakdám	pihö'	na'pu.ambi'á	
skies on	where	that he you holds	
höga	navarit.q'k'	ganavarid'a't	
he	who is our Father	she that is our Mother	
napubö'.it'ök'dim		ganavarno'vit	
that he hither us comes extending		that which is-	
his hand			
natpuha'bantuD'a'gim	kuwö'c.icxö'pitkam		
that we in it us seizing.	Then all cold		
avi'pubö'.id'a'giuna	na'varit.o'G	<i>para</i>	
he hither us will cleanse	that is our Father	in-	
order			
natpugamtönöf.dida	hi'di	oi'da.dám	
that we may go beholding	this	world on.	
kuyamha'ctu.id'ám.ha'cumwa'da			
Then not anything over us any itself will make.			
kupimimö'm.u'rin'ka	höga	navaramku'-	
Then ye hither yourselves will cast	that	which-	
<i>krus</i> .avúi	navaramö'kaD'a	pixö'	
are your crosses with	which is your shadow	where	
napimpu.a'r'gidic		navaramictö'do	
that ye are formed		which is your green	
am'ainik.wö't'a	pihö'	napimpua'r'gidic	
your <i>petate</i> beneath	where	that ye are formed	
höga	navaramhi'komsa'git	pihö'	
that	which is your cloud between	where	
nampu.ambiá		ganamaritgökorak	
that they you possess		they who are our <i>manes</i>	
wö'puhi'mdam		napubö'it'ök'dim	
before go on.	That they hither us come extending		
navara.a'rak	pixö	nampuhöködböi-	
which is their form	where	that they with hither-	

a'r'gidic ganavarci'vgo:k o'xi  
are formed they which are seven beautiful  
tö'tvak.dám nampuda'dar gatgö'korak  
skies on that they are seated that our *manes*  
napurica'p'ma'cimká't ga.anöí'k'ar  
that is well appearing, spread out that their *patio*.  
kuha'pu.píc.ð'p' ti'cupata'n ha'gicdara  
Then thus also we also them beg pardon  
ganamarickoi'k'am nampuanihö'dá'dar  
they who are the dead that they hereabouts are  
seated  
awo'poi.dám kuga''gurahöwan  
their paths on. Then aside there  
mi'm.u'rin'ka kuhi'diköð ami'tun-  
they selves will cast. Then this with they me-  
ha'gicda konki'hap.i ni'c.am'a'tut kumi'-  
will pardon. With which thus is I them-  
cause to know that-  
tunha'gicdán konkidios pöcambi'ak'a  
they me will pardon. With which God you will-  
sympathize.

## NOTE

After death, at least before Christian times, a person became a puff of wind, wandering over the world and sickening those with whom it came into contact. When the priest-doctor's diagnosis showed sickness caused by the spirits of the dead, this being determined by the extraction of blood in the sucking examination, the following prayer was recited to cause the spirit to quit the body it was afflicting. The same prayer was also spoken to drive away a persistent haunting spirit.

## TRANSLATION

Hail! thou who art Death. Thou belongest beneath the ground, beneath thy green carpet. And ye who are the Dead in your white fields where ye belong, I beg your forgiveness. Ye must not sicken me, neither myself nor my family. With all manner of cold will ye purify me; to one side will ye cast the sickness, that no ill may befall me. Ye must not afflict me.

From the great heavens where he who is our Father and our Mother holdeth you, he reacheth unto us his hand that we may be gathered into it. With all the cold will he, our Father, cleanse us, that we may go beholding in this world. Then will no evil befall us.

Ye must take yourselves hence to your crosses, your shadows, where ye were created, beneath your green carpet where ye belong. There within your cloud are ye held by our spirits who have gone before. From the seven beautiful heavens where they are seated in their pleasant broad court our spirits stretch unto us their forms in which they were created.

Likewise do we beg forgiveness of the Dead who are seated round about on their accustomed paths. They must take themselves hence. Thus will they forgive me; I warn them that they must forgive me.

May God have pity on you.

## 22. TO SEIZE DEATH

adio's namarin.q'k insu'sBidað  
To God that thou art my Father, my Pro-  
tector,  
inci'u'k nda'd ani'cho'hi'  
my Morning Star, my Mother. I desire  
ku'piböin.tö'k'da gana'varumno'v para  
that thou hither me wilt extend that which is thy-  
hand in order  
natuma'p'tuda'gia para na'itwi'.um'a'cda  
that we thee in will seize in order that she-  
with us herself will appear  
gacmú'k'ik'am para naD'ágia  
that Death in order that we shall seize  
anihö' wo'poidám ha'cnapumá'r'gið  
hereabouts paths on as that she is-  
formed  
ci'korhöwan ha'snapu.of.mör ci''ar-  
vicinity there as that she walks. East-  
wöt'ahö napuóidak amuhödör  
beneath there that she belongs there from



natpuböixó't      hö'ga      navarit.o'G  
that he did hither send      that      who is  
our Father

*para*      na'puitu'k'atök'da      *para*  
in order      that she us carried shall place      in order

natpumá'kira      *kwe'nta*      höga      *dii's*  
that we shall go to give      report      that      God

it.o'k      ha'cnatputuvwá      hi'di  
our Father      how that we do      this

oi'dadám      kuha'puti'cuptán  
world on.      Then thus we also beg

há'gicdara      höga      navarit.o'G  
pardon      that      who is our Father

kuvi'putmák'ia      *lise'nsia*      *para*  
that he us shall give      permission      in order

naD'a'gia      gacmú'k'ikam      anihödör  
that we shall seize      that Death      hereabouts  
from

na'pubö'umágim      anihö'      na'puoíörm  
that she hither comes conversing      hereabouts      that  
she walks

ci'korhövan      hasnaci'dúdu      na'pua.ú'k'atök'  
vicinity there      as hoards      that she them carry-  
ing places

ganamarma'mrat      kuti'cxó'xi      kuvia'mkit-  
they that are his children.      Then we desire      that  
she not

pa'ro'nda      *porki*      tisör'kam      na'tparó  
soon us shall maltreat      because      we many      that she-  
did maltreat.

kuti'cputa'n      há'gicdara      gat.o'k  
Then we beg      pardon      that our Father

gaD'a'D      kuvi'pubö'it'ök'da      ganavarnóvit  
that our Mother      that he hither us will extend      that  
which is his hand

ganavartó'nat      *para*      natpwa'bantuD'a'gia  
that which is his foot      in order      that we in it-  
ourselves shall seize

natia'mpihö'tuko'k'orda      kuvi'putma'kia  
that we not anywhere ourselves will sicken.      Then  
he us will give

gani'ók'it      *para*      naya'mpihöit'u'k'atök'da  
that his word      in order      that she not anywhere-  
us carried shall place.

kuti'ho'tsa      kuhímia      pihö  
Then we will dispatch her      that will go      where

napu.a'r'gidic      naputunúk'ad  
that she is formed      that she guards

gana'varahu'k'uG      ganamaritgök'orak  
that which are their torches      they who are our *manes*

nampubö'.itnóidim      wöc      orasá'ba  
that they hither us watch      all      hours in

na'tica'pitö'r.dad.imá'c.dida      a'nihö'  
that we well ourselves shall feel will go appearing  
hereabouts

nat.o'ipu      gana'varictö'dok      ma'inikdám  
that we walk      that which is green      *pelate* on.

kuya'mpihö'.it'a'ri.wa'da      kuhapu.pí'.ö'p'  
Then not anywhere us small will make.      Then thus-  
also

ti'ctá'n      há'gicdara      ganavarci'vgok  
we beg      pardon      that which is seven

o'hi      tö'tvaktám      pihö'      napudá  
beautiful      skies on      where      that is seated

gana'varit.ö'k'      gana'variD'a'D  
he that is our Father,      she that is our Mother.

ti'cpum'átuD      kuya'mpihö'.itpáro'nda  
We cause to know      that not anywhere us shall-  
maltreat

natarma'mrat      *konkidius*      pöcambi'ak'a  
that we are his children.      With which God      you will-  
sympathize.

## NOTE

When there has been a great deal of sickness and many deaths among the Tepecanos, the five principal men of the village meet and hold a consultation. They decide that the Death Goddess has been too active and must be sent hence. They therefore undergo an ablutionary fast of five days. At midnight on the fifth day they meet in the graveyard and together recite in a low voice the following prayer, begging permission of the higher Gods to seize the Death Goddess and send her away. They all carry their bows and arrows. One remains in the town while the other four seek to the four winds. One of them encounters the Death Goddess in

the form of a mortal woman and bids her begone and not molest them more.

The information volunteered to the effect that each person has a lighted candle in heaven, representing his spirit, and that the Death Goddess goes about snuffing them out, is probably of Christian origin.

## TRANSLATION

Hail, O God, thou that art my Father and Mother, my Guide, and Morning Star! I beseech thee, stretch forth thy hand that it lay hold upon us. Then will the Goddess Death herself appear before us that we may seize her as she walketh about on her accustomed paths. She belongeth beneath the east whence our Father has sent her to carry us hence, so that we may give report to Him, our God and Father, of how we have acted in this world.

Likewise do we beseech of our Father that he give us leave to seize the Death Goddess, she who cometh whispering, stalking about and carrying off his children. We ask that she shall not harm us as already she has harmed so many.

Likewise do we beg of our Lord and Lady that he stretch forth his hand and his foot so that we may be upheld and not be sickened. He will give us his word that she shall not carry us away. We will send her where she belongeth where she guardeth the torches of our spirits who watch us through all hours. Then will we be well here where we wander on the green carpet. Then will we never be decreased.

Also do we beg forgiveness of our Lord and Lady seated in the seven beautiful heavens. We will let the Death Goddess know that nothing shall harm us who are the children of the Father.

May God bless you.

## 23. TO PLACATE THE CHANES

*adin's.um*      *su'di.ö'r*      *o'oik'am<sup>1</sup>*  
To God,      water within      *chanes<sup>1</sup>*

*na'pimpumtötök'*      *anihō*      *napimpuda'dar*  
that ye are named      hereabouts      that ye are-  
seated

*na'pimputunú'ngat*      *höga*      *navarahi'-*  
that ye guard      that      which is their-

*komaG*      *ganamaritgö''koraG*      *bōpuhí'mdam*  
cloud      they who are our *manes*      before go on.

*anihō*      *nampuda'dar*      *ci'korxōvan*  
Hereabouts      that they are seated      vicinity-  
there

*ha'cnaci'dúdu*      *kuticbō'hí'möt*      *amtánim*  
as that hoards.      Then we hither were coming      you-  
begging

*hágicdara*      *konkiha'pí*      *mátök'*  
pardon.      With which thus is.      Know!

*pimiam.pixö.in'ōid'uk'a*      *niganfami'lia*  
Ye not anywhere me will ignore      nor that my family

*anihō*      *namoípu*      *i'ntám*  
hereabouts      that they walk      here

*pusoí''máma'c*      *höga*      *navaricma'm'-*  
sad appear      that      that is trans-

*dormaG*      *am'ai'nikwō't'a*      *na'pimpudádar*  
parent      your *petate* beneath      that ye are-  
seated.

*kuni'cpuam'átud*      *porki*      *anta'sóna't*  
Then I you cause to know      because      I did al-  
ready begin

*i'ntám*      *nano'ímö'R*      *na'npuamha'nciD*  
here      that I walk      that I for you-  
meddle

*gana'varicmám'dormaG*      *amáinik*      *konkiha'p.i*  
that which is transparent      your *petate*.      With-  
which thus is.

*anti'cpubi'amnámök'dam*      *hi'di*      *so'sobō'köt*  
I did hither you come paying      this      bead with

*para*      *napimia'mpihō'tunko'kdatur'a*  
in order      that ye not anywhere me will sicken

*niganmá.ma'R*      *i'ntám*      *na'mpuo'ípu*  
nor that my children      here      that they walk

*amicmámdormaG*      *amva'pamör.ör*  
your transparent      your lakes in.

<sup>1</sup> Said to be derived from *tenchaniados*, etymology unknown.



kuha'pu.ð'p Then thus also	ati'cuptá'nim we also begging	hö'ga that
navarica'm which is yellow beneath	itcú'k our Morning Star,	ci'a'rwōta east.
na'puóidaḡ that belongs.	kuipuböitö'k'da Then hither us will reach	ganavarno'vit that- which is his hand
<i>para</i> in order	na'tpuhabantuð'ágimöð that we in it us having seized	
xu'viamha'ctuð'am.a'cumwa'da then not anything over us any itself will do		bö'c all
gacko'k'dakam that sickness	pixövan where	ati'ctó.nimör.- we suddenly.
putuhán meddle.	gök'ö Therefore	ti'puta'n we beg
<i>para</i> in order	naga'gurhá.nönið'a that he aside will cause to fly	há'gicdara pardon
<i>para</i> in order	na'miampihö'tutkókdutuda that they not anywhere us will sicken	ganamar.- they- who are.
su'di.ör.óik'am water in <i>chanes</i>		na'mpumtötuk' that they are called
nampuanihö.dádar' that they hereabouts are seated		namputunú'nkak that they guard
gi'g'ior rainbows	nampumtötök that they are called.	ku.ha'p.i Then thus is.
nicpuam'átut I you cause to know		na'pimaringö'korak' that ye are my <i>manes</i> .
<i>adius</i> .u'm To God,	naparinsu'sbidat that thou art my Protector,	inci'u'k my Morning- Star.
avi'puböintökdida He hither me will come reaching		ganavarno'vit that which is his- hand.
kuyampihö.indám.a'ctu.acumwa'da Then not anywhere over me anything itself will- do. With which-		konki-
ha'p.i thus is.	nicputö'mai.umtán I continually thee beg	há'gicdara pardon
na'parino'G that thou art my Father.	ko'nkiha'p.mátöG With which thus know.	dio's God
pöcumbi'ak'a thee will sympathize.		

## NOTE

The *chanes* are malevolent water-serpents which inhabit the springs and streams. They are horned and of many colors. They always travel in pairs, male and female, and love to stretch themselves through the clouds in rainy weather, head in one spring and tail in another, visiting. In this form they appear as rainbows. They are called the "winds of the water."

The *chanes* are vicious and will sting those who have not placated them. For this reason a native will never put his mouth to a spring while drinking; the water is dashed into the mouth with the hand. When thus bitten, malaria, fever, headache and many other ills result.

When a man decides to build a house and make his home on a new site it is necessary for him to placate the *chanes* of the spring whence he draws his water supply. To this end he prepares a *jícara* decorated with transparent small glass beads (water beads) and fills it with a gruel of *pinole* and water. This is scattered to the four winds at the spring while the following prayer is recited. The *jícara* is then left there as an offering.

## TRANSLATION

Hail! ye who are called *Chanes*, who are seated hereabouts in the waters, guarding the cloud of the spirits of those who have gone before and are seated round about us. We come to beg forgiveness. Know ye that it is so. Ye must not ignore me nor my family who walk about here. Sadly do they appear beneath your crystal carpet where ye are seated. Thus do I give you to know, for already have I begun to walk about here and to meddle with your lucid carpet. So be it! I have come hither to offer you these beads that ye may not sicken me nor my children who wander here among your limpid lakes.

Likewise do we beg forgiveness of our golden Morning Star who belongeth beneath the east. He will stretch unto us his hand so that, wrapping ourselves in it, no sickness may come upon us because we have meddled here unbidden. Therefore do we beseech that he will put to flight the heat. Then they will not sicken us, they who are called *Chanes* who are seated hereabouts in the waters guarding those that are called the rainbows.

Thus do I give you to know, my spirits. Hail! thou who art my Guide, my Morning Star. He will reach me his hand, that no ill may befall me. So be it! Know, O my Lord, that I do continually implore thee.

#### 24. TO CURE ONE SICKENED BY THE CHANES

*adio's* o'oi'kam na'pimpumtötök  
To God *chanes* that ye are named

anihö' napimpuda'dar napimputunú'ngat  
hereabouts that ye are seated that ye guard

hö'ga navarahi'komag ganamarit-  
that which is their cloud they who are our-

gö'korak höga navaric.ma'mdormag  
*manes.* that that is transparent

am'ai'nik höga navaric.ma'mdormag  
their *petale* that that is transparent

aka'va'rik nampuhö'ködumsósbidim  
their *chimal* that they with selves protecting.

anihö'namdadar<sup>1</sup> nampuanúkturid höga  
Hereabouts that they<sup>1</sup> are seated that they for them-  
guard that

navarahi'komag na'maritgö'korak  
which is their cloud that they are our *manes.*

ha'pu.pui'cö'p ti'camtanim há'gicdara  
Thus also we you beg pardon.

kuga'gurahöpimitu.u'rinka ganavaricma'-  
Then aside ye will cast that which is-

mdorma' amba'sa.ör namia'mpihö'.tuha'nda  
transparent your gourd within that they-  
not anywhere will meddle

<sup>1</sup> Although in the third person, evidently refers to the *chanes*.

ganmá.mar ganamaramho'ho'cia  
they my children those which are your saucers

ganamaramha'ha' ganamaramha'ha'kar  
those which are your jars those which are your-  
griddles

namaramba'paidaka ganavaricma'mdormag  
those which are your pitchers that which is trans-  
parent

amö'cig.ör namia'mpihötuamha'hi'cda  
your cornfield within that they not anywhere for-  
you will break

*para* napimiampihötuakok'datud'a  
in order that ye not anywhere them will sicken

ganfami'lia gö'köni'puamá.tud *porki*  
that my family. Therefore I you cause to-  
know because

anihö'mioi'pu ganfami'lia amicto'-  
hereabouts they walk that my family they-

nimör'.bituha'nda gö'kö ni'puamtá'n  
suddenly hither will meddle. Therefore I you-  
beg

ha'gicdara *porki* niti'matöt  
pardon because I if cause to know

hö'ga navarinsu'sbidat inci'u'k  
he who is my Protector, my Morning Star,

kuhö'ga'vi'tuamko'k'dad'a kupi'mia'm'-  
then he you will sicken. Then ye not-

a'a'kda kuniti'amam'a'töt gö'kö  
later will say that I did not you cause to know.  
Therefore

ni'puamtanim há'gicdara wöc  
I you am begging pardon all

orasa''ba koha'pu.pī'cö'p ati'tá'nida  
hours in. Then thus also we will go begging

ganavaritci'u'k kovibitö'kdida  
he who is our Morning Star, that hither us will come-  
reaching

ganavarno'vit *para* natha'ban.tu-  
that which is his hand in order that we in it-

D'a.'gimöt ga'mtönö'fidida ha'ctu  
us seizing will go beholding anything

napuanihö'dörumágida ha'cnac'i'dúdu  
that from hereabouts will come thinking thus that-  
hoards.



gö'kunipuama'gid      ku'pimi'mötu.ur'na  
Therefore I you advise      that ye hence will cast  
ganavaricma'mdorma'      amba'sa.ōra  
that which is transparent      your gourd within.  
konki'ap.i      pimima'töhi      kunki.-  
With which thus is.      Ye must know.      With which  
diu's.pö'cambi'ak'a  
God you will sympathize.

## NOTE

When the priest-doctor has determined by the extraction of thick spittle from the patient in the sucking examination, that he is afflicted by a *chan*, he makes a *chimal* and a *bastón* with feathers of the heron and cleanses the invalid by waving the latter over him. He then deposits it at the spring whence the water is brought. The balance of the treatment is as before but the following prayer is recited.

## TRANSLATION

Hail! ye who are called *Chanes* who are seated round about, guarding the cloud of our spirits. It is their transparent carpet, their limpid *chimal* with which they do shield themselves. Round about are ye seated, guarding the cloud of our Gods.

We beseech you, put away your saucers, your jars, your griddles and your pitchers. Hide them within your transparent gourd. Then will my children not meddle with them; then they will not break anything which lieth within your transparent cornfield. Then will you not afflict my family. Thus do I say unto you for already do my family walk about here and mayhap will meddle. This do I ask of you, for if I tell him who is my Protector and my Morning Star, he will then afflict you. Then do not say afterwards that I did not warn you.

Therefore do I implore you in all hours. And also will we beseech him who is our Morning Star that he stretch unto us his hand. Then, held in it, we may safely behold whatever may come unto us. Therefore do

I bid you begone into your transparent gourd. Thus shall ye know. May God have pity on you.

## 25. TO RETIRE THE CHANES

adio's.um      na'pimaro'oik'am  
To God      that ye are *chanes*.  
pimi'möm.u'rin'ká      ganavaricma'mdorma'  
Ye hence yourselves will cast      that which is transparent  
am'a'iniGWö't'a      pimia'mpixö'.tua  
your *petate* beneath.      Ye not anywhere them-  
ko'k'datuD'a      ganfami'lia      porki  
will sicken      that my family      because  
ni.a'k'k'da      ganavarinsu'sBidat      inci'u'k  
I will tell      he who is my Protector,      my Morning-  
Star,  
in.o'k'      para      natuamko'k'daD'a  
my Father,      in order      that he you will sicken.  
pimia'mása'nda      porki      högavi'tuam-  
Ye not later will weep      because      he you-  
ko'k'daD'a      kuha'pí      nicamta'nim  
will sicken.      Then thus is;      I you am begging  
ha'gicdara      kupi'mímöm.u'rinka  
pardon.      Then ye hence yourselves will cast  
ganavaricma'mdorma'      amba'kuri.ōra  
that which is transparent      your water-gourd within.  
pimti'pu.da'nyo      api'minwi'cdim  
Ye if endanger      ye me following,  
kuni'tuamko'k'daD'a      höga      navarci'vgo'k  
then I you will sicken      that      which is seven  
a'rag      napimpuö'köta'rgidic      gö'ku  
formations      that ye with are formed.      Therefore  
nipu.amta'nim      ha'gicdara      konki'hap.i  
I you begging      pardon.      With which thus is.  
pim'a'tök      inka'ög      pimihi'mia  
Ye know,      me hear.      Ye will go  
pihö'      napimpuaptu'i'      ganavaram-  
where      that ye are      that is your  
hi'komak.ōr      kudios.pöcam.ōra'dakam  
cloud within.      Then God you withinness.

## NOTE

This prayer is spoken after the invalid is convalescing from the sickness caused by the *chanes* and is intended to cause them to depart from the vicinity. It is recited to the west, whither they flee.

## TRANSLATION

Farewell! *Chanes*. Ye shall take yourselves beneath your lucid carpet. Ye must not sicken my family, or I will tell him who is my Protector, my Morning Star and my Lord so that he may sicken you. Then do not afterwards weep if he shall have sickened you. So be it; I beg your forgiveness. You must take yourselves within your crystal water-gourd. For if ye follow to persecute me, I will sicken you with the seven forms in which ye were created. Therefore do I beg your forgiveness.

So be it. Know it and hear ye me! Ye shall take yourselves within your cloud where ye belong. May God bless you.

## 26. TO BEWITCH

*adio's* in.o'G' inda'D  
To God, my Father, my Mother,  
inci'u'G abimö naparda'kam höga  
my Morning Star. Afar that thou art-  
sitter that  
tö'tvak.dám ku.inimö' navarum'ai'nak-  
skies on. Then here that is thy *petale*-  
dam napargökami naparicidu'kam  
on that thou art greatness that thou-  
art value.  
natarum'a'ma'r ku.inimökmödör  
That we are thy children. Then here distant from  
abi.mö'dör hudur napituma'rgi  
afar from alone that thou didst thyself form  
napitbaivatuda'giu inimö napitivu'si  
that thou didst already hither cleanse. Here that-  
thou didst select  
huga mari'a na'purid'a'D  
that Mary that she is our Mother

na't'una'kog inimö umwö't'amö  
that we are suffering here thee beneath.  
napitbaivatuda'giu ku.ani.mödör  
That thou didst hither already cleanse. Then-  
hereabouts from  
napitbai'vavo'm hudö'r napit.-  
that thou didst hither already arise alone that  
a'ban.ai'vavoi höga umkurosig  
thou didst in it already recline that thy cross  
napitmu' amumö napitpuagö'i  
that thou didst die. There that thou didst-  
already fall  
navaricda'dik'am navarumva'sa'ör  
which is health which is thy box within  
navarictutö'G'am.ör va'ig um-  
which is darkness in three thy-  
to'tnorig kuabimöapti'ma'cir asa'gid  
suns. Then afar thou didst appear them-  
between  
höga namaricko'i'kam ku.inimödör  
that which they are Dead. Then here from  
napithapuva't'utö höga navartö'tvakdám  
that thou didst thus already behold that that-  
is skies on.  
naparda'kam napara'ö'k'amhökö'D dios  
That thou art sitter that thou art arrangement-  
with God  
naparin.o'k naparumnö'icturid'am  
that thou art my Father that thou art thy observa-  
tion on.  
ku.ami.dör napubaivatuda'giuna  
Then there from that thou hither already us wilt-  
cleanse  
natöpkivoi'nök hidi maindam  
that we also soon journey this *petale* on  
napöpkitma'kim gögucdara kupibai-  
that thou also soon us giving succor. Then-  
thou hither-  
id'ágiuna höga navaricda'dikam  
us wilt cleanse that that is health  
navarumökadwö'ta' naB'aiid'a'gid'a  
that is thy shadow beneath that thou hither us-  
wilt send  
natapövabö'iya höga navarichö'pitkam  
that we already will carry that which is cold



navarumno'nov.ám kudiköt pictutha'gicda  
which are thy hands in. Then this with thou us-  
wilt pardon

*porke* nataric.i''korak'ám  
because that we are vile.

ku.hidi.hömadakamhö'kö't apiid'a'gid'a  
Then this formation with thou us wilt send

navargö'gucdara *amen*  
which is thy succor. Amen.

## NOTE

This prayer is merely one of several modes of casting spells of witchery, the others not entailing the use of any set prayer and savoring more of European custom. Even this, however, is of dubious authenticity as its resemblance to Christian philosophy is only too evident. In fact it was given in order to prove to me the lack of antagonism between the old Tepecano religion and Catholicism and was entitled the "Creed." I have great suspicion that it was created to suit the occasion, like no. 18. It was originally said to be a prayer to beg permission to enter a sacred spot but my principal informant pronounced it to be a prayer to bewitch.

It is recited at midnight when the one whom it is desired to bewitch is asleep, and is addressed to the pagan idols (*cidudkam*) and the Christian cross. A fast is likewise enjoined. Then the supplicant goes to the cemetery and lights a wax candle and buries there a figure he has made in representation of the hated one. It is buried at the foot of the cross and a prayer said entreating the death of the individual.

## TRANSLATION

Hail! thou who art my Father, my Mother, and my Morning Star who art seated afar in the heavens. Here on thy earth thou art powerful, art dear. We are thy children. From afar where alone thou wast formed thou didst come to cleanse us. Here thou didst choose Mary, the Mother of us who suffer here beneath thee. Thou didst purify

us. From hence thou didst arise alone, thou didst lay thyself on thy cross and die. There thou didst descend into thy grave, into the darkness for three days. Afar thou didst appear among the dead.

From here thou didst behold Him who is in heaven. Thou art seated with the chosen, God, who art my Father, which is thy thought. From there thou wilt send purification to us who also journey through this world, and give us succor. Thou wilt come to cleanse us with the health which is beneath thy shadow; thou wilt send us the cold which is in thy hand that we may lay hold upon it. With this thou wilt pardon us, for we are vile. With this formula thou wilt send us thy succor. Amen.

## 27. TO CURE FROM WITCHCRAFT

*adio's* inda't inci'u'k  
To God, my Mother, my Morning Star.

anipumta'nim hágicdara kovi'-  
I thee am begging pardon that-

tö'k'owumböya ganavarictón'kam  
above itself will take that which is heat.

avi'puböintök'da gano'vit ganci'u'k  
He hither me will stretch that his hand, he-  
my Morning Star

ci'arwö'tahö napua'r'gidic ko'vixô'pria  
east beneath there that he is formed. Then-  
will recover

hidickó'ok'am ati'pihö.va'.amhá'G  
this sick one. It if anywhere already self lacks

komi'pu.hívo'i's kuaviamiputu'ik'a  
that they bewitch. Then not thus shall be.

icxö'pitkamökö't a'pi.ida'giunida hö'ga  
Cold with thou wilt go cleansing that

namarumú.umihökö't ha'vanava'rictá  
that they are thy ceremonial arrows with, and which-  
is white

amka'varikökö't<sup>1</sup> ku.ga''gura.há'pi'mi.-  
your<sup>1</sup> *chimal* with. Then aside to, ye-

<sup>1</sup> The change from second person singular to plural is rather inexplicable here.

iu'rnida ganavarickók'dakam  
will go repulsing that which is sickness.

kuni'puamtán há'gicdara naparindá't  
Then I you beg pardon that thou art my-  
Mother,

in.ó'k' kua'nibi'aka maspóde'r  
my Father. Then I will have more power

kinihö'ganahívo'is kupi'miam'a'kda  
than even he who is bewitching. Then ye not will give

li'se'nsia ku'pixö.puita''riwa'da  
permission that anywhere us small shall make

hidicto'nkamököt höganavarinciú'g  
this heat with. He who is our Morning Star

avi'pubö.in.da'giunihida kuvia'mina'p.hak'-  
he hither me will come cleansing that not in me back-

gö'cia gactónkam hidi  
will fall that heat. This

na'varinú'umi.hökö ni'punsósvida  
which are my ceremonial arrows with I me will go-  
protecting.

kuvia'mindám.ha'ctuacumdúnia konkiháp.i  
Then not over me anything itself will make. With-  
which thus is.

pima'tök piminka'ök kudío's.pöcam-  
Ye know. Ye me hear. Then God ye

ö'ra'dak'am  
withinness.

## NOTE

When a man is ill and suspects witchcraft he sends for a doctor of reputation. The latter bathes and fasts seven days. It is revealed to him in his dreams and later verified by examination of the patient whether he is sickened by will of God, by a *chan*, by disembodied spirits, or by witchcraft. Kneading and squeezing the joints is one of the criteria, sucking being another, the drawing of blood being a certain sign of witchcraft.

Having assured himself of the cause, the doctor brings his ceremonial arrows and other paraphernalia. First three arrows are placed around the patient's head and another at

his feet, stuck in the ground. The one to the left of the head is then raised and carried to the foot and these two are lifted, one in either hand, and pointed in turn to the east, north, west, south and zenith, the prayer being repeated five times, once to each direction. Then the five ceremonial circuits are performed around the sick man and he is sucked vigorously. The arrows are then replaced, two at the head and two at the feet. The doctor stands at the foot, then goes to the right and performs the sucking operation again. He then goes to the patient's head and spits in his hand to note the result of the sucking treatment. This is repeated five times on different parts of the body, each time returning to the sick man's head by a counter-clockwise direction. Usually some tangible object is extracted by these means. To finish the treatment the doctor seizes all four arrows, two in either hand, and circles them over the patient to purify him. The treatment is repeated every three days for five times and is said to be generally efficacious.

## TRANSLATION

Hail! my Mother, my Morning Star. I beseech thee that this heat may take itself hence. My Morning Star must stretch unto me his hand from beneath the east where he belongeth. Then shall this invalid recover. Mayhap something is lacking that thus they bewitch him. But it must not be so. Thou wilt cleanse him with the cold and with thy arrows; with your white *chimal* will ye cast aside the pestilence. Therefore do I implore you, my Lord and my Lady. I must have more power than even he who is bewitching. Ye will not allow him to molest us with this heat. Our Morning Star will come to cleanse me that this heat may not return unto me. With my arrows will I shield myself, that no ill may befall me. So be it! Know ye it and hear me!

May God bless you.



## 28. TO SOW THE CORN

*adio's*      *naparin.o'G*      *naparinsu'sbidat*  
To God,      that thou art my Father,      that thou-  
art my Protector,

*inci'u'G*      *tunhá'giciD*      *a'nitsapita'.putö.ö'f*  
my Morning Star.      Me pardon      I did say-  
almost sowed.

*ku'ni.i'ni.puciwa'k*      *ganavarum'ar*  
Then I here scatter      she who is thy child

*napitpubö'ho't*      *natpu.i'ni.má'cir*  
that thou didst hither send      that she did here appear

*hi'di*      *navarictödo*      *um'ai'nikdám*  
this      that is green      thy *petale* on.

*hi'kom*      *na.oímör*      *navarici'vgok*  
Cloud      that wanders      which are seven

*o'hi*      *tö'tvak.wö'pta*      *pina'pui'cikö'kwá*  
beautiful      skies beneath      where that she will rest

*na'pu.ivu'snia*      *höga*      *a'ra'k*  
that she will arise      that      creature

*uv*      *napumtö'tök*      *na'varuma'r*  
female      that she is called      that is thy child.

*kuha'pu.picöp*      *ti'cumta'n*      *há'gicdara*  
Then thus also      we thee beg      pardon

*naparin.o'k*      *naparinda't*      *naparin-*  
that thou art my Father,      that thou art my-  
Mother,      that thou art my-

*su'sbidat*      *inci'u'k*      *napu.uma'r'gid*  
Protector,      my Morning Star      that is formed

*ci'a'rwö't'ahöwan*      *napitpuböi.ho't*  
east beneath there      that thou didst hither send

*ga'm'ár*      *kuti'pubö'idu'via*      *is'o'soigim*  
that thy child.      Then did hither arrive      weeping

*hi'di*      *oi'dadám*      *para*  
this      world on      in order

*na'puitgö'guciD'a*      *para*      *natpukáda*  
that she us will succor      in order      that we shall eat

*natga'mtönöidida*      *hidi*      *óidadám*  
that we will go beholding      this      world on

*i'ntám*      *natpumö'rin'ok*      *hiditukip.sa'git*  
here      that we run      this darkness within

*i'ntám*      *natpuvói.nug*      *hi'di*      *oi'dadám*  
here      that we journey      this      world on.

*kotipum'a'tuD*      *kuti'pu.i'ni.citö.ö'cia*  
Then we thee cause to know      that we here will sow

*na'kutnú:kda*      *hö'ga*      *na'varum'ár*  
to see if we will guard      she      who is thy child.

*kupia'mago'kiptönönikda*      *pi'cpuböin'tö'k'da*  
Then thou not to two sides wilt look,      thou hither-  
me wilt stretch

*ganavarumnöv*      *pa'ra*      *nanha'bantundágimöd*  
that which is thy hand      in order      that I in-  
it myself may seize

*gamtönöidida*      *wö'c*      *o'rasa''ba*  
will go beholding      all      hours in.

*konkihap.f*      *ni'cpum'a'tut*      *naparin-*  
With which thus is,      I thee cause to know      that-  
thou art my-

*su'spidat*      *inci'u'k*      *ino'G*      *kunki'.hap.f*  
Protector,      my Morning Star,      my-  
Father.      With which thus is.

*dios.pöcambi'ak'a*  
God bless you.

## NOTE

After the first heavy rain in June the corn is planted. A fast of five days and a purifying bath are the primary requisites. After this has been undergone small beads and a *jícara* of *pinole* mixed with water are prepared. The beads are placed in the four corners and in the center of the field to prevent injury by crows and other animals. The *pinole* water is then sprinkled to the four cardinal points and the prayer is recited while facing east. The *pinole* serves to prepare the soil for the reception of the kernels. The corn may then be planted but the kernels taken from the twin ears, the *Milpa Cuata*, must be planted first.

## TRANSLATION

Hail! thou who art my Lord, my Guide and my Morning Star. Forgive me because I am about to sow. Here am I scattering thy daughter whom thou didst send hither to appear on this thy green carpet. The cloud wanders beneath the seven beautiful heavens where she will come to rest, where

will spring up the maiden who is thy child. Likewise do we beg forgiveness of thee, my Father and Mother, my Guide and Morning Star, who dwellest beneath the east whence thou didst send thy child hither. Here did she arrive in this world weeping, to succor us that we might have food and might go beholding where now we grope in darkness, journeying through the world. We say unto thee that we will sow here, if perchance we may guard well thy daughter. Do not look askance; thou must reach me thy hand that I may be held in it and go beholding through all hours. Thus do I say unto thee who art my Lord, my Guide and Morning Star. So be it.

May God bless you.

## 29. TO REAP THE MILPA CUATA

*adiu's* a'rag' uv na'pumtö'tök  
To God, creature female that thou art-called.

a'nihö napuo'idak hacnaci'dúdu  
Hereabouts that thou belongest thus that-boards

ci'korhö'wan navarci'arwö't'a  
vicinity there. That is east beneath

amöhödör natpubö'imho't ganavarum.o'k  
there from that did hither thee send he that-is thy Father

navarumna'na.<sup>1</sup> kuha'pu.öp' ati'ctan  
that is thy Mother.<sup>1</sup> Then thus also we beg

há'gicdara bábarip'kám pixö'  
pardon North One where

napua'rgidic kupi'pugamihi'mia pixö'  
that thou art formed. Then thou wilt go where

nanumbö'k'ta kupi'puga'minka'hida  
that I thee shall carry. Then thou me wilt go hearing

höga navarumu'umi.hökö'd na'pu.-  
that which are thy ceremonial arrows with that-

a'rgidic hapu.picö'p navarxu'r'nipkam  
thou art formed. Thus also that is West One,

hu'huktio't na'pumtö'tök kuha'pu.-  
Pine-Man that is called. Then thus-

pi'cö'p ti'ctan há'gicdara  
also we beg pardon

ganavaro'gaD navardö''ud kutia'mi-  
he that is her Father that is her Mother. Then-

pixö'páro'n'da kuti'nöi'd'a pönö'gitnóv  
we not anywhere will maltreat. Then we will watch-her like our hand.

kuha'pu.picö'p ati'ctan há'gicdara  
Then thus also we beg pardon

höganavaricta' to'vörip cidu'kam  
that which is white star fetish

napumtötök o'gipa amöhö  
that is called south there

natpumá'cir ganavarma'rat ku-  
that did appear she that is his child. Then-

ti'cpután há'gicdara ganavaro'gat  
we beg pardon he who is her Father

havaganavardö'.ud kuti'pugama'hí anihö'  
and she who is her Mother. Then did already go hereabouts

ci'korhö'wan avi'puva'niók'im ku-  
vicinity there she already speaking. Then-

ha'pu.puicö'p ti'pumö'vadu'via anihö'  
thus also did hence already arrive hereabouts

o'imörimök ci'korhö'van sá'kimög  
having walked vicinity there having wept

pumö'vadu'via navaro'gatwí puva'-  
hence already arrive who is her Father with already-

'a'g kumi'pupa'ro'n ganamarmámrad  
tell that they maltreat they who-are his children.

kugöku aticpugömhöwan<sup>2</sup> kuti'puinór'  
Then therefore she did away.<sup>2</sup> Then did return

navaro'gat.wí a'bimöhöwan pixö'  
that is her Father with afar there where

na'tpuku'gaD navarci'vgok ó'hi  
that she did finish that are seven beautiful

tö'tvakdám pixö' napuda' ga.o'gat  
skies on where that is seated he-her Father.

<sup>2</sup> Verbal in form but with locative in place of verbal stem.

<sup>1</sup> *nana, MAMA*, childish word for mother.



koha'pu.pwi'cö'p'      ati'cta'n      há'gicdara  
Then thus also      we beg      pardon;  
ti'pum'a'k      ganavaritni'o'k      kutiamipihö'-  
we thee give      that which is our word      that we-  
not anywhere will-  
páro'nda      kuica'pti'mötö'kia      konkipia'm-  
maltreat      that well we hence will place.      With-  
which thou not-  
bi'aka      napihö'.soi'mö'ri'd'a      pia'm.-  
wilt need      that thou anywhere sad wilt-  
feel.      Thou not-  
ago'kiptönö'nikda      sa'rak      napumtötök  
to two places wilt look      *Milpa Cuata*      that-  
thou art called  
napara'rak.úv      amöhö'dör      na'punio'kim  
that thou art creature female.      There from      that-  
thou speaking  
umhi'kom.örhödör      hi'di      navarictö'do  
thy cloud within      this      that is green  
mai'ndam      na'pitpum'á'cir      kupictunhá'gicda  
*petate* on      that thou didst appear.      Then-  
thou me wilt pardon  
pihö'      nantó'nimör.i'civo'mikda      kupia'm-  
anywhere      that I unbidden will raise.      Then thou-  
bi'aka      napihö'.soi'mö'ri'd'a      kugöku  
not wilt need      that thou anywhere sad wilt-  
feel.      Then therefore  
ni'pumtán      há'gicdara      *konki.dios.-*  
I thee beg      pardon.      With which God-  
pöcambi'aka  
you will sympathize.

## NOTE

When the corn is ripe and the harvest time has come, the owner of the field goes forth and reaps all the ordinary ears of corn. But the *Milpas Cuatas*, the corn plants with a forked stem and two ears, are left standing after the others have been gathered. Then the field is encircled with ceremonial circuits as many times as there are *Cuatas* within and the following prayer is recited.

## TRANSLATION

Hail! thou who art called Maiden. Round about us art thou met! From beneath the

east did thy Father and Mother send thee hither. Likewise do we beseech him of the North where thou belongest. Thou must accompany me wherever I may carry thee. Thou must harken unto me, formed as thou art with thy arrows. And also he of the West who is called the Pine-Man. We promise her Father and her Mother that we will not maltreat her; we will guard her like our own hand. Likewise do we beseech him who is called the White Star *Cidukam* who belongeth in the south where appeareth the child of the Father. We beseech her Father and her Mother.

Hereabouts did she walk, bemoaning. Then, having wandered and wept here she returned unto her Father and told him that his children had mistreated her. Therefore did she depart; she returned unto her Father and arrived there afar where he is seated in the seven beautiful heavens.<sup>1</sup>

Thus do we pray. We give thee our word that we will not mistreat her, that we will guard her well. Thou needst not feel offended. Nor look askance, *Milpa Cuata*, as thou art called, maiden. Speaking from within thy distant cloud thou didst appear on this green carpet. Thou wilt forgive me if, unbidden, I reap. Do not feel sad; on this account I beg thy pardon.

May God bless you.

## 30. TO BEG PERMISSION TO HUNT DEER

anicbö'himdaD	to'nimör	puamta'nim
I hither coming was	unbidden	you begging
hö'gam	namaramso'soik'	anihö'van
they	that they are your pets.	Hereabouts
nampu.oi'pö	höga	namarictu'tu'k'
that they walk	that	that they are black
ó'dak'.a''ba	su'suimar	nampumtö'tök'
hills in	deer	that they are called
höga	navarictö'dog	amai'nikdám
that	that is green	your <i>petate</i> on.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. JAFI, xxvii, 155.

anihō nampua'rgidic hacnaci'dúd'u  
 Hereabouts that they belong thus that hoards.  
 kuha'pu.pwicō'p a'nicho'hi napim-  
 Then thus also I desire that ye-  
 xō'mai.intane'tiD'a navarci'vgo'k' o'xi  
 one me will lend that is seven beautiful  
 xi'komörhōvan nampuóip'u ku-  
 cloud within that they walk. Then-  
 xa'pu.pwi'cō'p ani'camtán ha'gicdara  
 thus also I you beg pardon.  
 kupi'mipuma'tōhi gami'nka'hida  
 Then ye know me will go hearing  
 ganavarxō'pör na'mpuanihō'.mō'rin'ok'  
 they which are winds. That they hereabouts run  
 hōga navarietō'dok' amai'nikdám  
 that which is green their *petate* on  
 na'mpuanihō.soi'ma'ma'c hacnac'i'dúdu  
 that they hereabouts sad appear thus that hoards.  
 hōga navarakai''k'oraG navarinsu'sBida  
 That which is their master who is my-  
 Protector,  
 inci'u'k in.o'k' kunicpum'átut  
 my Morning Star, my Father. Then I cause-  
 to know  
 hidi hō'mad ni'.o'k nampuha'ban.-  
 this one word that they in it-  
 a'rgidic namaramso'soi'k'am nampum-  
 are formed that they are your pets that they-  
 tō'tök konkiha'p.ma'tōD inka'uk tun-  
 are called. With which thus know; me hear, me-  
 ha'gicit  
 pardon.

## NOTE

The deer is the animal of consummate importance in all the religions of the Tepecano region<sup>1</sup> and around it center many ceremonies and rites.

When a man desires to hunt deer, which is a requisite for certain ceremonies, he commences a fast of seven days. On the first

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Lumholtz, Symbolism, p. 22.

<sup>2</sup> Nahua *ollal*, the base of a reed with branching roots which are trimmed and decorated to represent the head of a deer. Cf. Lumholtz, Symbolism, p. 51.

day he goes to the Cerro del Cántaro with an *otate*<sup>2</sup> decorated with beads, to resemble the head of a deer, a *jícara* decorated with beads, and a *chimal* of pure white cotton. The *otates* have the same name and spirit as a deer and are made with green beads for the eyes. But if no *otate* is available a figure of a deer may be made of clay or wax and used instead. At the Cerro del Cántaro the supplicant leaves his offerings and recites the prayer.

The following day he hunts to the east, the third day to the north, the fourth to the west and the fifth to the south. Thereafter he may hunt where he wishes as long as he desires. But the first deer secured must be entirely distributed among the others; he may not touch it. Candles must be made of the fat and he must light one and put it in his house before setting forth again. This is for the spirits.<sup>3</sup>

For the *Fiesta* of the *Milpa Cuata* the deer of which the *chuales*<sup>4</sup> are made must be caught in a snare and cooked whole, head and all.

## TRANSLATION

Unbidden have I come hither, craving your pets which wander about in the dark hills, the deer as they are called hereabouts on your green carpet where they belong. I ask that ye lend me one of these which wander in the seven beautiful clouds. Likewise do I beg your forgiveness. Ye should know that they may hear me in the winds, running about on their green carpet where mournfully they appear. Their Master is my Lord, my Guide, my Morning Star. I will speak unto him the one word with which were created these which are called your pets. Know it; hear me and pardon me.

<sup>3</sup> Uncertain whether the spirits of the deer or whether disembodied or unembodied anthropomorphic spirits.

<sup>4</sup> Nahua *chuali*, a mush made of *pinole* and finely chopped meat, cooked in corn husk; practically equivalent to *tamale*.



## 31. TO RID THE RANCH OF SCORPIONS

*adio's*    *naparinci'u'k'*    *apipubö.in'öidida*  
To God,    that thou art my Morning Star.    Thou  
hither me wilt come watching,

*kuya'm.inda'mactuacumwa'da di anihö*  
that not over me anything itself will make of here-  
abouts

*namputukfk'io*    *hi'di*    *oi'da.dám*  
that they live    this    world on

*namictökö.u't*    *anihö'*    *namputuoi'pu*  
that they vicious    hereabouts    that they walk

*namarna'na'skör*    *kuha'pu.pui'cö'p*  
that they are scorpions.    Then thus also

*ni'cata'n*    *há'gicdara*    *ku'mimömu'ri'nka*  
I them beg    pardon    that they hence selves-  
will take

*pixö'*    *nanía'manö'nöikda*    *ga'gu'rahu'wan*  
where    that I not them will see    aside there

*pixö'*    *nampuoi'dag*    *aniamho'hi*  
where    that they belong.    I not wish

*nan.i'ntam.anö'nöikda*    *pihö'*    *nanoi'mör*  
that I here them will see    where    that I walk.

*kuhapu.pwicö'p*    *ni'cam'átud*    *ganavar-*  
Then thus also    I them cause to know    that-

*ci'vgo'k*    *o'hi*    *tö'tvakwö'p'ta*  
which is seven    beautiful    skies beneath

*nampua'r'gidic*    *kumi'mömu'rin'ka*    *porki*  
that they form    that they hence selves will take be-  
cause

*niti'.anatö*    *ani'tuako'k'da'a*    *kuni'pu-*  
I if here them see    I them will sicken.    Then-

*ma'tud*    *ganci'u'k*    *kui'bu.intök'da*  
I cause to know    that my Morning Star,    that-  
hither me will extend

*gano'viD*    *para*    *nawö'.c.o'ras.a'b-*  
that his hand    in order    that he in all hours-

*in'u'k'dida*    *kumia'm.pihö'.tunko'k'datud'a*  
me will go guarding    Then they not any-  
where me will sicken

*ganamarictukö'dam*    *kugö'kuni'putá'n*  
they which are vicious ones.    Then therefore I beg

*há'gicdara*    *ganci'u'g*    *kuvi'.aha''pud'a*  
pardon    he my Morning Star    that them will restrain

*ganampuanihöpukikiö*    *hidioi'daga'ba*  
they which hereabouts live    this hill in

*namarnána'skör*    *namarhípitpak'*  
that they are scorpions,    that they are spiders,

*namarkók'o*    *ha'ctunampu.i'ntampukikiö*  
that they are snakes,    any that they here reside.

*kumi'.mömu'rna*    *ganavarictö'dog*  
Then they hence selves will take    that which is green

*ma'nikwö't'a*    *kuniamho'hi*  
*petate* beneath.    Then I not wish

*nananö'nöik'da*    *konki'hapí*    *nicmá'tut*  
that I them will see.    With which thus is,    I cause-  
to know

*ganavarinci'u'k*    *tunha'giciD*  
he that is my Morning Star.    Me pardon

*naparinci'u'k'*    *naparinda'D*    *in.o'k*  
that thou art my Morning Star,    that thou art my-  
Mother,    my Father.

## NOTE

This prayer is recited by a man when he goes to a new locality to build his house and make his home. It has the power to drive away the scorpions, snakes, spiders, and other poisonous insects and animals.

He must first fast for five days and prepare a *jícara* of *pinole* mixed in water or of holy water. This *jícara* is decorated with small beads. At the end of the fast it is placed in the center of the holding and the water sprinkled to the four cardinal points while the prayer is recited. The latter is addressed to the Morning Star, the arch-enemy of the scorpions who are the cattle of the Devil. The principal scorpion is in the sky;<sup>1</sup> those on earth are smaller copies of it.

The prayer must be repeated every year if the scorpions are to be kept under control.

## TRANSLATION

Hail! thou who art my Morning Star. Thou wilt come to watch over me that no evil may come upon me from those who dwell

<sup>1</sup> Probably borrowed from the European zodiac.

hereabouts upon the earth, the poisonous scorpions which here wander.

Likewise do I beseech them that they take themselves hence where I may not behold them, away where they belong. I do not wish to see them hereabouts where I walk. Also do I give them to know, formed as they are beneath the seven beautiful heavens, that they must take themselves hence, for if I behold them hereabouts I will sicken them.

Also do I beseech my Morning Star that he reach unto me his hand to shield me through all hours. Then will these poisonous ones not sicken me. Therefore do I beseech him, my Morning Star, that he restrain them who live in this hill, the scorpions, the spiders, the serpents, and all those who here dwell. They must take themselves beneath the green carpet, for I do not wish to behold them.

Thus do I say unto my Morning Star. Forgive me, my Morning Star, my Lord and my Lady.

### 32. TO OBTAIN A SERPENT PROTECTOR

*adiu's*      *naparin.q'k*      *naparinda'd*  
To God      that thou art my Father,      that thou-  
art my Mother.

*pimi'tunha'gicda*      *kuni'da'gia*      *hi'di*      *ko*  
Ye me will pardon      that I will seize      this      snake

*i'ntám*      *na'nitpuvatō*      *ku'nibō'k'ta*  
here      that I did already find.      That I will carry

*inki'amhá*      *para*      *natun'úk'turid'a*  
my home to      in order      that he for me will guard.

*hi'di*      *navarictōdo*      *ama'inikdám*  
This      that is green      your *petate* on

*napuoidak*      *napuma'r'git*      *hacnaci'dúdu*  
that he belongs      that he is formed      as that hoards

*napu.i'ntám*      *napumváp'án*      *kuvín.oída*  
that he here      that he is stretched out.      Then me will-  
accompany

*pihō*      *nanpunxōpit*      *inki'a'm*      *napumtōtōk*  
where      that I me rest,      my home      that it is called

*para*      *natun'úkturid'a*      *ha'ctunanpihō'dákta*  
in order      that he for me will guard      anything that-  
I anywhere will leave

*pihō'van*      *a'npusoi'ma'c*      *hi'di*      *oi'dadám*  
where      I sad appear      this      world on.

*kuha'pu.ō'p'*      *ani'ctanim*      *ha'gicdara*  
Then thus also      I am begging      pardon

*hidi*      *navarictōdo*      *mai'nikdám*      *pihō*  
this      that is green      *petate* on      where

*nanpusoi'mac*      *navarci'vgo'k*      *ohi*  
that I sad appear      that is seven      beautiful

*tō'tvakwō'pta*      *kuhi'di*      *ko*  
skies beneath.      Then this      snake

*aviamipihōinō'p'kiōd'a*      *kuni'puta'n*  
he not anywhere me will frighten.      Then I beg

*hágicdara*      *kuví'.möm.u'rin'ka*      *pixō*  
pardon      that he hence self will shelve      where

*nanda'k'ta*      *kuviamiadak'taka*  
that I will leave.      Then not them will leave

*nampihōtunha'ni'd'a*      *ganha'ha'cdun*  
that they anywhere me will meddle      that my relations,

*kumiamha'ctupixō.inbō'bōitcid'a*      *kuví'.a*  
that they not anything anywhere me will steal.      Then-

*wu'pu'rda*      *amti'pihō'.hactucinwídi'cdam*  
he them will tie      they if anywhere anything me-  
with wish to take.

*kuvia'mi.ada'k'taka*      *gökō*      *ni'putá'n*  
Then not them will leave.      Therefore      I beg

*favo'r*      *kuví'n.oída*      *inki'amhá'*  
favor      that me will accompany      my home to.

*kuhapu.ō'p'*      *nicmátud*      *gan.q'G'*  
Then thus also      I cause to know      that my-  
Father,

*inda'tt*      *nampunmá'kim*      *lisenia*      *hi'di*  
my Mother,      that they me give      permission      this

*oi'dadám*      *na'npugamtōnōídim*      *hidi*  
world on      that I going beholding      this

*go'k*      *va'ik*      *tóno'r*      *nanitpua''*  
two      three      sun      that I did already-

*cimá'cit*      *kuhapu.ō'p'*      *avi'pkindák'ta*  
appear      that thus also      he also yet me-  
will leave



hidi	gok	vaik	tóno'r
this	two	three	sun
nani'pkicihúrun·da		konki'hap.mátök·	
that I also yet will set.		With which thus know;	
inka'ök	dios	pöcumvi'ak'a	
me hear.	God	thee will sympathize.	

## NOTE

Large constrictor serpents are said to live in the forests of the Sierra Madre Occidental above Azqueltán and these are claimed to make excellent pets and house guardians.<sup>1</sup> If properly approached they will accompany the finder to his house and guard it for him. They give notice of danger by striking the ground with the tail and bind and hold any one who may come with intent to rob. If the owner is asleep they strike him in the face with the tail to awaken him. But they must be given bread to eat every Thursday if they are to remain content.

When a man wishes to secure one of them he first buys a candle and begs permission of María Santísima in the church. Then he takes a white cloth with which to bind the snake and hunts to the four cardinal points. When he has found it he recites this prayer.

## TRANSLATION

Hail! my Father and my Mother. Forgive me if I carry hence this serpent which I have found here. I will carry him to my house that he may be my guard. On this your green carpet where he belongeth was formed he who lieth here. He must go with me to where I rest, my home as it is called, to keep watch for me over anything which I may leave wherever I do mournfully appear in this world.

Thus do I pray here where I do sadly appear on this green carpet beneath the seven beautiful heavens. This serpent must not frighten me. I beg that he may stay hidden wherever I may put him. He must

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Lumholtz, Unknown Mexico, II, p. 124.

not allow my neighbors to meddle anywhere nor to steal from me. He must wrap himself around them if they come to rob me of anything. He shall not permit them. Therefore do I ask the favor that he accompany me to my home.

Likewise do I say unto my Father and my Mother who have given me leave to go beholding in this world these few days which have dawned, that they shall still allow me yet a few days which shall yet come to a close.

Know it to be thus and hear me! May God bless thee.

## 33. TO BEG RICHES OF THE TOLOACHE

adio's	na'paring'G·	na'parinda'D
To God	that thou art my Father,	that thou art-
	my Mother.	

pi'tunhá'gicda	ku.a'ni.a'nsapiwi'nartun·
Thou me wilt pardon	that I, I say, to him me-

ma'kia	gako't'rup· <sup>2</sup>	a'nihö'
will give	that <i>Tolache</i> <sup>2</sup>	hereabouts

nampudáda·r	ganavargö'gur
that they are seated	that which are great

tö'hungid·ám	anihö'	hasnaci'dúdu
rock-piles on	hereabouts	thus that hoards.

kuni'puta'n'ia	gagö'gu'cdara
Then I will beg	that fortune

ave'r.ti'nsokore'rota	ku'intane'tid'a
to see if me will succor.	Then me will lend

gagö'gu'cdara	gö'kuni'puamtán	há'gicdara
that fortune.	Therefore I you beg	pardon

napimaringö''korak	vö'puhímdam
that ye are my <i>manes</i>	before go on.

kuhapu.picö'p	ni'cta'n	gahá'gicdara
Then thus also	I beg	that pardon

gako't'rup·	kupimima'kia	lise'nsia	anihö'
that <i>Tolache</i> .	Then ye will give	permission.	Here-
	abouts		

nampudáda·r	ha'snaci'dúdu	ci'arwöt'ahöwan
that they are seated	thus that hoards	east beneath-
	there	

<sup>2</sup> Nahua *tolochtzin*, *Datura stramonium*.

va'rvariB hu'rnib o'gipa hidi'köD  
north west south. This with

id'amöhöwan natpubö'ida'kta ga-  
us over there that he did hither leave that=

ba'maro'gat para ha'stu  
his father-in-law in order anything

nat'a'ndaD kuvi'putma'kda natar-  
that we might beg that he us will give that we=

má'mrat gat.o'k' kuvi'.putma'kida  
are his children that our Father. Then he us=  
will go giving

ha'snatá'nida anihö' nampudádar  
thus that we will go begging. Hereabouts that=  
they are seated

hacnaci'dúdu ganavarictö'do ma'iniG-  
thus that hoards that which is green petate=

dám navarica'pma'cimká't ichíkmad  
on. That is well appearing spread out cloudy

icva'u'taG navarahi'kom.ör na'mpua'r'gidic  
drizzly which is their cloud within that=  
they form

ganavargö'gur tö'hongid'am anihö' ci'ko'r  
that which is great rock-piles on hereabouts  
vicinity

puha'kagö'cim ba'variB hu'rnib  
returning north west

o'gipa hidi'kö't navarictö'dog  
south. This with which is green

tö'vagé'pa puva'kúG'atim hi'di  
sky in already finishing this

hö'mat go'G vaik nf.q'k  
one two three word

natpuhö'kö'tbö'i.a'r'gidic hi'di oi'dadám  
that he did with hither form this world on.

kuti'cpuawö't'amó'mgia gana'varci'vgok  
Then we them beneath will bow they which are seven

o'hi tö't'vawkö't'a pihö'dör  
beautiful skies beneath where from

na'tpuböid'a'ktá na'varid'áD pa'ra  
that she did hither us leave that she is our-  
Mother in order

natpután.dad gako't'r'up ha'stu-  
that we should beg that *Toloache* anything=

naticho'hidad kuvi'.put'ma'kida  
that we might wish. That he us will go giving

ha'stunata'nda natarma'mrad na'tpupihö'-  
anything that we will beg that we are his children  
that we anywhere=

soimá.mac kuha'pu.picöp' ati'cta'n  
sad appear. Then thus also we beg

ha'gicdara ganavarinsu'sbidat inci'u'k  
pardon she that is my Protector, my Morning=  
Star,

in.q'k inda't anihö' nampudáda'r  
my Father my Mother hereabouts that they are=  
seated

ganavarci'vgok o'hi tö'tvaktám  
they which are seven beautiful skies on.

konkihapi ma'tök inka'ök  
With which thus is; know, me hear.

ku.dios.picumbi'ak'a  
Then God thee will sympathize.

## NOTE

The *toloache* is a plant of great power, being the son-in-law of the Father Sun. He attained this by reason of his marriage to the Corn Daughter. But he mistreated her by having two mistresses, Crow and Mapuache, and was fastened head-downward in the ground, his limbs outstretched and was commanded to give mortals whatever they might beg of him.<sup>1</sup>

It is said to have a thick trunk of nine inches diameter and no roots, growing on the bare rock. Its five branches extend to the cardinal points and to heaven. It is made of money and each one has a *jícara* full of coin in front of it. One may borrow this money and return it in five years time. But having done so, he may not attend confession. Or he may beg fortune which will later be vouchsafed to him. Needless to say, the *toloache* is an extremely rare plant in the Tepecano country.

To beg fortune of the *toloache* one must first fast seven days for María Santísima and

<sup>1</sup> Cf. JAFL, xxvii, 160.



go to church and recite this prayer to her to beg her permission. Then he fasts forty days for the *toloache*. He goes to the river and finds a black stone which has a child, a smaller black stone, beside it. These two he takes away, the smaller one for María Santísima, the larger one to pay the *toloache*. He also carries a *bastón* decorated with cotton and a *jicara* decorated with beads. Going to the *toloache*, he recites this prayer and leaves the offerings there. Soon thereafter he attains great wealth.

## TRANSLATION

Hail! thou who art my Father and Mother. Thou wilt forgive me for I am about to give myself unto the *Toloaches* who are seated round about among the great rocks. I will beg fortune of one of them, if perchance he may succor me and lend me riches.

Therefore do I beg your forgiveness, my spirits who have gone before. And likewise do I beg forgiveness of the *Toloache*; ye shall give me leave to do so.

Round about are they seated in their places beneath the east, the north, the west and the south. There did their father-in-law who is above us put them that they should render unto us whatever we might crave, who are the children of the Father. They must give us whatever we ask. Round about are they seated on the verdant carpet. Within their drizzly cloud, beautifully o'ercast, were they formed, from whence they returned hither to the great rocky slopes to north, west and south.

So doth ascend unto the blue heavens these few words with which he was created in this world. So do we bow our heads beneath the seven beautiful heavens from whence our Mother sent us to beg of the *Toloache* whatever we might crave. He must grant us, the children of the Father, whatever we may wish, wherever we may appear.

Likewise do we beg forgiveness of my Lord and my Lady, my Guide and Morning Star there where they are seated in the seven beautiful heavens.

Know it to be thus and hear me! May God bless thee.

## 34. TO BEG FORTUNE OF THE HILLS

<i>adio's</i> To God	<i>naparin.o'G'</i> that thou art my Father,	<i>naparinda'D</i> that thou art my Mother,
<i>anihō'</i> hereabouts	<i>napimpudáda'r</i> that ye are seated	<i>ci'kor</i> vicinity
<i>xōvwan</i> there	<i>gana'varicapma'cim</i> that which is well appearing	<i>am-</i> your
<i>a'tockardám</i> seat on	<i>navarichi'kmat.ká'D</i> which is cloudy, outspread	<i>navaric-</i> which is
<i>va'u'tak</i> drizzly.	<i>anihō</i> Hereabouts	<i>na'pimpudá.da'r</i> that ye are seated
<i>hasnaci'.dúdu</i> thus that hoards	<i>na'pimpubö'.it'nöfidim</i> that ye hither us watching	
<i>gana'varumbu'p'uivashōku't'</i> those which are thy faces with	<i>navaram-</i> which are	
<i>ka'k'varik</i> your <i>chimales</i> .	<i>navarumu'umi</i> Which are thy ceremonial arrows	<i>pihō'dör</i> wherefrom
<i>napu.iwá'N</i> that it rises	<i>ganavarhíko'm</i> that which is cloud	<i>ganavarci'vgo'k</i> that which is seven
<i>o'hi</i> beautiful	<i>tötvaGwö'tadör</i> skies beneath from.	<i>kuti'c.pu.amtá'n</i> Then we-
<i>há'gicdara</i> pardon	<i>pihōdör</i> where from	<i>na'pimitbö'.inió</i> that ye did hither speak
<i>gaci'vgo'k</i> that seven	<i>amni'o'khōk'u't</i> your word with	<i>ha'pu</i> thus
<i>namita'pam.hō'k</i> that they did already also	<i>ha'pu</i> you reply	<i>hákia</i> thus same
<i>ni'o'khōkö't</i> word with.	<i>kuna'mita'pamtá</i> Then that they did already also	<i>lise'nsia</i> you
<i>para</i> in order	<i>na'mpu.itma'k'ia</i> that they us will give	<i>gaha'ctu</i> that anything

natatánida	gagö'gu'cdara	hastu	ha'pu.pwi'cöp	ticamtá'n	há'gicdara
that we them will go	begging	that succor anything	thus also	we you beg	pardon
naticho'hida	hastu	na'pustuhastu	hiditákugumökö't	kuya'mha'ctu.id'ám.-	
that we will desire	anything	that it exists	this fragment with,	that not anything over us-	
hi'di	navarictö'dog	amai'nikdám	acumwá'da	tia'mpihö'kók'orda	wöc
this	which is green	your <i>petate</i> on	itself will make	we not anywhere will sicken.	All
pihö'	natpusoi'máma'c	napimaringö'	icxö'pitkamököt	pimi'pubö.id'ágiunida	
where	that we sad appear.	That ye are my-	cold with	ye hither us will go cleansing	
korak	ti'camtán	há'gicdara	gana'varamu'umi.ökö't	ganavaram-	
spirits	we you beg	pardon.	they which are your ceremonial arrows with	those-	
ku'pimi'tuthá'gicda	ti'cputö'maiamsá'kcit		which are your-		
Then ye us will pardon.	We continually to you weep				
ha'cnapuci'dúdu	na'pimpuanihö'.dádar		ka'k'varik	ganavaramci'cvod	pihö'dör
thus that hoards	that ye hereabouts are seated		<i>chimales</i> with	those which are your plumes	where-
			from		
na'pimaringö.korak	ci'arwöt'ahö		napuböi.hík'mad	konki'.hap.f	
that ye are my <i>manes</i>	east beneath there		that it hither clouds up.	With which thus is;	
napimpusoi.máma'c	bá'varip	hu'rnip	ni'cpuamá't'ut	kupiminka'ök	
that ye sad appear	north	west	I you cause to know	that ye me hear	
o'gipa	koha'pu.pwic.öp	ni'camtán	napimaringökorak	konki'.hap.f	dios.-
south.	Then thus also	I you beg	that ye are my <i>manes</i> .	With which thus is.	God-
há'gicdara	ku'pimi'nma'kia	lise'nsia	pöcamári'dak'am		
pardon	that ye me will give	permission	you smallness.		
nanpuavwi'tunma'kia	gana'mpuanihö'tukiö'				
that I with them me will give	they who hereabouts-				
reside					
ganavarictutuk	o'hi	oídak'.á'ba			
that which is black	beautiful	hill in.			
kumia'mpihö'.cin'öi'da	kuminma'kia				
Then they not anywhere me will ignore.	Then they-				
me will give					
ha'ctunanpihö'.atá'nida	ganihö				
anything that I anywhere them will beg.	That-				
hereabouts					
namputukík'io	ganavarcí'vgo'k	o'hi			
that they dwell	that which is seven	beautiful			
tövakwöp'ta	pihö'dör	napimi'tpuböit'ök			
sky beneath	where from	that ye did hither-			
us extend					
gana'varumnóv	na'titpuha'bantud'á				
that which is thy hand	that we did in it us seized				
natitpua'tá	gagögu'cdara	ku-			
that we did begged	that succor.	Then-			

## NOTE

The surrounding hills or *cerros* are elements of the greatest importance in the religion of this region and the more important ones have their particular habitant spirits. These can grant wealth to mortals if properly approached. The method displays a strange mixture of Christian and pagan philosophy but the prayer is purely aboriginal.

When one has determined to sell himself to the hills in return for fortune he first fasts seven days for María Santísima. At midnight on the seventh day he goes to the church carrying a lighted twenty-five cent candle and says this prayer to sever his connection with the church. Then he rests several days, bathes himself and then fasts forty days. At the end of this fast he goes to one of the principal hills carrying a *jícara* decorated with small beads (*chaquira*) and many larger beads for payment. There he says the prayer again and leaves the offering.



From a neighboring spring he takes a gourd of water and carries it to his cornfield (*coámil*). Here he sprinkles it to the four corners and in the middle while reciting the prayer for the third time. After he has sown and reapt his crop he becomes very wealthy. He may not go to confession thenceforth and every fifth of May he must go to the hill to repeat his vows. Every fifth year he must repeat the fast and the visit to church.

## TRANSLATION

Hail! my Father and my Mother, seated somewhere on your pleasant throne, o'er-spread with drizzly clouds. From there where ye are seated do ye gaze upon us with your countenances, which are your *chimaies*. From your arrows ariseth the cloud from beneath the seven beautiful heavens. We beg your forgiveness. From there did ye speak your seven words and they replied unto you with the same words. They besought you that they might grant us anything which we might crave of them, that they might succor us with anything we might wish upon this your green carpet where mournfully we appear.

We also beg your forgiveness, my spirits. And ye will forgive us. Continually do we cry unto you, my spirits, seated there beneath the east, the north, the west and the south, where ye do sadly appear.

Likewise do I beseech you that ye grant me leave to give myself unto them who live hereabouts in the beautiful dark hill. They must not refuse me; they must give me whatever I may ask of them. Hereabouts do they dwell beneath the seven beautiful heavens whence ye did reach unto us your hand into which we were gathered when we begged succor.

So with this fragment do we beseech you that no evil may come upon us and that we may not be sickened. With all the cold will ye cleanse us; with your arrows, your

*chimaies* and your plumes whence spring the clouds.

Thus do I give ye to know. Hear me, O my spirits! So be it. May God bless you.

## 35. TO GAIN A SWEETHEART

*adio's*      *naparmaímda*<sup>1</sup>      *ci''arwötahö*  
To God    that thou art the intoxicated<sup>1</sup> one    east-  
beneath there

*napu.a'rgidic*      *napucmai'm*      *ati'cumta'n*  
that thou art formed    that thou art intoxicated. We-  
thee beg

*ha'gicdara*      *navaric'i'vgo'k'*      *öhi*  
pardon      which are seven      beautiful

*töwakwö'ta*      *napu.oi'dök*      *kupi'pu.-*  
sky beneath      that thou belongest.      That thou-

*ci'korhi'mia*      *hö'ga*      *na'varica'pmámcm*  
about wilt go      that      which is well appearing

*um.a''raghök'ö't*      *napua'r'gidic*      *kuni'.*  
thy form with      that thou art formed.      Then I-

*puchö'hi*      *kupi'.mai'mud'a*      *höga*  
desire    that thou wilt cause to be intoxicated    that

*uv*      *nanica'pnöid*      *ica'pmámcm*      *xio'cig*  
woman    whom I well see    well appearing    flower

*nanpuhö'köta'rgidic*      *kuha'pi.pwicö'p*  
that I with am formed.      Then thus also

*ni'ctán*      *ha'gicdara*      *xio'ciktio'd*  
I beg      pardon      Flower Man.

*ku'nihö'kö.pua'r'gidic*      *navaricap.mámcm*  
Then I with am formed      which is well appearing

*u''par*<sup>2</sup>      *xio'cgi*      *nanpuhö'kökötuf*  
*guisache*<sup>2</sup>      flower      that I with am decorated.

*kuv'i'naptötu'gia*      *höga*      *uv*  
Then with me shall behold      that      woman

*nanica'pnöid*      *kuni'puchö'hi*      *na.ina'p-*  
whom I good see.    Then I desire    that she with me-

*tötu'gia*      *kuvia'm'a's*      *hömai*  
shall behold.      Then not more      other

*xio'ci'k*      *ica'pma'cka*      *mas*  
flower      well shall appear      more

<sup>1</sup> Intoxicated with *peyote*.

<sup>2</sup> Nahua *huiscatzin*, probably *Pithecolobium albicans*.

navardu''ud                      kumí.tunhá'gicda                      ku-  
who is her mother    that they me will pardon.    Then  
vi'nwi.tum'a'kia                      höga                      uv  
with me self shall give                      that                      woman  
nanica'pnöfD    havaganavarkot'rup<sup>d</sup>    hio'cig-  
that I well behold.    And that which is *toloache*<sup>d</sup>    flower-  
hö'k'öt    nanpuhö'köť.kö'túi    kuhapu.-  
with    that I with am decorated.    Then thus-  
picō'p    kuni'pucho'hi    kuvi'cinho'hida  
also    that I desire    that she me shall-  
desire

hi'di            u'v            ha'vagana'varmai'mda  
this    woman    and she who is the intoxicated one

uvíkami	napumtötök	ganavari-
womankind	that she is called	that which is-

c'i'vgok	o'hi	töwakwö't'a
seven	beautiful	sky beneath

napu.oi'dak	kuha'pupi'cô'p	nictan
that she belongs.	Then thus also	I beg

ha'gicdara	ganavarhio'ciktio''t	gö'gur
pardon	he who is Flower Man	great

túhungiD'ám	na'puóidak	konki'.hapí
rock-piles on	that he belongs.	With
which thus is;		

*dios*      pöcambi'ak'a  
God      you will sympathize.

NOTE

This prayer is the native's substitute for the love potions of the European necromancer.

When a boy desires the love of a girl who has given him no encouragement, he must first fast five days. Then if he does not know the prayer he must secure the services of one who does, paying him for the labor. He has first stealthily secured some article of apparel worn by the girl. A figure or "doll" is made from this and another from one of his garments. The latter is decorated with the flowers of five narcotic plants, *guizache*, *palo mulato*, *garambullo*, *rosa maría* and *tolache*.

<sup>1</sup> *Cannabis indica*, "Indian hemp," "hashish" marijuana.

<sup>4</sup> Nahua *toloatzin*, *Datura stramonium*.

<sup>2</sup> Unidentified.



At midnight, when the girl is asleep, a candle is lighted and the two figures placed in a *jtcara* or bowl of water where they float. The prayer is then recited and a ceremonial song sung five times to the accompaniment of the musical bow. Five ceremonial circuits of the bowl are then made and the charm is complete. If the figures have floated together, the prayer will be answered; if they have parted, the case is hopeless.

The prayer is replete with allegory and ceremonial allusions.

## TRANSLATION

Hail! thou who art called the Intoxicated Woman who wast created beneath the east, intoxicated. We beg thy forgiveness, thou that belongest beneath the seven beautiful heavens. Thou shalt return, formed as thou art with thy beauteous figure. I ask that thou wilt intoxicate the woman whom I crave, who am arrayed with pretty flowers.

Likewise do I beseech the Flower Man. For I am arrayed with the pretty flower of *guizache*. She must look upon me, this woman whom I covet; I ask that she look upon me, that no other flower shall please her but the one with which I am arrayed, sadly appearing here. She must not crave another flower but that with which I am arrayed, the flower of *palo mulato*. This only shall she like. And likewise the flowers of *rosa maría* and *garambullo* of which I am made. I wish that she shall want me, this woman whom I crave, who was created beneath the seven beautiful heavens. Beneath the east did she appear, arrayed with pretty flowers. Thence did her father and her mother send her, arrayed with her beauteous form.

Likewise do I beseech her father and her mother that they forgive me. She must give herself unto me, this woman whom I covet. For I am arrayed with the flower of *toloache*. Therefore do I ask that this woman shall want me, and also she who is called the

Intoxicated Woman who belongeth beneath the seven beautiful heavens.

Thus do I beseech the Flower Man who dwelleth on the great rocky slopes.

So be it. May God bless you.

## 36. TO SECURE A BRIDE

a'nicbö'him a'píam.ha'pum.a'gat i'nimō  
I hither come; thou not thus shouldst think here  
konticanböidu'viaG to'nimör.va.umni'ok'id  
that I did here hither have arrived unbidden-  
already to thee speak.

pero höga'k'öt' api'ctunha'gicda  
But that-with thou me wilt pardon

porke na'numnōit na'psoi'mác  
because that I thee behold that thou sad-  
appearest.

ku'höga'köt anicto'nimör.ba'umnio'k'it  
Then that-with I unbidden already thee speak.

ku'animök.mödör namaivanioki dios  
Then afar-from that he hence already speaks God

na'pua'ptul' ci'vgo'k' o'hi tō'tvak-  
that he is seven beautiful skies-

dam abimö' natpuvahö'madi<sup>1</sup>  
on. There that he<sup>1</sup> did already-  
create

nava'rdö'öt' o'gat' höga  
who is her mother her father that

ci'vgo'k' hi'komōra höga  
seven cloud within. That

navaric.tō'dok' o'hi ha'vu.ōra  
which is green beautiful *jtcara* within

natpuhö'mad'idak natpuhivisaptúk dō'u't  
that he did form that he did hide carry her-  
mother

o'gat natpuanihö'vam'a'ci'r ta'tpan  
her father. Then she did hereabouts appear in-  
the legs

natpuvaso's'oigim natsa'sa kuamihö'dör  
that she did already sorrowing that she did-  
weep. Then there-from

<sup>1</sup> The parents seem to be generally spoken of in the singular number, inclusively.

na'tpuai'vavom<sup>1</sup>                      natpuva't'ököhi  
that she<sup>1</sup> did already arise      that she did already tread

navarictödö                      o'hi                      mai'ndám  
which is green                      beautiful                      *petale on.*

amihö'van      natpuva.a'rgi      ha'cmacimö'köt'  
There      that she did already form      any appear-  
ance with

na'p'ua''rak'                      hōga                      dö''u't'  
that she form                      that                      her mother

o'gat      ku.a'midör      natpu.aivawo'mik  
her father.      Then therefrom      that she did already-  
arise

napuvatönö'id'im      hōga      navarictuma'm  
that she already beholding      that      which is five

hi'kom.ör      napubava.a'rgidim      navaric.tö'do  
cloud within      that she hither already forming      which-  
is green

o'hi      hi'komagidö'köt'      natpugamivavomit  
beautiful      his cloud with.      That she did already-  
raise

natpuvanö'id'im                      hōga                      hö''kia  
that she already beholding                      that                      so many

ma'mcim                      hi'kom                      örhö'van  
appearances                      cloud                      within

abihö'van      na'pubava'sa'kim      sa'kumgid-  
there      that she hither already sorrowing      her tears-

ö''köt'      na'puida'giunim      napugamamö'ringia  
with      that she goes cleansing.      That she will run

hikom.örhu'van                      napubavama'rgidida  
cloud within                      that she hither already self will go-  
forming

hö'gactumám      ci'c.wordadö''köt'      navar.-  
that five                      his plumes with                      who is her-

o'gat'      ha'ban'dör      nabai'vaha'dug  
father      which-from      that hither already.....

nabai'vavi'ji                      nabai'vahi'koma  
that hither already...      that hither already clouds up.

kua'bimöhödör                      hōga                      hi'kom.-  
Then there-from                      that                      cloud-

<sup>1</sup>From here on, the reference of the third person singular is very equivocal. It seems to refer to the peregrinations of the girl before birth but may refer to the journey of the Word as, apparently, is the case in the very similar prayer, No. 2.

ö'rhö'dör                      napubaiva'niok'im                      hōg'a  
within-from      that hither already goes speaking      that

navaric.da'dikam                      hi'kom.örhö'van  
which is health                      cloud within

na'pubavamhō'git'                      ku.a'mimö'dur.-  
that hither already replies.      Then there-from in two-

go'kpan.tötu'gia      napubavatunö'idim      aric.-  
places will see      that hither already beholding.      Is-

tö'd'o                      o'hi                      ba'hakörhö'dör  
green                      beautiful                      broom within-from

amihö      napubavamö'ringim      napubavam.-  
there      that hither already comes running,      that-  
hither already self-

a'rgidim                      aric.tö'do                      hi'komhö'kö't'  
is forming                      is green                      cloud with.

na'pubava'nöidim                      navaruma'ingiat  
That hither already watching                      which is his *petale*

avarica'pma'cimnaka't'                      ari'cha'duk'am  
it is well appearing outspread                      is.....

aricvi'ngikam                      aricva''utaG'at                      aric-  
.....                      is drizzly                      is-

tö'tgitna'ka't                      hōga                      na'varuma'ing'at  
his green, outspread                      that                      which is his *petale*.

ku.amihö'dör      napuivo'pmid'a      navaric.-  
Then there-from      that will raise      which is-

da'dik'am      navarva''u'tagit      napu.hö'kö't-  
health                      which is his drizzle                      that he with-

baivada'giuna      na'varumarat      a'midör  
hither already will cleanse      who is his child.      There-  
from

avimivo'mikda                      napuhö'kö't.uma'rgida  
she hence will arise                      that she with self will form

gög'ör                      o'hi                      va'hak'hökö't  
great                      beautiful                      broom with.

napuvatötö'gia      arictö'do      va'mör.ör      amihö'  
That she already will behold      is green      lake-  
within      there

napuvatönö'idida      amihö'      napuvama'rgid'a  
that she already will go watching.      There      that-  
she already self will form

tö'do                      o'hi                      hi'komö'k-ö't  
green                      beautiful                      cloud with.



napuvatönö'idida	ci'ko'r	va'mör	ma'mciria	aric.töd'o	o'hi
that she already will go watching	vicinity	lake	will appear	is green	beautiful
hu'gid'am	aric.a'pma:ci:naka't	i'ciam.-	hi'komörhö'van	napuva.uma'rgida	aric.-
at shore	is well appearing, outspread	very-	cloud within	that she already will be formed	is-
puhö'pgivi	ha'ba'n'dör	nab'oi-	tö'do	o'hi	so'so'p
brilliant	which-from	which hither-	green	beautiful	bead
hi'koma	ha'ba'n'dör	nagamiwö'p'gövi	hö'ganavar.o'gaD		ku.a'mi.dör
clouds up	which-from	which lightnings	he that is her father.		Then there-from
na'gamaictuma'c	hö'ga	hi'kom.-	napuvatönö'idida	navar.va'viar	o'hi
which appears	that	cloud-	that she already will go seeing	which is gray	beautiful
örhö'van	ku.a'mi.dör	na'var-	tö'vawköt'a	na'varic.a'm	va'viar
within.	Then there-from	which is-	sky beneath	that is yellow	gray
icda'di	va'u'tagidhö'köD	a'vi.um-	mai'ngid'am		kuanihönapuvadu'via
health	his drizzle with	she self-	his <i>petate</i> on.	Then hereabouts	that she already-
a'rgida	napubaivada'giuna	hö'ga	arrives		
will form	that he hither already will cleanse	that	navaruma'rgida	vaviar	ohi
navar.a'ri'git	amihövan	na'puva'sa'kim	that she self will form	gray	beautiful
which is his little one.	There	that she already-	navarci'cwo'd'adök'öt-		ku.a'mihö
goes weeping			which are her plumes with.		Then there
na'puga'gim	höga	navar-	napuatönö'idida	va'paviar	o'hi
that she goes seeking	that	which is-	that already will go seeing	gray	beautiful
hoi'gurda'rgaD	navarictö'do	va'mör.ör	vahak.ör	na'pukahö'ködambö'himöt-	
her sadness	which is green	lake within.	broom within	that she with hither having come	
napugamivö'cnia	napuvatönö'idida	hö'ga	va'paviar	o'hi	navarci'cwodat
That she will depart	that she already will go-		gray	beautiful	which are her plumes
seeing	that		nahök'ödamda'giuna		ku.a'mihövan
ci'ko'r	tötvakwö'pta	a'nihövan	that she with self will cleanse.	Then there-from	
vicinity	skies beneath.	Hereabouts	natpuvawu'p'au	navardö'u'D	o'gaD
napubavakö'hin'ida		ku.anihövan	that she did them equally	who is her mother,	her-
that she hither already will go treading		then here-	father.		
abouts			ha'c.macimhö'köt	na'tpuvam.a'rgi	
ha'cnatpu.o'imör	navardö'u't	o'gat-	What appearance with	that she did already self form,	
as that she did walk	which is her mother	her father.	kupuma'cimhö'k'öd	avi'c.upa''rak-	
ku'hacmacimhö'köt	natpuma'rgida <sup>1</sup>	ku-	then appearance with	he also forms	
That what appearance with	that she did self will-		nava'rma'raD		kuamihö'dör
form, <sup>1</sup>	then-		who is his child.		Then there-from
ha'pu.ma'cim.hö'köD	natpubia'rgi	nav-	natpugamatönö'idida <sup>2</sup>	aric.tumám	o'hi
thus appearance with	that she did hither form	that-	that she did will go seeing <sup>2</sup>	is five	beautiful
a'rmá'raD	a'ric.tumso'soi'gim	sa'sa'Gsa'gi'D	hi'kom.öra	ku.a'mi'dör	natpuvam.a'rgi
is her child	is sad	weeping between.	cloud within.	Then there-from	that she did-
amihö'	napuvakö'hinim	napuva-	already self form		
There	that she already treading	that she already-			

<sup>1</sup> Probably incorrectly given; future suffix probably superfluous.

<sup>2</sup> Probably incorrectly given; future suffix probably superfluous.

navar.va'paviar o'hi hi'komōk'ō't  
which is gray beautiful cloud with.

ku.a'mi'dör natgo'kpan.tötō arici'ko'r  
Then there-from that she did in two places look is-  
vicinity

navartō'tvagiD.wöp'ta natpugamisa'ki  
which are his skies beneath. That she did-  
begin to weep

arictumso'soi'gim sa'sagiaDsa'Git  
is sad her tears between

napuvamōringim na'puva'm.a'rgidim  
that she already goes running. That she already self-  
goes forming

hō'kia ma'mcim hi'komō'k'öt  
so many appearances cloud with.

napuwatötō'gia ci'k'ō'r ma'ingid'ám  
That she already will look vicinity his-  
pelate on

napuvatōnō'idida hu'r'nip aric-  
that she already will go seeing west is-

tu't'u'k' o'hi hi'komagidō'k'öd-  
black beautiful his cloud with

na'puvama'rgida kua'mi ha'cnatuma'rgi  
that she already will be formed. Then there as that-  
she was formed

dō'u't' o'gat kupuma'cimhō'k'öt  
her mother, her father, that appearance with

avi'c.up'a'r'ak kua'mi.dör natpui-  
she also form. Then there-from that he did-

vo'pmig hō'ga aric.a'pma'mcim  
raise that is well appearing

hi'komō'k'öt natōpkibaivada'giu  
cloud with that he did also now hither already-  
cleanse

navaruma'r'ag<sup>1</sup> natpuida'gid gö'gucdara  
which is thy form. <sup>1</sup> That he did send succor

da'dik' hi'kom nathō'ködgami-  
health cloud that he did with-

tō'vu'rtör navar.ōr'd'ak'am kuvi'pu'p-  
increase which is inwardness. Then he thus also-

kima'kim gö'gucdara na'gamaipukitō-  
now giving succor which he thus also now-

<sup>1</sup> Probably incorrect; apparently should be HER FORM.

kō'hina hi'di a'tvaGsa'gid ku'-  
will tread this altar between. Then-

amihō'van napuvatōtu'g'ia na'varictúk'  
there that she already will see which is black

o'hi va'mör.ōr amihō na'p'uda  
beautiful lake within there that is seated

navardō'u't' o'gat napuvamaida'-  
who is her mother her father. That he already-

giunim navaricda'dik'am u'u'migidō'k'öd  
hence cleansing which is health his ceremonial-  
arrows with

nagamiwi'cturda icko'kdakam i'ctōnkam  
that he will repel sickness heat.

ku.inimō napuvamōrin'ogim na'puvása'kim  
Then here that she already goes running that  
she already goes weeping

naga'gimöt hō'ga navarhoi'gurdargat  
that she went seeking that which is her sadness.

ku.a'mi.dör nagamivo'mgia i'ctumám  
Then there-from that she will arise five

hi'komagidō'k'öt na'pugama.iwō'c'nia  
his cloud with that she will depart.

na'tpuvapnō'idida<sup>2</sup> ci'k'ō'r va'mör.ōra  
That she did already also will go beholding<sup>2</sup> vicinity  
lake within

aric.a'pma'c.itka'd aricha'dugat  
is well appearing outspread is.....

aricvi'rigat a'midör naivo'pmik  
is..... There-from that it arises

navarhi'k'om ha'ba'ndör na'ga-mi-  
which is cloud which-from that it-

wō'p'gōvi wō'c hi'komörhō'van  
lightens all cloud within

na'gamaictuma'c kua'mi'dör napuvatu-  
that it appears. Then there-from that she already-

tō'gia hōga navarvo'p'oigid.a'ba  
will see that which are his paths in

na'pubavakō'hinim hō'ga navaric-  
that she hither already goes treading. That which is-

da'dik'am hi'komagidō'k'öt hō'kō'dum-  
health his cloud with with self was-

<sup>2</sup> Probably incorrectly given; past prefix probably superfluous.



a'rgidimök	aric'i'k'o'r	na'pugamisá'kim	o'hi	u'umigidö'köt	na'puhö'köt.
forming.	Is vicinity	that she weeping	beautiful	his ceremonial arrows with	that she-
ci'ko'ri'pas	na'gamikö'hinim	a'ri.ci'ko'r	bama'rgidim	ku.ámi.dör	nat-
vicinity	that she goes treading.	Is vicinity	with hither self forming.	Then there-from	that-
na'pubaivaha'dug	na'gamivi'ngi	ari.	go'k'pan.tötö	na'puvatötu'gia	aric.ta'
that hither already.....	that.....	is all-	she did in two places look	that she already will-	
ci'ko'ri'pas	ha'dör	nabihi'komag	see	is white	
around	to-from	that hither clouds up	o'hi	va'mör.ör	amihö
sá'git	na'gamiwöpgöv	vo'p'oigida'p'dör	beautiful	lake within	there
between	that lightnings	his paths in-from	napuvadu'via	va'pamör.örhödör	
nabaivá'u'ta	abimödör	nabaivatö'tvak' <sup>1</sup>	that she already arrives.	Lakes within-from	
that hither already drizzles.	There-from	that-	na'puvam'ö'rin'ogim	navarvámör	hu-
hither already skies <sup>1</sup>			that she already goes running	that is lake	on-
nabaiva.va'u'tak	aric.tö'do	ma'indam	gid'an	napugamasa'kim	arictumsosoi'gim
that hither already drizzles	is green	petale on	shore	that she weeping	is pitiful
aric.a'pma'c	arictö'tgid	aricva'u'tagi	sa'sa'gid	sa'gid	napugama'niok'im
is well appearing	is his green	is drizzly	her tears	within	that she speaking
aric.hádu'gat	ada'maN	ati'am.tö'ka'k	napuga'gim	navar.ho'i'gur.dargat	
is.....	Above	she did self place	that she seeking	which is her sadness	
na'tpubaivad'a'gim		nava'rma'rat	navar.dú'ut	o'gat	ku.a'mi.hödör
that he did hither already sending		who is his child.	who is her mother	her father.	Then there-from
natpugamaivavom	hu'kia	ma'mcim	na'tpuva'm.a'rgi	navaric.da'dig	
That she did hence already arise	so many	appearances	that she did already self form	which is health	
hi'komö'rhövan	nap'uvat'önöidim	aricta'	sa'kumgidö'köt	na'tpuivo'pmid	navar.
cloud within	that she already beholding	is white	her weeping with.	That did raise	which are-
o'hi	tövakwö'ta	aricta'	ci'cvordat	na'tpugamaivakugat	aric'ikor
beautiful	sky beneath.	Is white	his plumes	that did already finish	is vicinity
mai'ngid'ám	a'mihö	na'puvadúvia	tötvakwöpta	ci'a'rwöta	ba'barip
his petale on	there	that she already arrives	skies beneath	east beneath	north
na'tpuvam.a'rgi	aricta'ta	o'hi	hur'nip	o'gipas	ku.amihödör
that she did already self form	is white	beautiful	west	south.	Then there-from
hi'komagidö'köt	natpugamai.vatötö		pu'iwómik	na'varmárat	ida'giuna
his cloud with.	That she did hither already see		raise	who is his child	will cleanse
a'ric.tuma'm	hö'kia	ma'mcim	navarichöpitkam	da'dikam	napubövatö-
is five	so many	appearances	which is cold	health	that he hither already-
hi'kom.ör	kua'mi.dör	na'tpuva'tönö'idim	tö'gid'a	navaric.tö'do	o'hi
cloud within.	Then there-from	that she did-	to see	that is green	beautiful
already beholding			will cause		bead-
navaricta'ta	o'hi	va'ha'k.öra	a'tockaraD'ám	napubava.u'rna	
that is white	beautiful	broom within	his seat on	that he hither already will raise.	
amihö'	napuamö'ringim	aric.ta'ta	THE REPLY OF THE FATHER OF THE GIRL		
there	that she already running.	Is white	ha'pu.pi'cam.a'gat	hapu.tu.ó'ip'u	hö'g'a
			Thus also ye were thinking	thus walk.	That

<sup>1</sup> Possibly incorrect, verbal form with nominal stem.

inmár ave'ma't ha'ctuna'c.du'nia  
my child she not know anything that she will do.

ave'ma't töt'ut'u'a' avicicto'o'hot'  
She not know to grind. She lazy.

pero apimtic.a'pnö'it kuha'pu.pimi'soi'da  
But ye if well see then thus ye will suffer.

kuaviam.hactu.dám ku.i'nimö  
Then not anything over. That here

napimitaivagö'gu napimitci'wa.UMTá't.-  
that ye did already halt that ye did already

i'bwimda napimita'cihu't'ua  
yourselves tire that ye did already stumble

napimit'atumko'k'dat hö'.gamihöwan  
that ye did already yourselves sicken. That there

a'piambi'ak'a<sup>1</sup> hactu.da'köD  
thou not wilt need<sup>1</sup> anything with

napimha'cum.a'ka api'miam.bi'ak'a  
that ye any will think. Ye not will need

hactuda'köT napimsa'sa'kida  
anything with that ye will weep

navar.ö'ra'dakam namaritgö''korak  
which is inwardness that they are our *manes*.

ku'amihövan ha'pu.ni'cup.tá'n ha'gicdara  
Then there thus I also beg pardon

wö'puhímdam namaritgö''korak ago'kip-  
before go on that they are our *manes* two parts

dör na'pima'rma'mrat' navarito'G'  
from. That ye are his children who is our Father,

id'a't itci'u'k ha'pu.pwi'c  
our Mother, our Morning Star. Thus

a'mi.dör amiböiamda'giuna navaric.-  
there-from they hither you will cleanse which is

da'dik'am navarumxi'komak'hö'köT<sup>2</sup>  
health which is thy cloud with<sup>2</sup>

namgamaitumtö'gicda namivo'pmigda  
that they thee will cause to see. That they will raise

nvaricda'dikam navarumu''umi  
which is health which are thy ceremonial arrows

<sup>1</sup> Possibly error for *apimiam*-, YE NOT, as in next line.

<sup>2</sup> The use of the second person singular in these lines is quite puzzling.

nam.hö'köD.gamaiumwö'ctu'rda navaric-  
that they with from thee will repulse which is

ko'k'dakam aric'i'ko'r nava'rtö'tvakwö'pta  
sickness is vicinity which is skies beneath.

kuha'ban'dör namivo'p'migda hö''kia  
Then which-from that they will raise so many

ma'mcim ahi'komak' na'mgamai.am-  
appearances their cloud that they selves will

a'rgida ku.a'mimöDör go'kpan.putö'gia  
form. Then there-from two places will see

navar.hö'kia ma'mcim hi'kom.ör  
which are so many appearances cloud within.

ku.a'mi.dör nam.hö''köD.puvatuda'giuna  
Then there-from that they with already will cleanse

navaraxi'komak' navarada'dig  
which is their cloud which is their health

navarava''utak' kugaku a'bi.möDör  
which is their drizzle. Then therefore there-from

apimictunha'gicd'a porke i'nimö  
ye me will pardon because here

nanitaivamnöip'uctur navargo'k' va'ik  
that I did already to you relate that is two three

ni'.o'k' porke hactöi.dök' a'viam.-  
word because anything it not

acic.bai'giD nanaha''kiacturda na'var-  
anyhow is able that I for them will recount which

ama''rak<sup>3</sup> namaritgö''koraG hö'ga  
are your forms<sup>3</sup> that they are our *manes* that

ha'puvi'cima'c avi'ricda''rakam  
thus appears it is dear

avaric'idukam inwi'dúr porke anicaric-  
it is treasure me with-from because I am

i'krakam tö'vur.da'm.kam<sup>4</sup> kugökö  
vile wind overness.<sup>4</sup> Then therefore

a'ban'dör aviam.ha'cic.bai'giD  
which-from it not anyhow is able

nanavö'p'auvturda navara.a'rak porke  
that I them will equal which is their form because

hactu'i'duk' ku'amöhövan.pubö'.  
anything then there hither

<sup>3</sup> Probably should be *-a.a''rak*, THEIR FORMS.

<sup>4</sup> The accuracy of this phrase is very questionable.



ima'c a'pimpimicho'hidat  
appears. Ye, ye were desiring

nanamka'icturdað hōga ni'o'k'  
that I for you should hear that word

a'ricap'ma'cim pero hōga.ti'am.-  
is well appearing. But she if-

inmár dios intindimiento pero  
my child God willing but

nanō'kōdama''turda<sup>1</sup> pero maskisi'a  
that I with to you will teach.<sup>1</sup> But more than-  
might be

go'k' ta'kugumō'k'ōt hi'di pi'm-  
two fragment with this ye-

ictunha'gicda ku.avi.icbai''gria hōga  
me will pardon. Then it will be able that

ha'ctu na'pim.pu.á'k kuhi'di  
anything that ye say. Then this

hōmadak'amō'kōð kudios in.o'k'  
creation with then God my Lord,

inda't inci'u'k ku.hōga'kōt.gamtu.-  
my Lady, my Morning Star. Then with that-

amtōgicda api'migamai.pwōptōkōhina  
you will cause to see ye begin thus also will tread

navarmai'ngid'am aric.a'pma'citnaka't  
which is his *petate* on is well appearing, outspread.

avarichi'komagat da'man'dōr nagami-  
It is his cloud above from that-

ha'duG nagamivi'ngi' ha'ban'dōr na.-  
it..... that it..... which-from that-

ivo'p'migit navarci'cwo'rdað aric'i'k'o'r  
he raises which are his plumes is vicinity

napubima'ma'c ci'a'rwōt'a va'varip  
that hither appears east beneath north

xur'nip o'gipas arici'vgo'k' o'hi  
west south. Is seven beautiful

tō'tvakdam a'bimō navarda'kam  
skies on there that she is sitter

navaric.da'dikam tō'do u'vikam  
that it is health green womankind

navarid'a'D nabai.it'ō'kid navarno'vid  
who is our Mother that she hither to us-  
extends which is her hand

<sup>1</sup> The exact meaning here is dubious.

natha'bantudá kuhi'di hō'madacamōkōt  
that she did in it seize. Then this creation with

pictunha'gicda dios pi'amhacum'a'k'a  
thou me wilt pardon God thou not anything wilt-  
think.

## NOTE

This long and involved prayer is spoken to the father of a girl desired in marriage.<sup>2</sup> Marriage generally takes place at about the age of eighteen. The details having been arranged informally, the husband-to-be and his father appear at the house of the girl on a Wednesday night. It happens that at present only two Tepecanos know this long prayer and one of them must be engaged at a fee of a *peso* per night to accompany the supplicants and recite the prayer. It must be recited five times on successive evenings, Wednesday, Saturday, Wednesday, Saturday and Wednesday. On the final night the father makes his reply. Since the affair is always prearranged, the reply is never negative.

Then a white cloth is spread out and the clothes and other property of the girl and the wedding gifts placed upon it. The bride and groom and their fathers each seize a corner and raise the cloth and the ceremony is complete.

After this they are married. The boy gives a present to his parents-in-law and goes to live with them for a short period, six months or a year before setting up a separate home. Two wedding feasts and dances are held, one in the house of each parent.

The prayer is extremely long and involved and so full of ceremonial and esoteric allusions as to be very difficult of proper translation. In many cases the exact meaning is very doubtful and obscure.

## TRANSLATION

Hither have I come. Do not wonder that I have come here to speak unto thee unbidden. Thou wilt forgive me, for I behold that thou

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Lumholtz, *Unknown Mexico*, II, p. 93.

art sad. Therefore do I thus unbidden speak unto thee.

From afar God speaketh from his seven beautiful heavens. There did her father and her mother create her within the seven clouds; within the beautiful green *jícara* where she was formed did she carry her hidden, until at last she appeared between the limbs, sorrowfully weeping.

Then she arose and trod on the beautiful green carpet where she was formed in the image of her father and her mother. From there she arose and went observing within the five clouds, where she was formed of his beautiful green cloud. Then she arose, gazing within the many-colored cloud and wept, cleansing it with her tears. Within the cloud will she run about, being formed of the five plumes of her Father from which spring the clouds and the rain. From within that cloud he speaketh and within the healthful cloud is answered. From there will she look in two directions, observing. From within the beautiful green broom-grass she cometh running, being formed of the green cloud. She looketh down upon his green carpet, beautifully outspread with fog and drizzly rains. His carpet is verdantly spread out. From there he will draw his welcome drizzle with which he will purify his child. Thence will she arise and be formed of the great beautiful broom-grass. Within the green lake which she watcheth will she gaze. There will she be formed of the beautiful green cloud. She will gaze all around on the shores of the sparkling lake, beautifully outspread, whence rise the clouds. From within these clouds flash the lightnings. There will she be formed of the healthful drizzle with which he will purify his little one. There she goeth about weeping, seeking her sorrow within the green lake. She will depart and will gaze about beneath the heavens. Here will she come to tread just as have her father and her mother walked. In the same likeness as were her parents created, so did they form their child, with

sad tears. There will she appear, walking within the beautiful green cloud where will be formed the beautiful green bead which is the garment of the Father.

From there will she go beholding on his beautiful golden gray carpet beneath the beautiful gray heaven. There she arriveth where she will be formed with her beautiful gray plumes. Within the beautiful gray broom-grass will she gaze, purifying herself with her beautiful gray plumes, with which she came. Thus did she resemble her father and her mother. In the same likeness as were they formed, so also did they form their child. Then did she go beholding within the five beautiful clouds; there was she formed of the beautiful gray cloud.

Thence did she look to both sides round about beneath his heavens. She began to weep, running about amidst sad tears. With many forms of cloud is she created. Round about doth she gaze upon his carpet, looking to the west where she will be formed of his beautiful black cloud. As were formed her father and her mother, so with the same likeness do they create her. Thence did he lift his graceful cloud with which he did purify her form. He sent succor and health in his cloud, thereby augmenting his spirit. So also doth he now send succor to him who will tread between this his altar. There will she gaze into the beautiful black lake where are seated her father and her mother. With his health will he purify and with his arrows will he cast out sickness and heat. Here, running sadly about, did she seek her sorrow. Thence will she arise with his five clouds and depart. She will gaze within the lake, beautifully spread out with rain and fog. From there ariseth the cloud within which flash the lightnings. Thence will she look upon his paths where she treadeth. With his health-giving cloud is she formed. All around doth she go wandering and weeping. Round about it raineth and showereth and cludgeth up and within the cloud flash the lightnings.



From his paths cometh the drizzle. From afar cometh the drizzle on his pleasant green carpet. From there above where she was placed did he send hither his child.

Then did she arise within the many-colored cloud, gazing beneath the beautiful white heaven. On his beautiful white carpet did she arrive and was formed of his beautiful white cloud. She gazed within the five many-colored clouds. Thence did she go gazing within the beautiful white broom-grass where she was running. With his beautiful white arrows is she formed. Thence did she glance to both sides, gazing into the beautiful white lake where she now arriveth. From within the lakes she goeth running along the shore, pitifully weeping and speaking through her tears, seeking her father and her mother in her sadness. There was she formed with her health-giving tears.

Thus did he raise his plumes unto the end round about beneath the heavens to east, north, west and south. Lifting from there his child he will purify her with the cold, the health. He will give her sight and raise her unto the beautiful green bead which is on his throne.

#### THE REPLY OF THE FATHER OF THE GIRL

With this thought have ye come. But my child knoweth nothing. She cannot grind corn; she is lazy. But if ye so desire, so must ye endure. May no ill ensue. Here have ye stopped; ye have tired yourselves, ye have stumbled and hurt yourselves. But do not think of that. Neither weep; it is the will of our spirits.

I also beseech our spirits who have gone before from both sides. Ye are the children of our Lord, our Lady, our Morning Star. From afar will they come to purify you with their healthful cloud, and will give you sight. They will bring health and with their arrows will they repel the pestilence round about beneath the heavens. From them will they draw their cloud of many colors with which

they will be formed. Thence will they look to both sides within the many-colored cloud. Thence will they cleanse with their cloud and their health-giving drizzle.

Ye will forgive me because I have recited unto you only a few words. For I cannot repeat to you the formulas of our spirits as they appear. For they are rare and are cherished; they depart from me to the winds, for I am vile. Therefore I cannot imitate their formula, for it appeareth afar. You desired that I should hear your word clearly. But if my child so wishes, God willing, I will teach you. But nevertheless ye must forgive me these few fragments. Then will ye be enabled to say anything.

With this formula, God, my Lord, my Lady, my Morning Star. With this he will give you sight, ye who will tread thus his carpet, pleasantly outspread. From his cloud above come the rains and fogs from which he raiseth his plumes which appear all about beneath the east, the north, the west and the south.

There in the seven beautiful heavens sitteth the healthful Green Woman who is our Lady who reacheth unto us her hand that we may be gathered into it.

So with this formula forgive me God, thou who holdest no malice.

#### 37. TO BEG PARDON WHEN ANGRY WITH ANOTHER

*adiosum*      *anicbö'himdat*      *to'nimör.-*  
To God. I hither was coming      unbidden already

*vaciumnio'k'idim*      *piambi'ak'a*      *pihönapsoi'-*  
thee speaking.      Thou not wilt need      anywhere

*mörid'a*      *anicumta'nim*      *ha'gicdara*  
that thou sad wilt feel. I thee am begging      pardon.

*pero*      *höga'köt'*      *piambi'ak'a*      *napa-*  
But that with thou not wilt need that thou in

*go'kip.tönö'nikda*      *pi'captumda'gia*  
two places wilt look.      Thou in them thyself wilt-  
seize

höganamaritgö'korak      wö'pöhi.'mdam  
they that are our spirits      before go on.

kuha'pu.pwö'cö'p'      pimica'ptumda'gia  
Then thus also      ye in him yourselves will seize

höga    navarito'k    napuböit'ö'kdim    höga  
that    who is our Father    who hither us is extend-  
ing      that

navarno'vit'      para      natpuga'm'-  
which is his hand      in order      that we going-

tönö'idim      wöc      oras.a''ba  
beholding      all      hours in.

namputso'sbit'urdim    gacto'nkam    höga  
That they for us protecting    that heat    that

navara.u''umihököt'      navaraka'k'varak  
which are their ceremonial arrows with    which are-  
their *chimales*

navarawu'p'uivas    höga'k'öt'    mi'pugama'-.  
which are their faces    this with    they-

itwī'ct'urdim      gacko'k'dakam      höga  
for us repelling      that sickness.      That

navariD'a'D    navaritna:'na    wadalupi  
who is our Mother    who is our mama    Guadalupe

awi'putnöidim      para      nata'niD'a  
she us watching    in order    that we shall go begging

ha'gicdara      havaganavarit.o'k'  
pardon.      And he who is our Father

santonlie'ru      amipuböit.nu'kdida  
San Anton Tierra    they hither us will go guarding

wöc    orasa''ba    kuaviamha'ctuD'am.-  
all    hours in    that not anything over us-

a'cumdu'nia      ko'nkīhap'i      hö'gia  
itself will make.      With which thus      only

ni'cpum'a'tuD    kupiambi'a'ka    nap'i-  
I thee cause to know.    Then thou not wilt need    that-

hö'wan.soi'mö'rida      i'n'vwi'      kupi'-  
thou anywhere sad wilt feel    me with.    Then thou-

captumda'gia    navarinsu'spidat'    inci'u'k'  
in him thyself wilt seize    who is my Protector, my-  
Morning Star,

ino'k'    konkiha'pö'p'    ha'c'um'ö'ra'd'ak'am  
my Father.    With which thus also    any thy-  
withinness.

## NOTE

When one person is angry with another or on bad terms with him and wishes to resume amicable relations, he goes to the other's house and recites to him the following prayer.

The influence of Christian theology is unusually evident.

## TRANSLATION

Greetings! Unbidden have I come hither to speak unto thee. Thou must not feel angry; I come to beg forgiveness. Neither look askance. Thou must be possessed of the spirits of those who have gone before. Thou must be possessed likewise of our Father who reacheth unto us his hand that we may go beholding throughout all hours. With their arrows do they protect us from the heat and with their *chimales*, which are their faces, they cast from us the plague. She who is our Lady, our Mother of Guadalupe, is watching us that we beg forgiveness. And He who is our Father, San Anton Tierra, will guard us throughout all hours that no evil may befall us.

This only do I say unto thee. Thou needst not feel angry at me. Thou must be possessed of my Lord, my Guide and Morning Star. Thus be thy thought.



## TYPES OF REDUPLICATION IN THE SALISH DIALECTS

By HERMAN K. HAEBERLIN

### INTRODUCTION

THE following paper was originally intended to be a part of a more comprehensive work on the Classification of Salish Dialects. This latter paper has been prepared by Prof. Franz Boas and the writer, and will be published by the Smithsonian Institution. The available material on Salishan reduplications was found to be too fragmentary to be embodied in that paper. I have, therefore, preferred to present it in the present form as a basis for further work on the classification of the Salish dialects from the point of view of reduplication systems. While the material lacks uniformity for the different linguistic areas, it is sufficient to point out the main problems and to present a number of interesting facts concerning linguistic differentiation in the Salish area.

My method of procedure has been to present successively the material available for the different dialects. I have done this in the order adopted by Prof. Boas in his comparative vocabularies which will be published in the above-named paper, namely, starting with the inland dialects, then taking up the coast dialects from south to north, and ending with the isolated dialects of the Bella Coola and Tillamook. The more general comparative considerations are presented in the concluding paragraphs. All of the material both published and in manuscript form has been utilized. The manuscript material is the Salish vocabularies recorded by Prof. Boas and Mr. J. Teit, Dr. Leo Frachtenberg's notes on the plural and diminutive forms in Quinault and Clallam, and finally the writer's Snohomish material, collected in the fall of 1916, and his Thompson and Shuswap forms, collected in the summer of 1917. The vocabularies and

grammatical notes published by Prof. Boas and Mr. Hill-Tout are found in the following series: "British Association for the Advancement of Science," Volumes 1890, 1898, 1899, 1900, 1902; "Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland," Volumes 34, 35, 37, 41.

Most of the material collected by Mr. Teit and that collected by myself has been procured on expeditions that were made possible by the generous donations of Mr. Homer E. Sargent, who has for many years supported our researches in the Salish area. While the paper deals primarily with forms of reduplication, it was necessary also to include in many cases derivatives formed by the extension of vowels (dieresis), for in a discussion of the formation of plurals and diminutives this process cannot be separated consistently from that of reduplication. There can be no doubt that augmentative forms are very important in a consideration of the grammatical processes in question. Our material on these is, however, so meager that I was only able to cite a few more or less detached examples.

The abbreviations used are as follows:

<i>BAAS</i>	British Association for the Advancement of Science.
<i>JAI.</i>	Journal of the Anthropological Institute.
<i>B.</i>	Boas.
<i>H.T.</i>	Hill-Tout.
<i>G.</i>	Giorda (Dictionary of the Kalispelm).
<i>Hbl.</i>	Haeberlin.

Throughout this paper *x* is used for the velar and *ɣ* for mid-palatal.

### LILLOOET

Very little material is available from this dialect. The plural seems to be ordinarily

formed by a reduplication of the stem-syllable including the consonant following the first vowel.

- ecəzē'k*, LOG; pl., *eczukezē'k* H.T.  
*qā'mōz*, MAIDEN; pl., *qumqā'mōz* H.T.  
*cya'kelca*, WOMAN; pl., *cyukeyā'ktca* H.T.  
*t'lu'qwon*, TO SLAP; pl., *tlukwillqwon*, SLAPPING H.T.  
*esqu'mōx*, ROUND; pl., *esqu'maqumōx* H.T.  
*nāq\**, TO ROB; *nuq\*nāq\*ō'L*, ROBBER H.T.  
 (-OL= suffix denoting the person who does something)

The following example consists in a reduplication of the stem-syllable and a reduction of the reduplicated syllable by a shift of the accent on the reduplicating syllable:

- skau'yūx*, MAN; pl., *skai'yukyūx* H.T.  
 Compare—Thom: *sqa'i'yux*, pl., *sqa'i'keux* B.

In the following words only the first consonant and the first vowel are reduplicated:

- tūū'wit*, LITTLE BOY; pl., *tūtūū'wit* H.T.  
*skōzā'a*, CHILD; pl., *sku'kusā* B.

The diminutive is formed either by a reduplication of the first consonant and the first vowel of the stem or by a phonetic change of the stem-vowel:

- sqa'yux*, MAN; *sqe'qeyux*, BOY B.  
*kwāūt*, DISH; *kwā'kwēūt*, PLATE H.T.  
*llā'xutc*, LARGE PLATE; *ll'it'xutc*, SMALL PLATE H.T.  
*cyā'kelca*, WOMAN; *cī'yaktca*, GIRL H.T.  
 (c is a prefix)

The last two examples suggest the presence of an *i*-type of reduplication, that is to say a change of the stem-vowel to *i* in the reduplicating syllable.

- ck'ūk'mēt*, INFANT B. (*kui*=SMALL G.)  
*stcūā'wux*, LARGE CREEK; *stcūō'wux*, SMALL CREEK H.T.  
*tcō'kwās*, BIG FISH; *ts'ekwās*, SMALL FISH H.T.

The last two examples may prove to be augmentative forms rather than examples of diminutives.

The plural of a diminutive may be formed by a double process of reduplication. It is important to notice that in the following cases the plural reduplication (*i.e.*, that including the consonant after the first vowel) precedes the

diminutive reduplication (*i.e.*, that including only the first vowel).

- skukumēt*, CHILD; pl., *skwumkōkōme't* H.T.  
*cī'yaktca*, GIRL; pl., *cukyē'yuktca* H.T.  
 (cyā'ketca= woman)

Obviously the formation of the plural-diminutives in Lillooet is the same as in Thompson and Shuswap.

## THOMPSON

The plural or distributive is usually formed by a repetition of the stem-syllable including the consonant (or vowel) following the first vowel: The accent seems to remain invariably on the reduplicated syllable (see Boas: BAAS 1898, p. 28).

- cā'enx*, STONE; pl., *cencā'enx* B.  
*squ*, MOUNTAIN; pl., *sququ'm* B., Hbl.  
*temū'x*, GROUND; pl., *temtemū'x* B.  
*spam*, CAMP FIRE; pl., *spempa'm* B.  
*snikia'p*, COYOTE; pl., *sniknikia'p* B.  
*spezō'*, ANIMAL; pl., *spezpezō'* B.  
*snu'koa*, FRIEND; pl., *snukenū'koa* B.  
*tsqau'tl*, CANOE; pl., *tsqtsqau'tl* H.T.  
*cēm'a'm*, WIFE; pl., *cēmē'mam* H.T.  
*kenu'x*, SICK; pl., *kenkenū'x* B.  
*skō'um*, CRUMPLED; pl., *skōumkō'um* B.  
*sxuasī't*, TO WALK; pl., *sxusxuasī't* B.  
*pa'zulqō*, LAKE; pl., *pezpa'zulqō* Hbl.  
*sqa'xa'*, DOG, HORSE; pl., *sqaxqa'xa'* Hbl.  
*smū'lats*, WOMAN; pl., *smimū'lats* Hbl.  
*tuwē'ut'*, YOUTH; pl., *tu'utuwē'ut'* Hbl.  
*tsī'a'*, BASKET; pl., *tsī'etsī'a'* Hbl.  
*q!u'mqen*, HEAD; pl., *q!emq!u'mqen* Hbl.  
*sp!sa'qs*, NOSE; pl., *sp!esp!sa'qs* Hbl.  
*qoē'sp!*, BUFFALO; pl., *qosqoē'sp* Hbl.  
*spla'nt*, SKUNK; pl., *splpla'nt* Hbl.  
*klō'n'ē'*, MOUSE; pl., *klotklōtnē'* Hbl.  
*šō'pa'*, TAIL; pl., *šōpšō'pa'* Hbl.  
*šī'ts!um*, BLANKET; pl., *šītsšī'ts!um* Hbl.  
*smānx*, TOBACCO; pl., *šmenmä'nx* Hbl.  
*ša'lē'c*, KNIFE; pl., *ša'lsalē'c* Hbl.  
*q!umē'ema'*, LITTLE; pl., *q!umq!umē'ema'* Hbl.  
*k!est*, BAD; pl., *k!esk!ē'st* Hbl.  
*nul!ō's'n'*, EYE; pl., *nul!nul!ō's'n'* Hbl.  
*i'a'*, GOOD; pl., *i'i'i'a'* Hbl.

<sup>1</sup>š= intermediate between s and c.



The plural-forms of the following loan-words are instructive:

- ko'so', PIG (cochon); pl., kocko'so Hbl.  
 pos, CAT; pl., pospo's Hbl.  
 tci'ken, CHICKEN; pl., tci'ktci'ken Hbl.  
 tcai'namen, CHINAMAN; pl., tcintcai'namen Hbl.  
 mū'la, MULE; pl., mulmū'la Hbl.  
 ma'nta, COVER, CANVAS; pl., manma'nta Hbl.  
 šā'ma'', WHITE MAN; pl., šemšā'ma'' Hbl.  
 šil (= sail) CALICO; pl., šilšil Hbl.

These modern forms demonstrate that the regular plural-derivation includes the consonant following the stem-vowel. There are, however, a number of plurals in which the process of reduplication does not include this consonant, for example:

- stsauq, PICTURE; pl., stsutsu'q B.  
 šmō'a'', COUGAR; pl., šmōmō'a'' Hbl.  
 šnō'ya, BEAVER; pl., šnonō'ya Hbl.  
 smāx', SNAKE; pl., smemā'x Hbl.

[In the last four examples the initial s(š) is doubtlessly a prefix.]

- xazō'm, BIG (= Shuswap xayū'm), pl., xaxazō'm Hbl.

The following plural-forms show slight individual peculiarities:

- sqa'yux<sup>u</sup>, MAN; pl., sqai''qeu<sup>x</sup> Hbl.  
 (Compare: dim. sqa''qeu<sup>x</sup>)  
 šau''ut, SLAVE; pl., šo''ušau''ut Hbl.  
 qō', WATER; pl., qō''qō' Hbl.  
 (Compare: dim qō'qō')

For examples of plural-reduplication in agent nouns see: Hill-Tout: BAAS 1899, p. 23.

The usual type of diminutive formation consists in reduplicating the stem exclusive of the consonant following the first vowel. In contradistinction to the plural reduplication the accent of the diminutives is thrown back to the reduplicating syllable. This is usually associated with the reduction of the vowel of the reduplicated syllable (see Boas: BAAS 1898, p. 29; also Hill-Tout: BAAS 1899, p. 24).

- anu'koa, FRIEND; dim., nu'nkoa B.  
 cmē'its, DEER; dim., cmē'mēits B.  
 spēē'tc, BLACK BEAR; dim., spā'paats B.

<sup>1</sup> ɔ = short open o.

<sup>2</sup> ʒ = begins ä and ends ai.

- pa'zulqō, LAKE; dim., pa'pzulqō Hbl.  
 (Compare pl.; pezpa'zulqō)  
 sqa'xa', DOG, HORSE; dim., sqa'qxa' Hbl.  
 šmō'a'', COUGAR, dim., šmō'mōa'' Hbl.  
 (Compare pl., šmōmō'a'')  
 qoē'sp, BUFFALO; dim., qoi'qšp Hbl.  
 k!ō'n'ē', MOUSE; dim., k!ōk!n'ē' Hbl.  
 smāx, SNAKE; dim., sma'mā'x Hbl.  
 šō'pa', TAIL; dim., šō'spa' Hbl.  
 squ'm, MOUNTAIN; dim., sqo'qum Hbl.  
 šī'ts!um, BLANKET; dim., šī'sts!um Hbl.  
 smānx, TOBACCO; dim., smā'mānx Hbl.  
 (Compare pl., smenmā'nx)  
 k!ē'st, BAD; dim., kla'k!ēst Hbl.  
 smū'lats, WOMAN; dim., smū'mlats Hbl.  
 šnō'ya, BEAVER; dim., šnō'nea Hbl.  
 (Compare pl., šnonō'ya)

The following derivatives of the verb tcū'umken, "I work," are instructive for the different positions of the accent in the plural and the diminutive:

- tcutcū'umken, I WORK OFTEN Teit.  
 tcu'tcūemken, I WORK A LITTLE Teit.

The reduplication of loan-words demonstrates clearly the fundamental principles underlying the formation of diminutives:

- ko'so, PIG; dim., ko'kšo Hbl.  
 pos, CAT; dim., po'ps Hbl.  
 (pl., pospo's)  
 tci'ken, CHICKEN; dim., tcitcken Hbl.  
 tcai'namen, CHINAMAN; dim., tca'tcainamen Hbl.  
 mū'la, MULE; dim., mū'mla Hbl.  
 ma'nta, CANVAS; dim., ma'manta Hbl.  
 šā'ma'', WHITE MAN; dim., šā'sema'' Hbl.

The change in the vowel of the reduplicated syllable of the following word appears to be slightly irregular:

- sqa'yux<sup>u</sup>, MAN; dim., sqa''qeu<sup>x</sup> Hbl.  
 (Compare pl., sqai''qeu<sup>x</sup> and plural-diminutive, sqaqa''qayux<sup>u</sup>) Hbl.

In some cases the diminutive and its derivative, the plural-diminutive, is distinguished from the simplex and the plural by the closing of the terminal vocalized consonant (n, m, l) with a glottal stop, thus:

- q!ō'q!umqen'', SMALL HEAD, and Hbl.  
 q!emq!ō'q!umqen'', SEVERAL SMALL HEADS; but  
 q!u'mqen, HEAD and q!emq!u'mqen, HEADS  
 xazō'm, BIG; pl., xaxazō'm, but  
 dim., xazō'zōm' and pl.-dim., xaxazō'zōm' Hbl.

The same phenomenon appears in the following loan-word:

šil (sail), CALICO; pl., šilšil, but  
dim., šī'šil', pl.-dim., šilšī'šil' Hbl.

The following word shows a related phenomenon:

tsī'a', HEAD; pl., tsī'etsī'a', but  
dim., tsīai', pl.-dim., tsitsīai' Hbl.

This word also shows the peculiarity of the change of the terminal accented *a*-vowel to an *ai*. The same is the case with the following word:

ī'a', GOOD; dim., ī'ai' Hbl.  
(pl. ī'ī'ai', pl.-dim., ī'ī'ai')

I am not able to say whether these forms are derived by dieresis of the stem-vowel or by a type of end-reduplication. Probably the final *i* corresponds to *l* in Shuswap; compare: Shuswap: tsilila', BASKET, dim., tsilila'l'a; lā', GOOD, dim., lā'l'ä. In some cases the diminutive is derived from the simplex by means of an internal reduplication, while the plural is formed by initial reduplication. Good examples are:

spla'nt, SKUNK; dim., spla'l'nt Hbl.  
(pl., splpla'nt)<sup>1</sup>

xazō'm, BIG; dim., xazō'zōm' Hbl.  
(pl., xaxazō'm)

q!umē'ema', LITTLE; dim., q!uma'mē'ēma' Hbl.  
(pl., q!umq!umē'ema')

st!omā'l't', COW; dim., st!oma'mal't;  
pl., stumt!umā'l't' Hbl.

The following word apparently forms its diminutive in the same way:

ša'alē'c, KNIFE; dim., ša'alē'c Hbl.  
(pl. ša'alē'c)

This diminutive was sometimes also heard as sa'alē'lc. The glottal stop in the accented syllable of ša'alē'c corresponds doubtlessly to an *l*, since the shift of this sound to a stop or to an *i*-vowel is characteristic of Thompson in general.

Possibly the following diminutive is derived likewise by internal reduplication. But it

<sup>1</sup> The initial *s* is a prefix.

<sup>2</sup> l' = long *l*.

may also be a type of initial reduplication, provided we assume the initial *n* to be a prefix:

nuwa'n'ōs, FORMERLY; dim., nowau'n'ōs Hbl.

The word spezu'zu, BIRD *B.* [spāspezū'zo, BIRDS (*Teit*)] appears to be a diminutive formed by a process of end-reduplication from spezō', ANIMAL.

speyu'zu, SMALL BIRD, is derived by dieresis and with a shift of accent from spezō'

Of considerable interest is the type of diminutive end-reduplication that occurs in the words compounded with the suffix -ē'et (= Shuswap -e'lt), "young one." In these the terminal consonant of the stem and the initial vowel of the suffix are repeated; see for example:

st!omal'tē'et, YOUNG COW (st!omā'l't', COW) Hbl.

st!omal'tē'tē'et, SMALL YOUNG COW<sup>2</sup>

(Shuswap: st!omal'tē'tē'lt; compare also

Shuswap: st!omal'txwi'xwi'lt, CALF)

qospē'et, YOUNG BUFFALO (qōē'sp, BUFFALO) Hbl.

qospē'pē'et, SMALL YOUNG BUFFALO<sup>4</sup>

šnōyahē'et, YOUNG BEAVER (šnō'ya beaver) Hbl.

šnōyahē'hē'et, SMALL YOUNG BEAVER

klotnē'nē'et, SMALL YOUNG MOUSE<sup>5</sup> Hbl.

(klō'n'ē' = mouse)

skuk!uma'mē'et, SMALL CHILD Hbl.

(sku'ku'mē'et, CHILD; skukuk!uma'mē'et, SEVERAL SMALL CHILDREN)

The type of diminutive reduplication with a change of the stem-vowel to an *i*-vowel in the reduplicating syllable—a type so common in many of the dialects—seems to be absent in Thompson and Shuswap. It is barely possible that we are dealing with it in the following words:

Thompson: šau'ut, SLAVE; dim., še'sō'ut Hbl.

Shuswap and Thompson: lā'rxqst, FINGER; dim., lē'laxqst Hbl. (pl: laxelā'rxqst)

Apparently there is a type of diminutive formation in Thompson derived by means of a

<sup>2</sup> st!umt!uma'mal't', SEVERAL SMALL COWS

st!umt!umal'tē'et, SEVERAL YOUNG COWS

st!umt!umal'tē'tē'et, SEVERAL SMALL YOUNG COWS

<sup>4</sup> qosqospē'et, SEVERAL YOUNG BUFFALOS

qosqospē'pē'et, SEVERAL SMALL YOUNG BUFFALOS

<sup>5</sup> klotk!otnē'nē'et, SEVERAL SMALL YOUNG MICE



change of the stem-vowel without reduplication. For instance:

tcē'umken, I WORK INDIFFERENTLY *Teit*  
(tcū'umken, I WORK, tcu'tcūemken, I WORK  
A LITTLE)

tuawō'ut', BOY (*Hbl.*) is probably derived by such  
a process from tuwē'ut', YOUTH (*Hbl.*)  
(tuatuawō'ut', BOYS)

A few plurals seem to be formed by similar methods:

Lāq, TO COME; pl., Lā'zēk *Teit*.  
wux̄t, TO SNOW; pl., wē'ūxt *Teit*.

The plurals of diminutives are formed consistently by means of a process of double reduplication. They are derived directly from the diminutive. The first reduplicating syllable which precedes the diminutive form denotes the plural and is identical with the reduplicating element of the simplex. The accent remains on the same syllable as in the singular-diminutive form.

pa'zulqō, LAKE; dim. pl., pezpa'pzulqō *Hbl.*  
sq̄a'xa', DOG; dim. pl., sq̄exqa'q̄xa' *Hbl.*  
smū'lat̄s, WOMAN; dim. pl., smīmū'mlat̄s *Hbl.*  
q̄!u'mq̄en, HEAD; dim. pl., q̄!emq̄!ō'q̄!umq̄en'' *Hbl.*  
šmō'a'', COUGAR; dim. pl., šmōmō'mōa'' *Hbl.*  
qōē'šp, BUFFALO; dim. pl., qōsqōi'qōp *Hbl.*  
šnō'ya, BEAVER; dim. pl., šnonō'nea *Hbl.*  
smāx̄, SNAKE; dim. pl., smama'māx̄ *Hbl.*  
šō'pa', TAIL; dim. pl., šōpšō'špa' *Hbl.*  
squ'm, MOUNTAIN; dim. pl., squmqō'qum *Hbl.*  
šī'ts!um, BLANKET; dim. pl., šītsšī'šts!um *Hbl.*  
qō', WATER; dim. pl., qō'uqō'qō' *Hbl.*  
(Compare: dim., qō'qō', pl., qō'uqō'')  
smānx̄, TOBACCO; dim. pl., smenmā'mānx̄ *Hbl.*  
k!ēst, BAD; dim. pl., k!ēsk!a'k!ēst *Hbl.*  
sku'ku'mē'et, CHILD; pl., skuku'ku'mē'et *Hbl.*  
(sku'ku'mē'et is no doubt a diminutive form)

The following word suggests an irregularity in the plural-reduplicating syllable of the plural-diminutive:

sq̄a'yux̄, MAN; pl. dim., sq̄aqa''qayux̄ *Hbl.*  
(pl., sq̄ai''q̄eux̄)

The following are forms derived from loan-words:

ko'šo, PIG; pl. dim., koško'kšo *Hbl.*  
pos, CAT; pl. dim., pospo'ps *Hbl.*  
tcī'ken, CHICKEN; pl. dim., tciktē'tcken *Hbl.*

tcāi'namen, CHINAMEN; pl. dim., tcintca'tcainamen  
šil, CALICO; pl. dim., šilšī'šil'' *Hbl.* [*Hbl.*]  
mū'la, MULE; pl. dim., mulmū'mla *Hbl.*  
ma'nta, CANVAS; pl. dim., manma'manta *Hbl.*  
šā'ma'', WHITE MAN; pl. dim., šemšā'šema'' *Hbl.*

The plural-diminutives are formed by prefixing the reduplicating syllable of the plural to the diminutive even in those cases where the diminutive is not formed by the ordinary type of initial reduplication:

tsī'a', BASKET; pl. dim., tsītsiai'' *Hbl.*  
(dim. tsīai'')  
ī'a', GOOD; pl. dim., ī'ī'ai'' *Hbl.*  
(dim. ī'ai'')  
xazō'm, BIG; pl. dim., xaxazō'zōm' *Hbl.*  
(dim. xazō'zōm')  
spla'nt, SKUNK; pl. dim., spēlpla't'nt *Hbl.*  
(dim., spla't'nt)  
q̄!umē''ema', LITTLE; pl. dim., q̄!umq̄!uma'mē''ema'  
*Hbl.* (dim., q̄!uma'mē''ema')  
ša'alē'c, KNIFE; pl. dim., šilša'alē'c *Hbl.*  
(dim., ša'alē'c)  
šau''ut, SLAVE; pl. dim., šo''še'šō'ut *Hbl.*  
(dim., še'šō'ut, pl., šo''sau''ut)

## SHUSWAP

The principles by which the Shuswap reduplications are formed are identical with those in Thompson. Thus the plural is ordinarily derived from the simplex by a repetition of the stem including the consonant following the vowel (see Boas: BAAS 1890, p. 683).

pa'zulqwa, LAKE; pl., pezpa'zulqwa *Hbl.*  
sq̄a'lemux̄, MAN; pl., sq̄a'lqalemux̄ *Hbl.*  
no'x̄enox, WOMAN; pl., noxno'x̄enox *Hbl.*  
ts!lila'', BASKET; pl., ts!lilts!lila'' *Hbl.*  
sq!a'p̄q̄en, HEAD; pl., sq!apq!a'p̄q̄en *Hbl.*  
sq!lau', BEAVER; pl., sq!qlau'' *Hbl.*  
xala'x̄, TOOTH; pl., xalxala'x̄ *Hbl.*  
ci'ts!u, MOCCASIN; pl., ci'ci'ts!u *Hbl.*  
šōk!emē''n, KNIFE; pl., šuk!šuk!emē''n *Hbl.*  
cxa'nix̄, STONE; pl., cx̄enxa'nix̄ *Hbl.*  
sq!ē'txalaqs, BADGER; pl., sq!etq!ē'txalaqs *Hbl.*  
sq!wa'xt, FOOT; pl., sq!oxq!wa'xt *Hbl.*  
stcekwī'l, ARROW (Thompson, stcekwī'');  
pl., stcuk'tcekwī'l *Hbl.*  
k!oltē'', QUIVER; pl., k!oik!oltē'' *Hbl.*  
k!ēct, BAD; pl., k!ēck!ē'ct *Hbl.*  
lā', GOOD; pl., lēlā'' *Hbl.*

xkemā'xen, ARMPIT; pl., xkemkemā'xen<sup>1</sup> *B.*  
 tsi'pwen, CACHE; pl., tsiptsi'pwen *B.*  
 sts'os, TATTOOED LINE; pl., stsEsts'os *B.*  
 ska'ū, HUSBAND'S SISTER; pl., skska'u *B.*  
 temē'x, COUNTRY; pl., temtemē'x *B.*  
 rulral, STRONG; pl., rilrilerla'l *B.*  
 nox, TO RUN; pl., no'nox *B.*  
 qoiē'l'x, TO DANCE; pl., qoiqoiē'l'x *B.*  
 lā'rxqst, FINGER; pl., laxelā'rxqst *Hbl.*

In the following word the reduplication includes the vowel following the second consonant:

stsilā'ut, TO STAND; pl., stsistsilā'ut *B.*

In other cases the plural-reduplication does not include the sound following the first vowel of the stem:

sq'oa'xt, LEG, FOOT; pl., skuq'oa'xt *B.*  
 xiō'm, LARGE; pl., xāxiō'm *B.*  
 tūwē'ut, BOY; pl., tūtūwē'ut *B.*  
 xā'utem, GIRL; pl., xuxā'utem *B.*  
 giē'ia, OLD WOMAN; pl., gigiē'ia *B.*  
 kā'wulx, OLD; pl., kukā'wulx *B.*  
 xaxewa'l, ROAD; pl., xaxaxewa'l *Hbl.*  
 tiī'q'a, FIRE; pl., titiī'q'a *Hbl.*  
 L'liya'', BARK CANOE; pl., L'lil'liya'' *Hbl.*  
 (Compare: Thompson: L'za', pl., L'lēL'ezā'' *Hbl.*)

In the following words the consonant following the vowel of the stem does not belong to the stem and is not included in the reduplication:

tcī'tx<sup>a</sup>, HOUSE; pl., tcitcī'tx<sup>a</sup> *Hbl.*  
 sitsē'nem, TO SING; pl., sisitsē'nem *B.*  
 (-tsen= suffix for MOUTH, -em= verbal suffix)

This restriction of the process of reduplication to the stem does not seem to be a general rule in Shuswap, see for instance:

L'amē'n, AXE; pl., L'lēml'amē'n *Hbl.*  
 (-mēn= instrumental suffix)

In some cases the *l* of the reduplicated syllable changes to *t* in the reduplicating one:

slx'ā'am, OLD MAN; pl., stexlx'ā'am *B.*  
 sl'ax, TO COME; pl., stela'x *B.*

As in Thompson, the diminutive is formed by a reduplication of the first consonant and first vowel of the stem. The type of diminutive reduplication with *i*-shift does not seem to

occur. The accent is thrown back on the reduplicating syllable, usually causing a reduction of the stem-vowel.

pa'zulqwa, LAKE; dim., pa'pzulqwa *Hbl.*  
 sqalēmux<sup>a</sup>, MAN; dim., sqalēmux<sup>a</sup> *Hbl.*  
 no'xenox, WOMAN; dim., nu'noxenox *Hbl.*  
 sq!a'pqen, HEAD; dim., sq!ā'q!pqen *Hbl.*  
 ci'ts!u, MOCCASIN; dim., ci'cits!u *Hbl.*  
 tcī'tx<sup>a</sup>, HOUSE; dim., tcī'tctx<sup>a</sup> *Hbl.*  
 hau'ent, RAT; dim., ha'hauunt *Hbl.*  
 (Thompson: hau''ut, RAT, dim., ha'hau'ut, pl., hauhau''ut *Hbl.*)  
 cxa'niix, STONE; dim., cxa'xenix *Hbl.*  
 sq!ē'txalaqs, BADGER; dim., sq!ē'q!txalaqs *Hbl.*  
 lā'rxqst, FINGER; dim., lē'laxqst *Hbl.*  
 sq!wa'xt, FOOT; dim., sq!wa'q!xt *Hbl.*  
 klēct, BAD; dim., klē'k!ct *Hbl.*  
 lā', GOOD; dim., lā'lā' *Hbl.*  
 (cf: pl., lēlā'')  
 sū'nkum, ISLAND; dim., sū'senkum *B.*  
 p!ēpl'i'se, SNAKE; dim., p!ēpl'i'p!i'se *Hbl.*

The last form may really be a diminutive-plural. As in Thompson, some diminutives are formed by an internal reduplication, while the corresponding plurals are reduplicated initially:

xala'x<sup>a</sup>, TOOTH; dim., xala'lux<sup>a</sup> *Hbl.*  
 (pl: xalxala'x<sup>a</sup>)  
 stcekwī'l, ARROW; dim., stcekwī'kwel *Hbl.*  
 (pl., stcuk<sup>a</sup>tcekwī'l)  
 xkultā'm, MEADOW; dim., xkulta'tem *B.*

In the following words the diminutive (and plural-diminutive) is formed by reduplicating the first consonant of the instrumental suffix -me'n:

şök!ēmē'n, KNIFE; dim., şuk!ēmē'me'n;  
 pl.-dim., şuk!suk!ēmē'me'n *Hbl.*  
 L'amē'n, AXE; dim., L'amē'men;  
 pl.-dim., L'lēml'ēmē'men *Hbl.*

Some diminutives are formed by a process of end-reduplication:

tslila'', BASKET; dim., tslila'l'a *Hbl.*  
 klōtē'', QUIVER; dim., klōtē'tē'e *Hbl.*

Probably the following is formed in the same way:

L'liya'', BARK CANOE; dim., L'liye'a *Hbl.*  
 (Compare with this Thompson: L'za', dim., L'lzai' or L'za'za'; the latter, however, is used less frequently)

<sup>1</sup> x= prefix; kem= stem, -axen= suffix for "arm."



The diminutive of *sqa'la'u*, BEAVER, is formed by initial as well as terminal reduplication: *sqa'la'lō'*, pl.-dim., *sqa'la'lō'*.

As in Thompson, the diminutive of words compounded with the suffix -*elt*, YOUNG ONE, is derived by a reduplication of the terminal consonant of the stem:

- st'omal'txwi'xwi'lt*, CALF *Hbl.*  
*qoi'ep*, BUFFALO; *xquspē'pelt*, BUFFALO-CALF *B.*  
*alemka'lt*, DAUGHTER; dim., *alemqa'kelt* *B.*  
*ēmts*, GRANDCHILD; *ēmēmtsi'tsilt*, GREATGRAND-CHILD *B.*  
 (Snohomish: *ē'bats*, GRANDCHILD, *ē'ēbats*, GREATGRANDCHILD *Hbl.*)

According to the following cases the diminutive sometimes shows a double initial reduplication:

- xā'utem*, GIRL; dim., *xuxā'xutem* *B.*  
*ts'al*, COLD; dim., *ts'etsa'tselt* *B.*

A few diminutives are formed by an extension of the accented vowel:

- tcuwa'x*, CREEK; dim., *tcuwō'ux* *B.*  
*xaxewa'i*, ROAD; dim., *xaxewā'ul* *Hbl.*  
*tii'q<sup>a</sup>*, FIRE; dim., *tii''q<sup>a</sup>* *Hbl.*  
 (pl., *titii'q<sup>a</sup>*, pl.-dim., *titii''q<sup>a</sup>*)

Reduplication is also used to form the following augmentatives:

- sxanx*, STONE; aug., *sxaxa'nx* *B.*  
 (Compare: *cx'a'ni<sup>x</sup>*, STONE; dim., *cx'a'xeni<sup>x</sup>* *Hbl.*;  
 N. B. The diminutive shows a forward shift of the accent)  
*skulkoā'k'ult*, A SINGLE HIGH MOUNTAIN *B.*

Probably *kō'kpi*, CHIEF, is also an augmentative form. The plural of this word is *kupkō'kpi* *B.* (Compare Lillooet: *kwākwōkpi*, CHIEFS, *H.T.*)

The plural-diminutives are formed in exactly the same way as in Thompson. They are invariably derived from the diminutive form:

- pa'zulqwa*, LAKE; dim. pl., *pezpa'pzulqwa* *Hbl.*  
*sqa'lemux<sup>a</sup>*, MAN; dim. pl., *sqa'la'qalemux<sup>a</sup>* *Hbl.*  
*no'xenox*, WOMAN; dim. pl., *noxnu'noxenox* *Hbl.*  
*ts'lila'*, BASKET; dim. pl., *ts'lilts'lila'l'a* *Hbl.*  
*sqa'lpqen*, HEAD; dim. pl., *sqa'lapq'la'q'lpqen* *Hbl.*  
*sqa'la'u*, BEAVER; dim. pl., *sqa'la'lō'* *Hbl.*  
*xala'x<sup>a</sup>*, TOOTH; dim. pl., *xalxala'lux<sup>a</sup>* *Hbl.*  
*ci'ts'lu*, MOCCASIN; dim. pl., *ci'ci'clts'lu* *Hbl.*  
*tc'i'tx<sup>a</sup>*, HOUSE; dim. pl., *tcitci'tctx<sup>a</sup>* *Hbl.*

- xaxewa'i*, ROAD; dim. pl., *xaxaxewa'ul* *Hbl.*  
*cx'a'ni<sup>x</sup>*, STONE; dim. pl., *cx'xeni<sup>x</sup>* *Hbl.*  
*sqa'etq'le'q'lxalaqs*, BADGER; dim. pl., *sqa'etq'le'q'lxalaqs* *Hbl.*  
*tii'q<sup>a</sup>*, FIRE; dim. pl., *titii''q<sup>a</sup>* *Hbl.*  
*sqa'wa'xt*, FOOT; dim. pl., *sqa'oxq'waq'xt* *Hbl.*  
*lā'rxqst*, FINGER; dim. pl., *laxelē'laxqst* *Hbl.*  
 (dim., *lē'laxqst*)  
*stcekwi'l*, ARROW; dim. pl., *stcuk'tcekwi'kwei* *Hbl.*  
*L'amē'n*, AXE; dim. pl., *L'ēml'ēmlē'men* *Hbl.*  
*klōltē'*, QUIVER; dim. pl., *klōlklōltē'tē'e* *Hbl.*  
*klēct*, BAD; dim. pl., *klēcklēclct* *Hbl.*  
*lā'*, GOOD; dim. pl., *lēlā'l'a* *Hbl.*  
*L'liya'*, BARK CANOE; dim. pl., *L'liliyē'a* *Hbl.*  
 (Thompson: *L'za'*, dim. pl., *L'lēl'ēzai'* or *L'lēl'ēza'za'* *Hbl.*)

- temta'temt*, SMALL CLOUDS *Hbl.*  
*xqeqō'qcin't*, SMALL STARS *Hbl.*

The word *xuxxā'xutem*, LITTLE GIRLS (*B.*), shows a triple initial reduplication. It is formed from *xuxā'xutem*, LITTLE GIRL (*x'ā'-utem*, GIRL). (Compare Kalispelm: *sheshu'tem*, LITTLE GIRL, *sheushu'tem*, LITTLE GIRLS, *Giorda.*)

## OKANAGON

Examples of the typical plural reduplication in which the stem including the consonant after the first vowel is repeated are:

- sqa'ltēmē'x*, MAN; pl., *sqa'ltēmē'x* *B.*  
*hilmē'xum*, CHIEF; pl., *hilmē'xum* *B.*  
 (il = TO STRIKE *G.*)  
*k'ōms*, EYEBROW; pl., *k'umkō'ms* *B.*  
*xōpt*, WEAK; pl., *xupxō'pt* *B.*  
*x'lōt*, STONE; pl., *xelxlōt* *B.*  
*snāq*, TO STEAL; pl., *snōqenā'q* *B.*  
*tsqōāq*, TO CRY; pl., *tsuqtsqōā'q* *B.*  
*smālelaxa'a*, TO TELL A LIE; pl., *smelma'lelaxaa* *B.*

As in Lillooet, Thompson, and Shuswap, the accent is not shifted back in this type of reduplication.

The plural is sometimes also formed by a dieresis of the stem-vowel.

- g'utcgōa'tst*, STRONG; pl., *g'uzetckōa'tct* *B.*  
*sā'incūt*, TO LAUGH; pl., *sāyāincūt* *B.*

The diminutive is formed by the shorter type of reduplication with a shift of the accent on the reduplicating syllable:

- t'ē'k'ut*, LAKE; dim., *t'ē't'aakut* *B.*  
*tetuwit*, BOY

ʒē'xōtem, GIRL (she'utem=LARGE GIRL Kalispelm)  
Compare: GIRL: xī'xotem in Sans Poil, Col-  
ville, Lake; cē'cuetem in Spokane, Pois  
d'Oreille, Coeur d'Alène.

In the following two words the diminutive  
is formed by a process of end-reduplication:

mekwī'ut, MOUNTAIN; mukwī'woat, HILL B.  
skukema'met, INFANT (from sku'kamet) B.

The plural of the diminutive is formed in the  
following example by a double reduplication:

ʒē'xōtem, GIRL; pl., ʒexē'ōxotem B.  
Compare: Kalispelm: sheushu'tem, LITTLE  
GIRLS G.

The plural of tētuwē't, BOY, is tō'tuit B.  
This appears to be an irregular formation.

### KALISPELM

Giorda's dictionary of the Kalispelm offers  
much material for the study of the systems of  
reduplication in this dialect. The phonetics  
as well as the English translations in this dic-  
tionary are often deficient. In extracting the  
material of interest to us I have not changed  
the phonetic transcription used by Giorda.  
It must be borne in mind that his *g* = *x*  
(or ʒ), *k* = *k* or *q*, *ch* = *tc*, *sh* = *c*, *z* = *ts*, *gu* = *ʒ*,  
and ' often represents an obscure vowel.

The references given in the discussion below  
refer to the pages of the Kalispelm-English  
section of Giorda's dictionary. Giorda dis-  
cusses the types of reduplication on pp. 34  
and 35 of the appendix.

The fundamental type of plural formation  
is the reduplication of the stem including the  
consonant after the vowel. The accent re-  
mains normally in its original position.

sno'lemen, LANCE; pl., smlmo'lemen	p. 530
se'me, WHITE MAN; pl., s'mse'me	p. 499
ske'ltich, FLESH, BODY; pl., skalk'e'ltich	p. 274
koelzen, FIR TREE; pl., kolkoe'lzen	p. 284
s'chitemi'p, CLOUD; pl., s'chitemtemi'p	p. 494
moko, MOUNTAIN; pl., mkomo'k	p. 398
ni'chemen, SAW; pl., nchni'chemen	p. 413
szo'lem, BULL; pl., sz'zo'lem	p. 544
sko'i, MOTHER; pl., sko'iko'i	p. 292
koleuie, ONION; pl., kolkole'uiie	p. 306

kali'i, LAKE; pl., chikalkali'i	p. 257
snaze'ne, BARRING; pl. snazaze'ne	p. 31
(az = (root) TO TIE; sn are prefixes)	
golko, WHEEL; pl., go'lgo'lko	p. 184
chkai'tmen, HOOK; pl., chkatkai'tmen	p. 86
sge'lui, HUSBAND; pl., sgalge'lu	p. 159
galegu, TOOTH; pl., galgale'gu	p. 140
oli'n, BELLY; pl., ololi'n	p. 441
ies-ila'ganem, I STRIKE HIS ARM	} p. 233
ies-nilila'ganem, I STRIKE BOTH ARMS	
chin-u'gchst, MY HAND IS FROZEN	} p. 607
chin-ugu'gchst, MY HANDS ARE FROZEN	

In the following examples *z* becomes *t* in  
the reduplicating syllable; compare:

sgutle'chst, SHOULDER BLADE; pl., sgutgutle'chst	p. 504
skutlu's, FACE; pl., skutkutlu's	p. 529

In some plurals the consonant following the  
vowel is not included in the reduplication. In  
these cases, too, the accent seems to remain  
normally in the position it has in the simplex  
and is not thrown backward as in the diminu-  
tive reduplication.

peninch, LIVER; pl., papeni'nch	p. 459
skaalshi'n, CRANE; pl., skokaalshi'n	p. 528
pia'k, RIPE; pl., pipia'k	p. 460
s'che'it, SPIDER; pl., s'chiche'it	p. 494
chines-chzalu'si, I HAVE A SORE EYE	} p. 619
chin-chzazalu's, I HAVE SORE EYES	
zal (root)= SORE	
chines-tapmi'ni, I SHOOT AN ARROW	} p. 548
chines-tatapmini, I SHOOT ARROWS	
tap (root)= TO SHOOT	

As far as I can see from Giorda's material  
the plural reduplication in Kalispelm does not  
normally seem to extend beyond the stem and  
to include the initial sound of a suffix. Where  
the stem consists only of a consonant and a  
vowel the reduplication is restricted to it.  
See for instance:

s'che'ilegu, SHADY PLACE; pl., s'chicheile'gu	p. 494
-ilegu= suffix for PLACE	
szoshin, LEG, FOOT; pl., szoososhi'n	p. 545
-shin= suffix for FOOT	
s'chua'gan, ARM; pl., s'chuchua'gan	p. 494
s'chaupu's, TEAR; pl., s'chauapu's	p. 22
-au= (root) TO FALL IN DROPS	

Possibly the following may be an exception  
to this rule:

supa, TAIL; pl., spsupa	p. 543
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The diminutive is usually formed by a reduplication of the stem exclusive of the consonant following the vowel. In contradistinction to the shorter type of plural reduplication the accent of the diminutive is ordinarily thrown backward with the effect of reducing the vowel of the reduplicated syllable.

- ni'chemen, SAW; dim., ni'nchemen p. 413-4  
(pl.= nchni'chemen)  
smo'lemen, LANCE; dim., s'mo'mlemen p. 530  
(l = diminutive prefix)  
(pl.= smlmo'lemen)  
se'me, WHITE MAN; dim., se'seme p. 499  
(pl.= s'mse'me)  
ske'ltich, FLESH, BODY; dim., s'ka'kaltich p. 274  
(pl.= skalke'ltich)  
moko, MOUNTAIN; dim., t'mmo'ko p. 398  
(pl.= mkomo'k)  
szolem, BULL; dim., szo'zlem p. 544  
(pl.= sz'z'o'lem)  
sko'i, MOTHER; dim., s'ko'koi p. 292  
golko, WHEEL; dim., lgo'glko p. 184  
sne'ut, WIND; dim., sne'neut p. 411  
skaltemi'gu, MAN } p. 275  
kakaltemi'gu, A LITTLE FISH }  
gal, BRIGHT; dim., i-lgaga'l p. 137  
cheep, SOFT; dim., chche'p p. 44  
lke'ikgui, I DRIVE FOR A LITTLE DISTANCE p. 270  
(keig (root)= TO DRIVE)  
chin-nana'sshin, MY FOOT IS A LITTLE WET p. 406  
(nas[root]= WET)  
lna'nkoi, I STEAL A LITTLE p. 404  
(nako (root)= TO STEAL)

The diminutive prefix *l* is not always associated with the diminutive reduplication, for instance:

- smo'mshin, MARE; dim., s'mo'mshin p. 386

For a discussion of *l* see Giorda I, p. 351.

Certain verbal and nominal suffixes are almost invariably associated with the reduplicated form of the stem. The type of reduplication occurring with them is usually the longer plural one.

With the verbal ending -t:

- che'chilt, NAUSEATING p. 50  
ku'akust, WONDERFUL p. 333  
koi'lkolt, LIVELY p. 295  
pelpa'lkot, AFFECTIONATE p. 452  
koi'mkomt, A QUICK WORKER p. 295

-t with the diminutive reduplication:

- lkake'iet, NARROW p. 352

With the suffix -ul, denoting "the person who does something:"

- susunu'l, ONE WHO LIKES TO ASK QUESTIONS p. 501  
seu(root)= TO ASK  
nlkalkalshu'l, A PROSTITUTE p. 355  
kaikaimu'l, ONE WHO WRITES MUCH p. 254  
kai= (root) TO WRITE  
npelpelskeligu'l, MURDERER p. 474  
But: popolesemu'l, ONE WHO ESPECIALLY KILLS  
ANIMALS  
pols(root)= TO KILL

With -(s)nug, TO BE WORTHY OF:

- npupusnu'g, WORTH LOVING p. 487  
pus (root)= TO LOVE  
ngutgut't'snu'g, WORTHY OF ANGER p. 211  
iaiaasnu'g, ONE WHO INSPIRES AWE p. 220  
iguigusnug, WORTHY OF COMPASSION p. 230

With -nueg, which denotes reciprocity:

- kaes-ngalgalnue'gui, WE FRIGHTEN ONE ANOTHER  
p. 158

It is noteworthy that the plural reduplication never seems to be used with the frequentative suffix -luisi:

- chines-gei'lshemlui'si, I GO NOW AND THEN TO  
STEAL HORSES p. 155

The plural is sometimes expressed by an extension of the stem-vowel:

- chines-chiulshi, I CLIMB UP }  
kaes-chue'ulshi, WE CLIMB UP } p. 81  
she'utem, LARGE GIRL; pl., shue'utem }  
sheshu'tem, LITTLE GIRL; pl., sheushu'tem } p. 510  
skue'st, NAME; skue'est, NAMES OF ONE PERSON  
(skuskue'st, NAMES OF SEVERAL PERSONS) p. 324

This extension of the stem-vowel is also used to denote inchoative action:

- zii'sh, IT GOT WARM p. 630  
zish= WARM  
es-tiimi', IT IS BECOMING WET p. 569  
tim= WET

The formation of the plurals of diminutives is interesting. Giorda's material seems to show clearly that they are never formed by means of a double reduplication. The following examples show that they are derived from the reduplicated form of the diminutive, the

plural being indicated by an extension of the reduplicating vowel, sometimes by a diphthongization of this vowel with an *i*. They never seem to be derived from the plural of the simplex.

- kali'i, LAKE; chiikaikali'i, SMALL LAKES p. 257  
(chiikaikali'i=LAKES)  
skuse'e, SON; skoikuse'e, BOYS p. 529  
(skukuse'e=BOY)  
kokomeus, YOUNG HORSE; pl., koikome'us p. 296  
titui't, BOY; pl., tiitui't p. 572  
pogo't, PARENT; pl. dim., piipogo't p. 470  
(pogpogo't, PARENTS)  
she'utem, GIRL; pl. dim., sheushu'tem p. 510  
(sheshu'tem=LITTLE GIRL,  
shue'utem=GIRLS)

End-reduplication, that is to say, the repeating of the last consonant of the stem, is a prominent feature of Kalispelm. It occurs in some plural forms:

- skolchemu's, CHEEK; pl., skolchemmu's p. 52  
chem (root)=EXTREMITY OF SOMETHING  
s'cheme'pshin, HEEL; pl., scheme'pshin p. 494  
ies-nchehu'sem, I UNCOVER HIS FACE  
ies-kolchehehu'sem, I UNCOVER HIS CHEEKS p. 45  
chines-ike'ilshi, I LAY DOWN  
kaes-lkali'lshi, WE LAY DOWN p. 354  
kaes-lkalkali'lshi, WE LAY DOWN IN GROUPS  
es-npenna'ksi, THEY LIE ON THE ROAD, ALL  
IN ONE PLACE  
es-npenpenna'ksi, THEY LIE HERE AND THERE p. 466  
ON THE ROAD  
(pen=root; -aks=suffix for ROAD)

In the verb the end-reduplication ordinarily expresses the passing from one state into another:

- tgo'go, IT BECAME STRAIGHT p. 591  
tog=STRAIGHT  
chines-tkokomi', I FALL p. 578  
tk'= (root) TO LIE  
chines-ko'lili, JE DEVIENS p. 297  
kol= (root) to make  
chines-ntkokomi', I AM BEING CONCEIVED. (This  
expresses the act of passing from a state of not  
being conceived to one of being conceived,  
Giorda) p. 430  
chines-na'kokoi, I GO TO STEAL p. 404  
nako= (root) TO STEAL  
es-mkokomi', IT SWELL UP p. 398  
moko=root

- gui'kuku, IT IS BEING DRESSED p. 197  
guika=root  
chines-ia't'ti, I AM BEING SHAKEN p. 223  
lchi'ch, IT BECOMES BOUND p. 341  
lich= (root) TO BIND  
es-poz'z, IT FLATTENS p. 455  
i-poz=FLAT  
pini'n, IT BECAME FULL p. 465  
pin=FULL  
es-telilemi, IT GROWS HARD p. 564  
til= (root) TO HARDEN  
pgo'g, IT GOT SCATTERED p. 460  
pog= (root) TO SCATTER

Certain verbal suffixes are ordinarily associated with the end-reduplication. Thus -nunem, TO SUCCEED IN SOMETHING occurs almost always with this form of the verb.

- ies-kammnu'nem, I SUCCEED IN SWALLOWING IT  
p. 261  
ies-gol'lnu'nem, I SUCCEED IN THROWING IT AWAY  
p. 176  
ies-skakanu'nem, I SUCCEED IN SPLITTING IT p. 492  
ies-paag'ganu'nem, I SUCCEED IN CURING p. 448  
ies-lz'znu'nem, I SUCCEED IN WHIPPING HIM p. 365  
ies-koeenu'nem, I SUCCEED IN BITING IT p. 281  
ies-il'lnu'nem, I SUCCEED IN STRIKING p. 232  
ies-gukukunu'nem, I SUCCEED IN CLEANSING IT p. 204

#### End-reduplication with -utem:

- elchchutem, ABLE TO BE BOUND p. 343  
lech= (root) TO BIND  
ngal'lu'tem, TO BE FEARED p. 157  
gul'lu'tem, SANABILIS p. 197  
gez'ztmu'tem, ABLE TO DIG p. 168

The end-reduplication seems almost always to be used with the negation:

- tas-io'o, NOT WELL, io', WELL p. 237  
taks-shni'n, IT WILL NOT STICK p. 516  
shin=root  
tas gokoko'tem, INSEPARABLE p. 183  
tas kue'lhch, IT DOES NOT UPSET p. 324  
tas kup'p, IT DOES NOT MOVE p. 333  
ta-spi'pe, but: chines-spmi', I WHIP

Verbs may have an initial as well as an end-reduplication in one and the same form.

- chines-chshiteshtemu's, I RAISE MY EYES  
chin-chshiteshit'temu's, MY EYES RISE UP } p. 519  
BY THEMSELVES  
sgolkolkoi'l'l, UNJUST PROFITS p. 294  
koil= (root), TO CHEAT  
kaes-zkakali'lsh, WE FALL ON OUR BACKS p. 630  
(chines-zkalo't, I LIE ON MY BACK)



From Mengarini's "Flathead Grammar" (Grammatica Linguae Selicæ) it is clear that the plural and diminutive forms of this dialect are the same as those of Kalispelm. See for instance:

*Plural:*

skoï, MOTHER; pl., skoikoi  
esmo'ck, MOUNTAIN; pl., esmkmo'ck  
sko'lchemu's, CHEEK; pl., sko'lchammu's

*Diminutives:*

eslmmo'ck, SMALL MOUNTAIN  
she'shu'tem, SMALL GIRL  
lgoglko, SMALL WHEEL  
slko'koi, SMALL MOTHER

## QUINAULT

Dr. Leo Frachtenberg has studied the formation of the diminutive and of the plural in this dialect. He has kindly permitted me the use of his manuscript. He has established the interesting fact that the process of reduplication is practically absent in this Salish dialect.

The only clear case of reduplication in Quinault is the following:

kî'ûtan, HORSE  
tcî'L!a'k!° kîgwē'tan, I HAVE GOOD HORSES

Possibly the following may also suggest the presence of a reduplication provided one postulates the change of *y* to *dj* in the reduplicated syllable:

xwa' yî'len, KNIFE  
ta' an lētc! xwē' idjēlen, MY SHARP KNIVES

In the vocabulary collected by Dr. Boas it may be that tce'l.tceltc°, SPINSTER, is a reduplicated form.

From Frachtenberg's material it is plain that the plural in Quinault is formed either by the particle xwē, MANY, or the suffix -elma'.

sqē'qināl, WOMAN; pl., xwe sqēqē'ināl  
ma'qsin, NOSE; pl., ma'qsinelma'

The diminutive is formed, in addition to a suffixed *o*, by means of a change of the stem-vowel. This change consists ordinarily either

in replacing a simple vowel by an echoed one or by simply introducing a glottal stop.

qā'yis, STONE; dim., qa'aïsō  
sî'pten, AXE; dim., sî'ptē'nō  
tcil, HIGH; dim., tci'il

The same type of vowel-extension is observed in the word kwaiai'ēl, INFANT, which is common to Satsep, Upper Chehalis, and Cowlitz. It is the diminutive form of kwai'il, YOUNG.

## SNOHOMISH

The reduplications of this dialect were recorded by the writer during his field-work among the Snohomish and Snuqualmi in the fall of 1916.

The plural is formed almost without exception by a repetition of the stem including the consonant following the vowel. The vowel of the reduplicating syllable remains the same as that of the simplex.

klo'spl, TROUT (k!wa'spl Snuqualmi); pl., klo'sk!spl  
L!x'ai'', DOG-SALMON; pl., L!x°L!x'ai''  
L!tcets, BOW; pl., L!a'tcl!atcits  
sqebai'', DOG; pl., sqebqbai''  
tē'sid, ARROW; pl., te'stesid  
steqa'yu', WOLF; pl., steqtqa'yu'  
stce'txud, BEAR; pl., stce'ttctxud  
yix°ela', EAGLE; pl., yix°yix°ela'  
cau', BONE; pl., cau''cau'  
L!ē'lbid, CANOE; pl., L!e'!L!elbid  
x°k!o'dced, FOOT; pl., x°k!o'dk!odced  
tcā'las, ARM; pl., tca'ltcelas  
t'klō's, OWL; pl., t'kt'klō's  
sq!ēbia', SKUNK (sq!ēbiō'' Snuqualmi);  
pl., sq!ē'bq!bia  
tclā'lasats, FERN; pl., tclā'ltc!ēlasats  
k!a'lu, SKIN; pl., k!a'lk!a'lu  
spetco', BASKET; pl., spē'tcptco  
axa', GOOSE; pl., 'ax'axa'  
spō'k°ab, HILL; pl., spō'k°pōk°ab  
stcebe'data, FIR; pl., stcebtcebe'dats  
xpai' CEDAR; pl., xēpxpai''  
k°ag°e'dtced, ELEK; pl., k°ag°k°ag°e'dtced  
sk!°aqe'q, ROBIN; pl., sk!°aqk!°aqe'q  
xebxeb, HAWK; pl., xebxebxeb  
sō'pqs, SEAL; pl., sō'psōpqs  
sqē'xa', WOOL DOG; pl., sqē'xqexa'  
ā'la', HOUSE; pl., ā'lalal

bō'ctceb,<sup>1</sup> MINK; pl., bō'cböctceb  
 xa'tcu, LAKE; pl., xa'tcxatcu

Plurals which do not reduplicate the consonant following the stem-vowel seem to be rather exceptional. See the following examples:

tcil'la', STONE (tc'la'l'la' Snuqualmi); pl., tcitcil'la'  
 sbyau, FOX; pl., sbi'byau'  
 slā'dai', WOMAN; pl., slālā'dai'  
 swawa', LION; pl., swawawa'

The following does not belong properly in this class as it is onomatopoeitic:

kla'kla, CROW; pl., kla'klakla

It seems to be a constant feature of the plural-reduplication in Snohomish that the repetition is restricted to the stem and does not include the initial consonant of the suffix when the stem consists only of two sounds. See:

pō'ted, SHIRT; pl., pō'pōted  
 (-ted = instrumental suffix)  
 sq'lā'ced, MOCCASIN; pl., sq'lā'q'aced  
 (-ced = suffix for FOOT)  
 dzidi's, TOOTH; pl., dzidzā'dis  
 (-nis = suffix for TOOTH)

The following plural forms seem to be likewise explained by the presence of a suffix:

bo'qu, DUCK; pl., bo''bo'qu  
 stsa'li, HEART; pl., stsa'tsali  
 sq'la'sL, OTTER; pl., sq'la''q'la'sL!

The Comox plural-reduplications are distinguished from those of the Snohomish in that the former do not, like the latter, restrict themselves to the etymological stem, but may also include part of a suffix, for instance (Sapir: "Noun Reduplication in Comox" pp. 12 and 13):

q'la'sL, LAND-OTTER; pl., q'la'l'q'la'sL!  
 q'la'sa', SEA-OTTER; pl., q'la'sq'la'sa' (*Kwakiutl*)  
 ma'qsin', NOSE; pl., ma'q'imaqsin'  
 (-qsin' = suffix for NOSE)  
 dji'cin', FOOT; pl., dji'cdjicin'  
 dji'dis, TOOTH; pl., dji'ddjidis  
 (-dis = suffix for TOOTH).

The following plural forms are irregular:

sxī'us, HEAD; pl., sxaxa'yūs

This plural form is explained by the Snuqualmi word for HEAD: *sxa'yūs*.

<sup>1</sup> ð like in German öffnen

syā'b, CHIEF; pl., si'ya'b  
 stō'bc, MAN; pl., stō'bōbc

This last form is very extraordinary. -bc is the suffix for PERSON. Compare the Comox form *ta'mtō'mic*.<sup>2</sup>

There are two types of diminutive reduplication in Snohomish. In the one type the vowel of the stem is repeated in the reduplicating-syllable, in the other this vowel is changed to an *i* (or *e*). In either case the consonant following the vowel is not included in the reduplication. It is almost a constant feature that the accent is thrown back on the reduplicating-syllable. This is usually associated with a reduction or complete elimination of the vowel of the reduplicated syllable. Examples of reduplication of the first type are:

tcā'las, ARM; dim., tcā''tcelas  
 k'ag'e'dtced, ELK; dim., k'ak'g'e'dtced  
 (Compare: pl., k'ag'uk'ag'e'dtced)  
 sk'laqe'q, ROBIN; dim., sk'la'k'laqe'q  
 sō'pqs, SEAL; dim., sō'sepqs  
 ā'al, HOUSE; dim., ā''alal  
 xa'tcu, LAKE; dim., xa'xtcu  
 stō'bc, MAN; dim., stū'tubc  
 kla'kla, CROW; dim., kla'k'kla  
 slā'dai', WOMAN; dim., slā'ladai' <sup>3</sup>; pl., slālā'dai'  
 stsa'li, HEART; dim., stsa'tsali  
 sq'laL, CLOUD; dim., sq'la'q'laL!  
 cau', BONE; dim., ca''cu'  
 swawa', LION; dim., swa''wa'

Instances of the second type of diminutive reduplication (with a shift to *i* in the reduplicating-syllable) are:

pō'ted, SHIRT; dim., pī'poted  
 sq'lā'ced, MOCCASIN; dim., sq'lē'q'aced  
 bo'qu, DUCK; dim., bi''bo'qu  
 sq'la'sL, OTTER; dim., sq'lē''q'la'sL!  
 bō'ctceb, MINK; dim., bī'btceb  
 k'la'lu, SKIN; dim., k'li'k'li'lu  
 x'klo'dced, FOOT; dim., x'k'lē'k'lodced  
 k'lo'spi, TROUT; dim., k'li'sk'li'spi  
 L'tcets, BOW; dim., L'lē'L'tcits  
 (pl., L'la'tcl'atcits)  
 sxī'us, HEAD, (sxa'yūs Snuqualmi)  
 dim., sxi'xiūs  
 stce'txud, BEAR, (ctca'txud Snuqualmi)  
 dim., stci'tctxud

<sup>2</sup> Sapir: op. cit. p. 14.

<sup>3</sup> See Nisqualli *la'ledai* = GIRL (Teit).



In some cases the vowel of the reduplicating-syllable represents a diphthongization with *i*:

axa', GOOSE; dim., i'xa  
sqebai', DOG (sqūbai' Snuqualmi);  
dim., squi'qubai'  
tcla'lasats, FERN; dim., tcla'ltc!Elasats

Words in which the stem-vowel is obscure or is itself an *i*-vowel cannot be attributed either to one or to the other of the above types, for instance:

spetco', BASKET; dim., spī'ptco  
tē'sid, ARROW; dim., te'tsid  
Llx'ai', DOG-SALMON; dim., Lli'lx'ai'  
steqa'yu', WOLF; dim., stitqa'yu'  
Llē'lbid, CANOE; dim., Lle'lelbid  
t'klō's, OWL; dim., t'it't'klos  
sq!Ebia', SKUNK; dim., sq!ē'q!Ebia  
stcebe'dats, FIR; dim., stcītcbi'dats  
xpai', CEDAR; dim., xe'xpai'  
xebxeb, HAWK; dim., xe'xebxeb  
sqē'xa', WOOL DOG; dim., sqe'qxa  
syā'b, CHIEF; dim., se'ya'b  
dzidi's, TOOTH; dim., dzi'dzidis  
tcil'la', STONE; dim., tcitcl'la'  
(tcla'la' = STONE Snuqualmi)  
sbyau, FOX; dim., sbi'byau.

In the following word the diminutive is formed by an extension of the stem-vowel without reduplication:

spō'k<sup>u</sup>ab, HILL; dim., spo'o'k<sup>u</sup>ab

Probably the same is true in the following:  
yix<sup>u</sup>ela', EAGLE, yi'ix<sup>u</sup>ela'

As far as I can judge from my material the plural-diminutives are invariably derived from the diminutive form. This general principle of formation contrasts with that of Comox where the corresponding forms are always diminutized plurals, the first reduplicating syllable being of the diminutive type, the second of the plural type (cf. Sapir: *op. cit.* p. 34). With the exception of the words for "man" and "woman" the Snohomish plural diminutives are formed by repeating the reduplicating syllable of the diminutive form.

spetco', BASKET; pl. dim., spī'pīptco  
(dim., spī'ptco; pl., spē'tcptco)  
tē'sid, ARROW; pl. dim., tē'tetsid  
(dim., te'tsid; pl., te'tesid)

Llx'ai', DOG-SALMON; pl. dim., Lli'lx'ai'  
steqa'yu', WOLF; pl. dim., stitqa'yu'  
Llē'lbid, CANOE; pl. dim., Lle'lelbid  
t'klō's, OWL; pl. dim., t'it't'klos  
sq!Ebia', SKUNK; pl. dim., sq!ē'q!Ebia  
stcebe'dats, FIR; pl. dim., stcītcbi'dats  
xpai', CEDAR; pl. dim., xe'xepai'  
xebxeb, HAWK; pl. dim., xe'xebxeb  
sqē'xa', WOOL DOG; pl. dim., sqe'qeqxa  
dzidi's, TOOTH; pl. dim., dzidzedza'dis  
tcil'la', STONE; pl. dim., tcitcl'la'  
sbyau, FOX; pl. dim., sbi'bi'byau  
tca'las, ARM; pl. dim., tca'tca'telas  
k<sup>u</sup>ag<sup>u</sup>e'dtced, ELK; pl. dim. k<sup>u</sup>ak<sup>u</sup>ak<sup>u</sup>g<sup>u</sup>e'dtced  
sk!aqe'q, ROBIN; pl. dim., sk!ak!ak!ak!q<sup>u</sup>  
sō'pqs, SEAL; pl. dim., sō'sospqs  
ā'la', HOUSE; pl. dim., ā'a'ala'  
xa'tcu, LAKE; pl. dim., xa'xaxtcu  
kla'kla, CROW; pl. dim., kla'klak!kla  
stsa'li, HEART; pl. dim., stsa'tsatseli  
sq!al!, CLOUD; pl. dim., sq!a'q!aq!l!  
cau', BONE; pl. dim., ca'ca'cu'  
swawa', LION; pl. dim., swa'wa'wa'  
pō'ted, SHIRT; pl. dim., pī'pipoted  
sq!ā'ced, MOCCASIN; pl. dim., sq!e'q!eq!aced  
bo'q<sup>u</sup>, DUCK; pl. dim., bi'bi'bo'q<sup>u</sup>  
sq!a'la', OTTER; pl. dim., sq!e'q!e'q!a'la'  
bō'tcebe, MINK; pl. dim., bi'bibtcebe  
k!a'lu, SKIN; pl. dim., k!i'k!i'k!i'lu  
x<sup>u</sup>k!o'dced, FOOT; pl. dim., x<sup>u</sup>k!ē'k!ē'k!o'dced  
k!o'spl, TROUT; pl. dim., k!ē'k!ē'sk!i'spl  
L!tcebs, BOW; pl. dim., Lle'lel!tcebs  
sxīū's, HEAD; pl. dim., sxexxa'yūs  
stce'txud, BEAR; pl. dim., stcītctctxud  
axa', GOOSE; pl. dim., i'ix<sup>u</sup>axa  
sqebai', DOG; pl. dim., squi'quiebai'  
tcla'lasats, FERN; pl. dim., tcla'ltc!la'ltc!Elasats  
yix<sup>u</sup>ela', EAGLE; pl. dim., yi'yi'ix<sup>u</sup>ela  
spō'k<sup>u</sup>ab, HILL; pl. dim., spo'o'pōk<sup>u</sup>ab  
(dim., spo'o'k<sup>u</sup>ab, pl., spō'k<sup>u</sup>pōk<sup>u</sup>ab)  
syā'b, CHIEF; pl. dim., se'ē'ya'b  
(dim., se'ya'b)

The only two exceptions known to me of the above method of forming the plural-diminutive are the words for MAN and WOMAN.

stō'bc, MAN; pl. dim., stō'hotobc  
(pl., stō'bōbc, dim., stū'tubc)  
slā'dai', WOMAN; pl. dim., slā'ha'ladai'  
(pl., slālā'dai', dim., slā'tadai')

These two plural-diminutives are also derived from the diminutive form, but not by means of an additional reduplication, but by

an extension of the vowel of the reduplicating syllable of the diminutive.

It is a general rule that the accent in the plural-diminutive is thrown back on the first reduplicating syllable.

### CLALLAM-LKUŊGEN

Dr. Frachtenberg<sup>1</sup> has collected reduplications of the Clallam. He has kindly let me use the material in his manuscript. Where no other author is mentioned the Clallam-Lkuŋgen reduplications cited below were recorded by him.<sup>1</sup>

There are three distinct types of plural formation in Clallam. In the first the stem, including the consonant following the first vowel, is reduplicated. Dr. Frachtenberg's material seems to show that this type of plural is not very frequent.

xo'unt, PADDLE; pl., xo'<sup>m</sup>xwant  
stca'ninux<sup>u</sup>, SALMON; pl., stcintca'ninux<sup>u</sup>  
slinetcatl, GIRL; pl., slinlinatcālatl H.T.  
luq<sup>u</sup>, TO STICK; luq<sup>u</sup>luq<sup>u</sup>, STICKY H.T.  
dja'tdjutxum, TO BUILD A HOUSE B.

In the last example the reduplication includes the initial consonant of the suffix (-tx<sup>u</sup>, HOUSE).

The second type of plurals is formed by repeating the stem without the second consonant. Here we can distinguish between reduplications in which the reduplicating syllable repeats the quality of the stem-vowel and such in which the vowel is changed to *i* (or *e*).

sqo'ñtct, WILLOW; pl., sqōqō'ñtct  
q!wa'yin, EAR; pl., q!q!we'yin  
stō'owē, RIVER; pl., stō'taūwi  
paq!, WHITE; pl., pī'paq!  
qa'yīñ, EYE; pl., qēqa'yīñ  
anitsa'qu, RED; pl., anitsātsa'qu  
sma'yīts, ELK; pl., smime'yīts

Finally, the third type is not formed by reduplication, but by means of an extension of the stem-vowel.

sma'ts!en, SKUNK; pl., smaya'ts!ens  
tc<sup>u</sup>xwa'yō<sup>a</sup>, WHALE; pl., tcāyuxwē'yō<sup>a</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Compare: Hill-Tout JAI 37, p. 314

k!wa'yīñsin, SEAGULL; pl., k!waya'yīñsin  
L!ā'qt, LONG; pl., L!ā'yāqt  
ts!īla'altc, MAPLE; pl., ts!a'īla'altc

The material recorded by Hill-Tout in JAI Vol. 37 is from Lkuŋgen, a dialect very closely related to Clallam. The extension of the stem-vowel in the plurals of this dialect is not brought about by a *y*-glide, but by an *l*-glide; see for instance:

qa'ni, MAID; pl., qala'ñi H.T.  
kwā'niñ, ORPHAN; pl., kwelā'niñ H.T.

This difference between Clallam and Lkuŋgen corresponds to the shift of *l* to *i*, characteristic of Clallam.

The extension of the stem-vowel is often brought about by the introduction of an *i*-vowel:

sxās, BAD; pl., sxīyā's  
t!at!aū'sna', STAR; pl., t!i'yat!aū'sna'  
sx<sup>u</sup>nā'am, SHAMAN; pl., sx<sup>u</sup>niyā'am  
kwa'ckwac, BLUEJAY; pl., kwa'yickuc

The diminutives in Clallam seem to be formed regularly by a repetition of the stem exclusive of the second consonant. We can distinguish between diminutive reduplications in which the reduplicating syllable repeats the vowel of the stem and such in which this vowel is changed to an *a*. A corresponding type with a shift to *i* does not seem to exist in this dialect.

xo'unt, PADDLE; dim., xo'xwant  
paq!, WHITE; dim., pa'pa'q!al  
(pl., pī'paq!)  
xpaī', CEDAR; dim., xaxa'pē  
(pl., xīxa'pē)  
sqo'ñtct, WILLOW; dim., sqoqo'ñtct  
sqa'xa', DOG; dim., sqa'qa'xa  
(pl., sqa'ya'xa)

### Diminutive-reduplications with *a*-shift:

steqeu', HORSE; dim., stātēqeu'  
(pl., stitēqeu')  
ctcā'tcī'ayil, CHILD  
qu'nī, SEAGULL; dim., qwa'qun-ī  
tclī'tclaltc, SPRUCE; dim., tcla'tclitclaltc

In the following words not the same syllables are reduplicated in the plural and in the diminutive:



anitsa'qu, RED; pl., anitsitsa'qu  
dim., a'anitsa'qui  
anelat, BLUE; pl., anilē'lat  
dim., a'anelat

Diminutives which are not formed by reduplication seem to be very unusual, see for instance:

sma'yits, ELK; dim., sme'its  
k!wa'yañisin, EAGLE; dim., k!we'eyiñi'sin

The plural-diminutive is never derived from the plural, but always from the diminutive. It is not formed by an additional reduplication, but by means of extending the vowel of the reduplicating syllable of the diminutive. This extension does not seem ever to be brought about by an introduction of an *i*-vowel as is the case in many plurals derived from the simplex.

siqlē, HEAVY; pl. dim., sā'yāsē'qlē  
dim., sa'sē'qlē; pl., sa'yī'qlē  
tcēla't, THICK; pl. dim., tcā'ya'tce'tt  
dim., tca'tce'tt; pl., tēica'tt  
plaū'wi, FLOUNDER; pl. dim., plā'ya'pla'ūwi'  
dim., plā'pla'ūwi'; pl., plā'yau'wi'  
wāxa'f, FROG; pl. dim., wā'yāwaxa'f  
dim., wa'wāxa'f; pl., wiyā'xa'f  
sk!watō, RAVEN; pl. dim., sk!wā'yā'k!utō'  
dim., sk!wā'k!utō'; pl., sk!wa'yitō'

Lkuñgen has again the extension with *l* instead of *y*:

skā'kāla, INFANT; pl., skalā'kala H.T.  
slēlulkel, CHILD; pl., slālēlulkel H.T.

## SQUAMISH

Our material on the reduplications of this dialect is very meager. This is especially regrettable as Squamish is linguistically more or less independent from the other northern coast dialects.

Hill-Tout gives a list of plural reduplications: BAAS 1900, p. 497. Furthermore, the following examples are found in his vocabulary (*ibidem* pp. 513 *et seq.*):

ā'xūai, HOUSE-FLY; pl., oxā'xūai  
stāō'tl, CHILD; pl., stūtāō'tl  
tcūwa'c, WIFE; pl., tcūtcū'wac

suē'ka, MAN; pl., siwē'eka  
tcima'c, BROTHER-IN-LAW; pl., tcimtcima'c  
men, SON; pl., menmen  
slā'nai, WOMAN; pl., slinlā'nai  
Compare: slēniō'L, YOUNG WOMAN (Boas)  
(-ol= diminutive suffix)  
pl., slēnlēniō'L.  
sqā'qel, INFANT, is also a diminutive form.

From the examples cited above it is clear that as in other Salish dialects the plural is formed by repeating the stem either with or without the consonant following the vowel.

## NANAIMO AND LOWER FRASER

These are very closely related dialects. A list of Nanaimo reduplications is given by Dr. Boas: BAAS 1890, pp. 680-681. Hill-Tout gives a number from the Lower Fraser: BAAS 1902, p. 20.

There are two chief types of plural formation represented in this material. The first type consists in reduplicating the stem-syllable either with or without the consonant following the vowel.

### Nanaimo:

spāl, RAVEN; pl., spelpāl  
qelā'qa, CROW; pl., qelqelā'qa  
stā'lo, RIVER; pl., steltā'lō  
stā'altē, SALMON; pl., steltsā'alten  
lā'lem, HOUSE; pl., lalā'lem

### Lower Fraser:

skwomai', DOG; pl., skwomkwomai'  
smālt, STONE; pl., smemā'lt  
kwetlā'i, LOG; pl., kwetlkwetlī H.T.  
me'la, SON; pl., mā'mela

Compare: Squamish: men, pl., menmen H.T.  
seliā'tl, LITTLE GIRL; pl., siseliā'tl H.T.  
(-āt= diminutive suffix)

lukelu'kem, DRIVER (lu'kem= TO DRIVE) H.T.

The second type of plurals is formed by an extension of the stem-vowel by means of an *l*-glide:

### Nanaimo:

hā'pet, DEER; pl., halā'pet  
qā'qen, POST; pl., qā'laqen  
spā'qem, FLOWER; pl., spā'laqem

*Lower Fraser:*

q'āmi, MAID; pl., q'ā'lami  
yā'suq, HAT; pl., yā'lsuq.

This is the same type of plural formation as occurs in Lkuñgen and Clallam (extension with a *y*-glide in this dialect).

qa'ni, MAID; pl., qalā'ni Hill-Tout: JAI 37, p.314  
(Lkuñgen ñ < Nanaimo—Lower Fraser *m*)  
sqā'xa, DOG; pl., skalā'xa

The diminutive is formed as usual by a repetition of the stem exclusive of the second consonant and by a shifting of the accent on the reduplicating-syllable.

stā'lo, RIVER; dim., stā'telō B. (H.T.)  
stcā'atltē, SALMON; dim., stcā'tselatltē B.  
qā'qen, POST; dim., qā'qen B.  
spā'qem, FLOWER; dim., spā'pqem B.

Augmentative forms in Nanaimo are:

snē'xuitl, BOAT; aug., snō'xuōtl  
siā'm, CHIEF; sisia'm, HIGHEST CHIEF

There is one Lower Fraser example of a plural-diminutive formation in our material:

q'āmi, MAID; pl. dim., qakā'lami } H.T.:  
dim., qā'qami; pl., q'ā'lami } BAAS 1902 p.372

I regard this form very interesting when compared with the plural-diminutive forms of Clallam. While the plurals and the diminutives are formed according to the same principles in Nanaimo-Lower Fraser and in Clallam-Lkuñgen, this plural-diminutive form is derived in a different way. As already stated, the plural-diminutives of Clallam are always derived from the *diminutive* form with an extension of the reduplicating-vowel by means of a *y*-glide (Clallam *y* — < *l* in Lkuñgen, Nanaimo, etc.). But the Lower Fraser form qakā'lami is derived from the *plural* form by means of a diminutive reduplication. Compare for instance, qakā'lami with Clallam:

sta'tciñ, WOLF; pl. dim., stā'ya'ta'tciñ  
dim., stata'tciñ; pl., stā'ya'tciñ

## SESHOLT

The only material on reduplications from this dialect is that published by Hill-Tout in JAI Vol. 34.

The plural is formed by a reduplication of the stem with or without the second consonant:

stō'mic, MAN; pl., stē'mtōmic  
stekai'ū, HORSE; pl., stektē'akaiū  
lu'mstan, HOUSE; pl., lā'lumstan  
kwō'yiluk, TO MURDER; kwōkwōyi'luk, MURDERER

There are no examples of a plural formation by means of an extension of the stem-vowel as found so frequently in Clallam-Lkuñgen and Nanaimo-Lower Fraser. Compare for instance:

Sesholt: hō'pīt, DEER; pl., hephō'pīt H.T.  
Nanaimo: hā'pet, DEER; pl., halā'pēt B.

The diminutive is formed by the common process of repeating the stem without the consonant following the vowel. This is sometimes associated with a shift of the reduplicating vowel to an *i* (e):

tlu'mstan, HOUSE; dim., tle'tlumstan  
stō'lō, RIVER; dim., stō'telō  
hō'pīt, DEER; dim., hōhōpīt, FAWN  
skwukē't, SPLINTER; dim., skwē'kwukēt  
tlā'nai, WOMAN; līlā'nai, GIRL  
(Pentlatch: slā'alnaē, GIRL)

I can cite only the following three examples of plural-diminutive formation:

tlā'nai, WOMAN; tlī'tlīnlānai, GIRLS  
tlītlā'nai = GIRL  
mē'man, CHILD; mumē'man, CHILDREN  
swā'welōs, BOY; pl., swāwē'welōs

Compare:

Lower Fraser: swē'wilus, YOUTH;  
pl., swā'wilus H.T.  
Comox: wē'wālōs; pl., wē'wālōs Sapir.

Sesholt is a dialect closely related to Comox and Pentlatch. The form tlī'tlīnlānai is derived in the same way as the Comox plural-diminutives, namely, by a secondary reduplication of the plural form (see p. 170).

## COMOX

In his paper on "Noun Reduplication in Comox" (Geological Survey of Canada, memoir 63), Dr. Sapir has given us much valuable material. He has tabulated it in



numerous types and sub-types from a purely phonetic point of view. For our purposes of comparative study we can adapt a much simpler scheme of classification of types. The essential characteristics of plural and diminutive reduplications in Comox seem to me to be as follows. As in other Salish dialects there are two kinds of plural reduplication. In the first the stem is repeated including the consonant following the first vowel, for instance:

tsloxô''o, CODFISH; pl., tslo'xtsloxô''o  
qA'l'q!, WARRIOR; pl., qA'l'qalq!  
qêx<sup>u</sup>, RING FINGER; pl., qA'x<sup>u</sup>qêx<sup>u</sup>

In some cases the reduplicating vowel shows a shift to an *i*:

sā'pāxqs, HORN; pl., si'psāpāxqs  
sō'sin', MOUTH; pl., si'ssōsin'

In the second type of plural reduplications the stem is repeated without the consonant following the vowel. In this type the vowel of the reduplicating syllable changes to *i* (*e*) apparently with rather few exceptions.<sup>1</sup> Such are, for instance:

ā'x<sup>u</sup>, SNOW-FLAKE; ā'āx<sup>u</sup>, FALLING SNOW  
yi'p'i'x<sup>u</sup>, HOLE; pl., yā'yipi'x<sup>u</sup>

In the usual form with a change to *i* the accent is ordinarily thrown back on the reduplicating syllable:

sa''idja', LEAF; pl., si'sa''idja'  
tcā'yac, HAND; pl., tci'tcāyac  
sā''ya!, LAKE; pl., si'sā''ya!  
qā''ya', WATER; pl., qē'qā''ya'

As in other Salish dialects the diminutive is formed by repeating the stem exclusive of the consonant following the vowel. The vowel

<sup>1</sup> I do not think it is necessary to postulate another type of reduplication in which the vowel changes to *o* in the reduplicating syllable, for instance in such words as:

lā'g'zēt!a, HERRING; pl., lō'lā'g'zēt!a  
hē'g'vqs, CHIEF; pl., hō'hē'g'vqs  
(See Sapir: *op. cit.* p. 15)

As Dr. Sapir suggests, this peculiarity is most likely explained by the fact that *g'* which follows the vowel of the stem is etymologically equal to *w*. Thus Comox *g'* < *w* of Pentlatch.

of the reduplicating syllable either maintains the quality of the stem-vowel or shows a shift to *i* (*e*).

sō'sin', MOUTH; dim., sō'ssin'  
sō'padatc, TAIL; dim., sō''spadatc  
tlā''q!at', MOUNTAIN; dim., tlā't!q!ē't'  
xa''ā, BIG CLAM; dim., xē'xA''ā''a  
pa'xai', CREEK; dim., pi'p'xē''  
L!ā''q!wāi, FISH-GILL; dim., L!i''L!q!wāi

In those cases where the accent is thrown on the reduplicating syllable the vowel of the reduplicated syllable is frequently reduced or eliminated.

In those cases where the plural as well as the diminutive are formed by repeating the stem without the second consonant and by changing the vowel to *i* the two forms are ordinarily distinguished by the different position of the accent. It is thrown on the reduplicating syllable in the plural form, but remains on the reduplicated one in the diminutive.

tcā'yac, HAND; pl., tci'tcāyac; dim., tci'tcā''yac  
qā''ya', WATER; pl., qē'qā''ya'; dim., qēqā''ya'  
sā''ya!, LAKE; pl., si'sā''ya!; dim., sisā''ya!  
xā''adjaic, STONE; pl., xē'xā''adjaic;  
dim., xēxā''adjē'ic

As mentioned elsewhere the plural reduplication is not necessarily confined in Comox to the etymological stem. The initial consonant of a suffix may be included in the repetition; for instance in:

ma'qsin', NOSE; pl., ma'qimaqsin'  
dji'cin', FOOT; pl., dji'cdjicin'

The plural-diminutives in Comox are formed by a double process of reduplication, the first reduplicating syllable expressing the diminutive idea, the second that of plurality (see Sapir: *op. cit.* p. 34 *et seq.*).

L!i'kuinas, HEART; pl. dim., L!i'LEk'L!ikuinas  
al, LEGGING; pl. dim., ē'al'al  
yā'xai''i, PACK-BASKET; pl. dim., yi'yi'xiyāxai''i

## BELLA COOLA

From this dialect I can cite only a very few examples from the material of Dr. Boas.

*Plural:*

stn, TREE; pl., stntn  
me'na, CHILD; pl., mame'nts

*Diminutive:*

x'nas, WOMAN; x'ix'na's, GIRL  
(the plural of x'nas is formed by means of a  
suffix:  
x'na'cuks = WOMEN, cf: Boas: BAAS 1890,  
p. 679)  
qē'qtē, CHILD  
imi'lk, MAN; imilimi'lk, BOY  
(imilkuks = MEN)

imilimi'lk' is the only diminutive form that I can cite from any Salish dialect in which the reduplication includes the consonant following the stem-vowel. This type of reduplication is always characteristic of the plural.

## TILLAMOOK

Our material on the reduplications of this dialect is equally meager.

*Plural:*

t'anē, EAR; pl., t'ent'a'nē

Attention is called to the fact that in this word the reduplication includes part of the suffix, -(a)ne = EAR.

*Diminutive:*

snā'win, HOUSE; dim., snōnēnā'wun  
gaa'kal, BOY; dim., gōgaa'kal  
hane'luin, ARM; dim., hōhane'luin  
sqagā'yin, FOX; dim., sqōqagā'yin  
gōqa'nis, A YOUNG WHALE  
tōteyī'lhō, A LITTLE MAN  
stōtē'wat, SLAVE (stē'wat = MAN)

These few examples seem to indicate a diminutive reduplication with a shift of the vowel to *o*.

## CONCLUSIONS

It appears from the above presentation of material, that there are wide gaps in our knowledge of the processes of reduplication in the Salishan dialects. From a considerable number of dialects we have no material at all.

It is especially regrettable that this is the case with Nootsak, Twana, and Squamish, since these show a number of linguistic peculiarities. In spite of these deficiencies, however, a comparison of our material brings out a number of important points which I shall try to summarize in the following remarks.

The most general observation is that apparently all Salish dialects make use of the process of reduplication with the exception of Quinault. It must, however, be mentioned that we have no material on reduplications from Satsep, Upper Chehalis, Lower Chehalis, and Cowlitz. As these, especially Lower Chehalis, are the dialects which are most closely related to Quinault, it will be of interest to know whether they too are without the grammatical process in question. In regard to the presence of reduplications the Salish stock must be grouped together with Chemakum, Wakashan, and Tsimshian, as belongs to the great continuous area in which this process occurs, and must be contrasted against the area of the Haida, Tlingit, and Athapaskan, in which it is absent.

Reduplication is used in Salish pre-eminently for the formation of distributive-plurals and of diminutives and presumably also of augmentatives.<sup>1</sup> It is often closely asso-

<sup>1</sup> In the numerals reduplication of different types is used to express ideas distinct from those of the distributive and diminutive. Thus in Thompson (see Boas: BAAS 1898, p. 29-30) there are two reduplicated series of the cardinals, one for animals, the other for persons. Compare for instance:

mūs, FOUR (inanimate)  
mō'ms, FOUR ANIMALS  
mū'smust, FOUR PERSONS

Distributive numerals are also formed by means of reduplication. The animate and personal series of the distributives have a triple reduplication. Compare: moamō'ms (animate), musmū'smust (personal.) See also Lower Fraser: H.T.: BAAS, 1902, pp. 29-30.

In the Salish dialects there are furthermore a number of singulars that are reduplicated. For example: Lower Fraser: lā'lem, HOUSE (H.T.); Snohomish: xebxeb, HAWK (Hbl.); Shuswap: no'xenox, WOMAN (Hbl.).



ciated with the process of vowel extension. Reduplication is used in nouns as well as in verbs. In the inland dialects initial as well as terminal reduplication is used. The latter may be restricted to the inland. The only reduplication from the coast known to me which is not initial is Snohomish *stō'bōbc*, MEN, from *stō'bc*. The same word is reduplicated *ta'mtō'mic* in Comox. *stō'bōbc* is not properly speaking a terminal reduplication as the repeated *b* is the initial sound of the suffix *-bc*, MAN. From the large amount of material we have from Kalispelm it is obvious that terminal reduplication, that is to say, the repetition of the terminal sound of the stem, is a prominent feature in this dialect (see p. 161). Some of the plurals in Kalispelm are formed by terminal reduplication, whereas none of the diminutives seem to be formed by this process in that dialect. But from Thompson, Shuswap, and Okanagon, we have examples of diminutives formed by terminal reduplication. In Thompson and Shuswap a number of diminutives are also formed by internal reduplication. None of the plurals of these two dialects seem to be formed either by internal or by terminal reduplication. This shows a striking difference between these dialects and Kalispelm.

There are two large types of plural reduplication which seem to be common to all of the reduplicating Salish dialects. In the first type the stem including the consonant following the vowel is repeated, in the second this consonant is not included. There seems to be a general tendency that in contradistinction to the diminutive formations the accent remains on the reduplicated syllable. The dialects differ as to whether in the process of reduplication the stem of a word is regarded as a unit or not. Thus, in words which consist only of one consonant and of one vowel the initial sound of the suffix may or may not be included in the plural-reduplication. While in Kalispelm and Snohomish, the process does not extend beyond the stem, this is frequently the case in

Comox (see pp. 169-170). Compare for instance: Comox *ta'mtō'mic*, MEN. As far as I know, a prefix is never included in the reduplication in any of the dialects.

The general type of diminutive reduplication common to all of the reduplicating dialects consists in repeating the stem exclusive of the consonant following the vowel. This process is distinguished from the shorter type of plural reduplication by the more or less general tendency in the diminutive to throw the accent on the reduplicating-syllable. Compare for instance: Snohomish *sla'ladai'*, LITTLE WOMAN and *slaā'dai'*, WOMEN. A concomitant phenomenon of this shift of accent is the tendency towards reduction or elimination of the unaccented stem-vowel in the diminutive forms (see p. 164).

The vowel of the reduplicating-syllable of the diminutive may either be the same in quality as the stem-vowel of the simplex or it may show a shift. The most common shift of this kind is that to an *i*-vowel. This diminutive-reduplication with *i*-shift is a very persistent feature in the Salishan dialects and seems to be common to most of them; however, it does not appear to occur in Clallam, or in Thompson and Shuswap. The most frequent vowel-shift in the diminutives of Clallam is that to *a* (see p. 167). In Thompson and Shuswap the vowel of the reduplicating-syllable is normally the same as that of the stem.

As shown repeatedly in the above discussions, the plural or the diminutive of one and the same word may be formed in different ways in different dialects. For instance:

Seshelt: *hō'pīt*, DEER; pl., *hēphō'pīt*  
 Nanaimo: *hā'pet*; pl., *halā'pet*

and:

Kalispelm: *she'utem*, GIRL; pl., *shue'utem*  
 Shuswap: *ṣā'utem*; pl., *ṣuxāutem*

or:

Snohomish: *stō'bōbc*  
 Comox: *ta'mtō'mic*

While the general principles that underlie the formation of the plural and of the diminutive are practically the same for all the dialects, we find an entirely different state of affairs in the case of the formation of plural-diminutives. Almost each dialect follows a distinctive method of deriving these forms. Different psychological concepts obviously underlie this heterogeneity. Thus, in contradistinction to other dialects the Comox forms, as Dr. Sapir has pointed out, are, properly speaking, diminutized-plurals. The heterogeneity is all the more surprising when it is taken into consideration that in all of the dialects the plural-diminutives are, built up on the common principles of plural and of diminutive formation.

In Lillooet we find examples of plural-diminutives in which the first reduplicating syllable expresses plurality and is a repetition of the stem of the simplex, while the second syllable expresses the diminutive idea (see *skwumkōkōme't*, CHILDREN). This is the type of formation of plural-diminutives that is so typical of Thompson and Shuswap. It shows a high degree of relationship between these three dialects as far as the process of reduplicating is concerned. In Kalispelm they are apparently never formed by double reduplication, but are always derived from the diminutive of the simplex by means of an extension of the reduplicating vowel (see *sheushu'tem*). In this the Kalispelm method is identical in principle with that obtaining in Clallam and Lkuṇṅen. In these dialects the forms in question are derived from the diminutive by means of extending the reduplicating vowel by a *y* (Clallam) or an *l* (Lkuṇṅen) glide (see *p'lā'ya'p'lā'ūw'ī*, SMALL FLOUNDERS; *skalā'kala*, INFANTS). The plural-diminutives of Snohomish are formed by double reduplication (with the exception of the words for MAN and WOMAN), and are derived from the diminutive. The idea of plurality is expressed by repeating the reduplicating syllable of the diminutive (see for example: *spī'pīptco*, SMALL BASKETS.)

This feature distinguishes the Snohomish forms from the double reduplications of Lillooet on the one hand and of Comox on the other. Our material from Lower Fraser and Seshelt is very meager. The few examples from the latter show double reduplication, while the Lower Fraser form *qakā'lami* from *q'āmi*, MAID, represents a new type in which the plural-diminutive is derived from the extended, non-reduplicated plural (see p. 169). Finally, the Comox derivatives are formed by a process of double reduplication, in which the first reduplication is of the diminutive type, while the second is of the plural type.

The enormous diversity in the formation of plural-diminutives shows that they have been developed by a high degree of local differentiation. This contrasts strikingly with the comparatively great uniformity of the principles common to the plural and the diminutive reduplications of the whole Salish area. This situation suggests clearly that the plural-diminutives are genetically secondary to the latter. Another outstanding difference is that in one and the same dialect the plural-diminutives show great consistency in the regularity with which they are formed. In each dialect they are all derived, almost without exception, according to one principle. In contradistinction to this the plurals and diminutives of a given dialect are formed according to several principles and contain a number of irregular forms. This again is significant for the genetic priority of the plurals and of the diminutives as compared with the plural-diminutives.

From the point of view of the classification of the Salish dialects the plurals and the diminutives on the one hand and the plural-diminutives on the other, offer criteria of heterogeneous value for the degree of affiliation between the various dialects. The Salish plural-diminutives clearly presuppose the plural as well as the diminutive forms. They are, therefore, phenomena of a higher degree



of complexity. Where in two or more dialects the same principle is employed for the formation of plural-diminutives, we have a criterion for a very close affiliation. This is the case in Clallam and Lkuñgen, as well as in Thompson and Shuswap. It is obvious that when we shall have sufficient material from all the dialects, the plural-diminutives will be of con-

siderable importance for a refined grouping of the dialects with indications for the degrees of their linguistic affiliations. And as products of comparatively recent developments they will also be of general interest from the point of view of understanding the linguistic processes of local differentiation and of inter-dialectic borrowing.

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COMPARATIVE STUDIES IN TAKELMAN, KALAPUYAN  
AND CHINOOKAN LEXICOGRAPHY  
A PRELIMINARY PAPER <sup>1</sup>

By LEO J. FRACHTENBERG

INTRODUCTION

THE last ten years or so have witnessed an almost feverish activity in the field of American Indian linguistics, culminating in more or less successful attempts to reclassify and to reduce the seemingly too great number of linguistic stocks that are found on the American continent north of Mexico. It is by no means accidental that these efforts should have commenced at such a late date. It must be borne in mind that the real stimulus to a comprehensive and intelligent study of the various American Indian languages, both analytical and historical, came not from the writings of the earlier students but through the activities of Powell and Boas, especially through the comparatively recent undertaking of the latter to compile and edit a handbook of American Indian languages. Consequently, during the last ten years more voluminous data have been made accessible, in the form of grammatical sketches, vocabularies, and texts, than during any other previous period. The wealth of the material presented by the various investigators resulted in the perfectly natural tendency to look for and to establish, wherever possible, genetic relationships between the multiple linguistic stocks. Furthermore, it was perfectly natural that these reductive efforts should be applied to a field where the greatest multiplicity of stocks prevailed and where these stocks were observed to occupy a comparatively limited and, in most cases, continuous area. Two such areas,

peculiarly adapted for investigations of this sort, were found: the Pacific Coast, and the region adjacent to the Gulf of Mexico; and regardless of the relative merits of the reductions that have been thus far made in the linguistic stocks of these two areas, it seems unlikely that the enormous multiplicity of languages in these two littoral regions should be purely accidental.

The greatest diversity of aboriginal languages obtains in California where, according to previous investigators, are found not less than twenty-one linguistic families, or over one-third of all languages known to have been spoken by the Indians north of Mexico. Consequently, the first efforts towards a possible reduction were made in the California area. In 1914 Dixon and Kroeber <sup>2</sup> presented evidence tending to show that the twenty-one languages of California may be reduced to twelve distinct stocks. They claimed that the Yokuts, Wintun, Costanoan, Maidu, and Miwok languages are reducible to one group, called the Penutian languages; that Karok, Chimariko, Shasta, Pomo, Esselen, Yana, and Yuman form another, the Hokan group; that Chumash and Salinan are related; and that Yurok and Wiyot had a common origin. Simultaneously with this announcement came Sapir's paper <sup>3</sup> attempting to demonstrate a genetic relationship between Wiyot, Yurok, and Algonkin. Before and after these reduc-

<sup>1</sup> Published with permission of the Smithsonian Institution.

<sup>2</sup> New Linguistic Families in California (AANS, vol. iv, no. 4, pp. 647-655).

<sup>3</sup> Wiyot and Yurok, Algonkin Languages of California (AANS, vol. xv, no. 4, pp. 617-646).



tive attempts Sapir<sup>1</sup> presented voluminous evidence for a genetic relationship between the Shoshonean, Piman, Sonoran, and Nahuatl languages.

From now on the comparative investigations shifted to the north. In addition to verbal announcements made on several occasions by Sapir of his belief that a genetic relationship may be ultimately established between the Takelma and Coos languages of Oregon, he wrote a preliminary paper<sup>2</sup> on the ultimate relationship between Athapaskan, Haida, and Tlingit. In my own field I have collected a mass of material establishing a probable common origin for the Kusan, Siuslawan, Yakonan, and (perhaps) Kalapuyan languages which will be presented in the near future either in the conclusion to my grammatical sketch of the Alsea (Yakonan) language,<sup>3</sup> or else in a separate paper. I have, furthermore, gathered voluminous data supporting previously expressed contentions concerning the genetic relationship between Lutuamian, Wailatpuan, and Sahaptin, which will be published as soon as additional material from the Sahaptin field will be made available; and I have also good material for a comparative study of Salish, Chimakuan, and Wakashan. The latest efforts towards a re-classification of the Indian languages were made by Swanton<sup>4</sup> in the southeastern field which, however, are still in an experimental stage, although the Natchez-Muskogean relationship would seem a practically established fact.<sup>5</sup>

To be sure, a number of these reconstructions are by no means new ideas. They were formulated by previous investigators who, for lack of suitable data, could merely indicate but not follow them up minutely. Thus, the Uto-Aztekan relationship was suspected long

ago by Buschman and Brinton; similar ideas were held concerning Haida, Tlingit, and Athapaskan by Boas and Swanton; marked resemblances between Siuslawan and Yakonan were first noticed by Latham and Gatschet; Gatschet and Hewitt were convinced of a genetic relationship between Lutuamian, Wailatpuan, and Sahaptin; and Boas long ago called attention to the marked structural agreements between the Salish, Chimakuan, and Wakashan languages. Thus, it will be seen that, in most cases, the younger linguists merely tried to follow up and develop the deductions arrived at by their predecessors.

Concerning the merits of the relationships that have been promulgated thus far in print, not all of them are tenable when subjected to the acid test of minute and scientific criticism. This is especially true of the several proposed reductions in California. Thus Dixon's and Kroeber's presentation of Penutian and Hokan are exceedingly inadequate, both methodologically and in regards to subject matter. The conclusions arrived at by these two students are based upon such fragmentary material and presented so scantily that, while their Penutian and Hokan relationships may be probable, they are by no means a certainty. Comparisons presented of five or more stems and of a few formative elements and not backed by exhaustive grammatical sketches, can not be accepted as conclusive evidence, and all judgment concerning the correctness of these conclusions must be withheld pending the introduction of additional and extensive data. During a recent visit to San Francisco I was accorded access, for a brief time, to the comparative vocabularies of the so-called Penutian and Hokan languages that have been

<sup>1</sup> Southern Paiute and Nahuatl—a Study in Uto-Aztekan (*Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris*, NS., vol. x, pp. 379-425; and AANS, vol. xvii, no. 1, pp. 98-120; *ibid.* no. 2, pp. 306-328).

<sup>2</sup> The Nadene Languages, a Preliminary Report (AANS, vol. xvii, no. 3, pp. 534-558).

<sup>3</sup> Now in course of publication by the Bureau of American Ethnology as part of volume ii of the Handbook of American Indian Languages.

<sup>4</sup> Linguistic Position of the Tribes of Southern Texas and Northeastern Mexico (AANS, vol. xvii, no. 1, pp. 17-40).

<sup>5</sup> Ethnological Position of the Natchez Indians (AA vol. ix, no. 3, pp. 513-528).

compiled by Dixon and Kroeber, and while my superficial examination of this lexical material impressed me with the probable soundness of Dixon's and Kroeber's conclusions, I still must refuse to accept them as final, as long as these vocabularies are continued to be withheld from publication and until more morphological evidence is brought into play. Nothing is more dangerous and unsatisfactory in an investigation of this sort than to arrive at so-called final conclusions that are seemingly based solely upon lexicographical material. In the same way it would be wrong to deny the existence of a relationship between two languages, merely because the evidence of the lexical material is negative. It is well to bear in mind that in trying to establish genetic relationships between languages that seem to be, at first sight, non-related, lexical and morphological evidence must be treated separately, and that morphological evidence must be accorded greater weight. I believe it to be a fact, established by investigations in other linguistic fields, that lexicography is more easily subject to borrowing, to loss of words and stems, and to new additions; and that the formative elements and structure of a language are more stationary and less influenced by those of some neighboring tongue.<sup>1</sup> Of course, I am perfectly aware of the fact that instances may be cited where the morphology of one language has undergone changes due to borrowing. But these instances are so few that they, in no way, affect the correctness of my statement.

The absence of conclusive evidence concerning Penutian and Hokan is the more unfortunate, as there exist strong reasons to believe that the Takelman, Kusan, Siuslawan, Yakonan, Kalapuyan, and (perhaps) Chinookan languages spoken in Oregon may be proven to be Penutian sister-tongues. For that reason, the

additional collection of material from the Penutian field in California and the immediate publication of the data thus far collected would seem to constitute one of the most important tasks that confront the investigators in the California area. Without such material the Penutian theory must, for the time being, be held in abeyance, and the establishing of a relationship between California-Penutian and Oregon-Penutian must be deferred to the future.

Undoubtedly the strongest and best evidence adduced by Dixon and Kroeber is that upon which they base their conclusion concerning the genetic relationship between Yurok and Wiyot. The amount of lexical correspondences, the existence of phonetic shifts, and the presence of structural similarities are too numerous and too regular to be accounted for as due to accident or to borrowing, although it would be highly desirable to produce more evidence in the near future. But sufficient proof has already been furnished to justify a belief that additional material would rather increase than decrease the certainty of a genetic relationship between Yurok and Wiyot.

A very weak case of reduction is found in Sapir's previously mentioned attempt to classify Yurok and Wiyot as Algonkin languages, which, on the face of the evidence presented, is far from conclusive. The difficulties encountered by him were twofold: First, inadequate Yurok and Wiyot data, both grammatical and lexical; and, secondly, unfamiliarity with the intricate and complicated structure of the Algonkin languages. To the first are probably due the unsatisfactory and irregular correspondences quoted by him as based upon phonetic shifts, while the second has been responsible for the numerous comparisons of wrong morphological elements. Sapir's paper, more than any other effort, demonstrates the imperative necessity of basing all attempts at establishing relationships upon exhaustive and (phonetically) sound lexical material and upon

<sup>1</sup> A paper dealing with this question and particularly showing how dialects may undergo considerable lexical changes and still retain their full original structure, is in the course of preparation.



comprehensive grammatical sketches. Still, his evidence for the probable Algonkin origin of Yurok and Wiyot is of such a character as to take it out of the "purely accidental" class and to justify further researches in this field. It is, therefore, desirable, even imperative that in the near future, the Wiyot language be made the object of a thorough investigation and that this investigation be carried on by some authority on the structure of the Algonkin languages. To my mind, such a study, whether positive or negative in its results, will contribute far more to the general problem presented by the American Indian languages, than can be said of the continued researches into the minutest details of Algonkin word-formation or into the dialectic differentiations within the Algonkin family.

On the other hand, Sapir's articles establishing relationships between Uto-Aztakan and between Haida, Tlingit, and Athapascan are most convincing. The comparative data presented in these two papers are so voluminous and conclusive, covering not only phonetics and lexical material but also morphology and structural correspondences that, to my mind, the unreserved acceptance, by all students of the American Indian languages, of a genetic relationship between the Shoshonean, Sonoran-Piman, and Nahuatl families on one hand, and of a similar affiliation between Athapascan, Haida, and Tlingit on the other hand, is only a question of time. The extreme likelihood of these two reductive theories is undoubtedly due to the fact that all comparisons have been based upon extensive material; and although some of the Nadene correspondence may, upon further investigations, prove to be erroneous, sufficient correspondences have been found to meet the requirements of even the conservative and exacting scholars.

I have purposely dwelt at such length upon the efforts of my co-workers to reclassify and to reduce a number of so-called independent stocks, so that my own conservative attitude towards a potential genetic relationship be-

tween the Takelman, Kalapuyan, and Chinookan languages may become clear. While carding and indexing my Kalapuya field-material (collected three years ago), preparatory to the writing of a grammatical sketch of these languages, I was forcibly struck by some marked correspondences in the lexicography of Kalapuya and Takelma, and of Kalapuya and Chinook. The Kalapuyan-Chinookan agreements are far less than those between Takelma and Kalapuya; and I am willing to admit that some of these correspondences may be due to borrowing or, in part, at least, to unconscious substitutions, by my informants, of Chinookan equivalents for Kalapuyan values. Such a possibility must by no means be disregarded, in view of the close proximity and long contact that has existed between the peoples speaking these two divergent languages. Still, some of these resemblances are so peculiar as to render the exclusive theory of borrowing rather doubtful, especially since all Kalapuya data are not yet available. On the other hand, the resemblances between Kalapuya and Takelma are much greater and far more numerous, although, as has been stated before, only part of the Kalapuya data have thus far been tabulated. I am certain that a complete analysis of the lexical material of all Kalapuya dialects will substantially add to the amount of comparative data. Whether such an analysis will bring forth close morphological and structural correspondences, I am as yet unprepared to say. I am at present working out minutely the morphological structure of the Kalapuya language and will, upon the completion of this work, institute comparisons between the morphological elements of Kalapuya and Takelma. I will, however, state that the highly specialized character of Takelma may prove a serious obstacle in the finding of many positive correspondences. However, this statement must be taken as only tentative. There are so many radical agreements and disagreements between the structures of these two languages,

and the work on Kalapuya is in such a preliminary stage, that it seems highly desirable to be cautious and not to jump at any too hasty conclusions. But, the resemblances that have been observed thus far are so striking, and their bearing upon a general revision of our present classification of the languages of California and Oregon so important, that I feel justified in presenting these correspondences, deferring a conclusive discussion until all evidence has been carefully analyzed and critically sifted.

In view of the fact that only nineteen lexical correspondences have thus far been observed between Kalapuya and Chinook, while a comparison of Kalapuya and Takelma lexicography has yielded not less than fifty-five agreements, a discussion of phonetic shifts will be confined to only these two languages.

### PHONOLOGY<sup>1</sup>

Pending the presentation of additional comparative data, no attempt will be made to establish probable vocalic shifts in these two languages. The vocalic systems of Kalapuya and Takelma differ but slightly. The characteristic umlauted *ü*-vowel and diphthongs of Takelma are missing in Kalapuya where, however, we meet with an umlauted *ä*-vowel and *öi*-diphthong. In the consonantic systems of the two languages we find close correspondences on one hand, and marked disagreements on the other hand, which would seem to place Kalapuya, phonetically at least, midway between the vocalic, musical languages of the south and the consonantic, harsh languages of the north. Thus, the surd lateral (*l*) is missing in both, while its spirant equivalent (*l̥*) occurs rarely. Similarly, the alveolar and palatal spirants (*c*, *ç*) are lacking in both, and both languages show a constant variation between

*s* and palatized *s* (*ʃ*). Furthermore, the occurrence of aspirated surds (*p'*, *t'*, *k'*) is exceedingly common in both languages. On the other hand, the Takelma consonantic system is characterized by the absence of velar sounds (*g*, *q*'), both of which occur in Kalapuya; and it lacks the labial spirant (*f*), the mid-palatal spirant (*x*), the anterior palatal surd (*k̟*), the linguo-dental surd (*ʈ*), and the long (doubled) laterals and nasals (*l̥*, *m̥*, *n̥*), all of which are found in Kalapuya. Consonantic clusters occur in both languages, but they are greatly limited in numbers and can hardly be considered difficult.

Turning now to the question of possible phonetic shifts the following changes have been observed to occur with a marked degree of regularity:

Takelma *b* is represented in Kalapuya by *p*, regardless of position. (In one instance a Takelma *b* in medial position would seem to correspond to a Kalapuya *m*. cf. T. *tlibis'ĩ'* ANT; K. *t!moĩs*, ANT).

Examples:

T. *beyan-*, DAUGHTER; K. *pĩ'ne*, GIRL  
T. *bòp'*, ALDER; K. *pũ'p'*, ALDER  
T. *de'b-*, TO ARISE; K. *tāp-*, TO STAND

Takelma *d* corresponds to a Kalapuya *t*, regardless of position.

Examples:

T. *t'a'd-*, MATERNAL AUNT; K. *tāt'*, MATERNAL AUNT  
T. *o'd-*, TO LOOK FOR; K. *õt-* . . . *kwa'*, TO LOOK FOR  
T. *dō'm*, SPIDER; K. *to'*, SPIDER  
T. *dàn*, ROCK; K. *ta'* ROCK

Takelma *g* is represented in Kalapuya by *g*, *q*, *k* or *k̟*.

Examples:

T. *t'gwala'a*, OWL; K. *du'gulhu'*, OWL  
T. *t'gàm*, ELK; K. *tqa'*, ELK  
T. *naga-*, TO SAY; K. *nak'-*TO SAY  
T. *gā'm*, TWO; K. *kē'mā'*, TWO

<sup>1</sup> My phonetic transcription of Kalapuya sounds agrees in main with the recommendations made by the committee of the American Anthropological Association. No changes, however, were made in the transcription of the Takelma and Chinook words.

<sup>2</sup> The Takelma forms are quoted from Sapir's, "The Takelma Language of Southwestern Oregon," extract from Handbook of American Indian Languages (BBAE, 40, part 2).



Takelma *p, t* correspond, in most cases, to Kalapuya *p, t*.

Examples:

- T. plān, LIVER; K. pau', LIVER  
T. t'pālt', SNAIL; K. tpoi't', SNAIL  
T. t'libis-i', ANT; K. t'imois, ANT

Takelma *k* is represented in Kalapuya by *k, k̄, or q*.

Examples:

- T. duikl-, TO PUSH; K. tloik-, TO PUSH  
T. dak'-, TO FINISH; K. tlok-, TO FINISH  
T. bo'ik', CHIPMUNK; K. po'yaq, SQUIRREL  
T. klas-, MOTHER'S PARENTS; K. k̄ē'tso', GRANDMOTHER

Takelma *s* is found in Kalapuya as *s* or *ts*, while Takelma *ts* remains unchanged.

Examples:

- T. gwisgwas, CHIPMUNK; K. kwi'se'k', CHIPMUNK  
T. bāls, LONG; K. po's, LONG  
T. s'om, MOUNTAIN; K. t̄s̄ē'mo', MOUNTAIN  
T. al-ts'll, RED; K. t̄s̄i'lolō', RED

Takelma *l, m, n* remain unchanged, except on occasions when they form diphthongs with a preceding vowel,<sup>1</sup> in which cases they are represented in Kalapuya by the glottal stop (').

Examples:

- T. k'al, PENIS; K. qal, PENIS  
T. la'law-, TO CALL; K. lalaw-, TO SHOUT  
T. naga-, TO SAY; K. nak'-, TO SAY  
T. mēl, CROW; K. mo'la, CROW  
T. bāls, LONG; K. po's, LONG  
T. t'pālt' SNAIL; K. tpoi't', SNAIL  
T. t'gām, ELE; K. tqā', ELE  
T. t'gū'm, RATTLESNAKE; K. t̄k̄ā', RATTLESNAKE  
T. dān, ROCK; K. ta', ROCK  
T. plān, LIVER; K. pau', LIVER

Takelma *x* apparently becomes *f* in Kalapuya.<sup>2</sup>

Examples:

- T. mōx, GROUSE; K. muf, GROUSE  
T. mōxō, BUZZARD; K. tifo', BUZZARD

<sup>1</sup> See The Takelma Language, *loc cit.* p. 10.

<sup>2</sup> The same change apparently also takes place between a Chinook *x* and a Kalapuya *f* (cf. Chinook te'xēm, SIX; Kalapuya ta'fo SIX).

Takelma *h, y, w* remain unchanged in Kalapuya.

Examples:

- T. hūlk', PANTHER; K. hū'ts, PANTHER  
T. yok'y-, TO KNOW; K. yuk'-, TO KNOW  
T. wog-, TO ARRIVE; K. wōk-, TO ARRIVE

Having thus discussed the phonetic shifts that apparently take place in the two languages, it now remains to present the lexical correspondences that have been found in both.

### LEXICAL CORRESPONDENCES BETWEEN TAKELMA AND KALAPUYA

TAKELMA	KALAPUYA
1. bāls, LONG <sup>3</sup>	po's
2. bē, SUN, DAY	pyā'n
3. beyan-, DAUGHTER	pi'ne GIRL
4. bobōp', SCREECH OWL	tpopo'
5. bo'ik', CHIPMUNK	po'yaq, SQUIRREL
6. bōp', ALDER	pū'p'
7. dak'-, TO FINISH	t'lok-
8. dān, ROCK	ta'
9. de'b-, TO ARISE	tāp- TO STAND
10. dēl, YELLOW JACKET	tyāl
11. dip', CAMASS	tip'
12. dō'm, SPIDER	to'
13. -duikl-, TO PUSH	t'loik-
14. gā'm, TWO	k̄ē'mā'
15. gungun, (< *gun), OTTER	k'win
16. gwān, TRAIL	kau'ni'
17. gwisgwas, (< *gwis), CHIPMUNK	kwi'se'k'
18. ham- (ma-), FATHER	mā, mā'ma' <sup>4</sup>
19. has-, MATERNAL UNCLE	ha's
20. hilw-, TO CLIMB	hoil-, hōl-
21. hin- (ni-), MOTHER	nī <sup>5</sup>
22. hūlk', PANTHER	hū'ts
23. k'al, PENIS	qal
24. klas-, MOTHER'S PARENTS	k̄ē'tso', GRANDMOTHER
25. la'law-, TO CALL	lalaw-, TO SHOUT
26. lōm, CEDAR	la'
27. mēl, CROW	mo'la
28. mōx, GROUSE	muf
29. naga-, TO SAY	nak'-
30. o'd-, TO LOOK FOR	ōt- . . . kwa'

<sup>3</sup> Unless otherwise stated, the English equivalent is the same in both languages.

<sup>4</sup> Compare here Chinook -ma, -am FATHER.

<sup>5</sup> Compare here Chinook -naa MOTHER.

31. p'lan, LIVER	pau'
32. p'lol, SOIL	plo'
33. s'om, MOUNTAIN	tšē'mo'
34. t'ad-, PATERNAL AUNT	tāt'
35. t'a'g-, TO CRY	taq-
36. t'le'weks, t'lewex, FLEA	twāq
37. t'libis-i', ANT	t!moiš
38. t'gām, ELK	tqa'
39. t'ga'nt'gan (< *t'gan), FLY	tka'naq
40. tgū'm, RATTLESNAKE	tḱā'
41. t'gwala'm, OWL	du'gulhu'
42. t'pāl't', SNAIL	tpoi't'
43. al-ts'il, RED	tsilolō' (< *tsil)
44. wai-, TO SLEEP	wai-
45. woo-, TO GO FOR	wo-, wot-
46. wog-, TO ARRIVE	wōk-
47. xi'binl (< *xin), THREE	psin'
48. yāk'w, WILDCAT	yē'kwa'
49. yalg-, TO DIVE	yauk-
50. yēt, TEARS	ya't'
51. yo'g(w)-, TO MARRY	yūw-
52. yok'y-, TO KNOW	yuk'-
53. yōm, BLOOD	yū'

To these the following two additional correspondences may, perhaps, be added:

54. bo'k'd-an, NECK	pw'maq
55. moxò, BUZZARD	tifo'

### LEXICAL CORRESPONDENCES BETWEEN CHINOOK AND KALAPUYA

Let us now turn to the correspondences that have been observed between Chinook and Kalapuya. As has been stated before, these are less numerous. In this list are not included words that have been undoubtedly borrowed through the medium of Chinook jargon. The most interesting feature of these correspondences is found in the fact that, while in Chinook most of these words are stems that must be used with some affix, in Kalapuya they are treated as independent words. The following correspondences have been observed:

CHINOOK <sup>1</sup>	KALAPUYA
1. -cā'yim, GRIZZLY BEAR	ša'yim
2. -cgan, CUP	u'skan

<sup>1</sup> All Chinook vocables are quoted from Boas, "The Vocabulary of the Chinook Language" (AANS, vol. vi, no. 1, pp. 118-147).

3. -'lxaiu, SEAL	u'lxayū
4. koa'itst, NINE	kwi'sta
5. -ma (redupl.), FATHER	mā, mā'ma'
6. -mō'lak, ELK	mū'lukwa, COW
7. -naa, MOTHER	nī
8. pā'l, pā'lma, FULL	pā'lam, DRUNK
9. pō-, TO BLOW	pūl-
10. -pō'tselal, KINGFISHER	tša'lal
11. ptcix, GREEN	ptšix, BLUE, GREEN
12. -qelema, FALL SALMON	qa'l'am SILVERSIDE SALMON
13. -qelō'q, SWAN	qo'l'oq
14. -'qawen, SILVERSIDE SALMON	qau'wan CHINOOK SALMON
15. qoās (redupl.), CRANE	kwa'skwas
16. qui'nem, FIVE	wan'
17. si'namōkct, SEVEN	psinmiwē'
18. tē'xem, SIX	ta'fo
19. Lōn, THREE	psin'

### CONCLUSION

The correspondences quoted on the preceding pages are by no means exhaustive; and, while it is highly probable that, upon further investigations, some of them may have to be disregarded, I feel reasonably certain that a great deal of additional comparative material will be disclosed in the near future. It will be remembered that thus far less than one-third of all available Kalapuya data have been carded. The highly polysynthetic character of Chinook would be sufficient to render a comparison between this language and Kalapuya (which is inflective *par excellence*) an almost hopeless task, were it not for the great lexical and structural divergencies that have been noted to exist within the Kalapuya dialects themselves. The Kalapuya family consists of seven distinct dialects that may be sub-divided into three separate groups: the Northern (embracing Yamhill and Atfalati); the Central (to which belong the Santiam, Lakmayut, Ahantsayuk, and Mary's River dialects); and the Southern group (consisting of Yonkalla). Now, while the work on each of these dialects is far from being completed, enough data have already been extracted to give us a bird's eye view of the lexical and



structural differences that exist between the separate groups. Thus, some very distinctive traits have been noted in the northern group, where a great number of nouns which, in the other groups, appear as independent words, are treated as suffixed stems. For that reason, a conclusive discussion of the probable genetic relationship between Chinook and Kalapuya will depend largely upon whether the distinctive traits of the northern dialects are due to bodily borrowing from the immediately adjoining Chinook or whether they represent a survival of structural features that have become lost in the other dialects. Until this problem has been settled, we must refrain from jumping at any too hasty conclusions concerning the probable Chinook-Kalapuyan affiliations, no matter how tempting such conclusions may appear.

Turning now to the Takelma-Kalapuyan aspect, the possibilities of a probable ultimate relationship are much stronger, although in this case also extreme caution must be exercised, at least for the time being. The structural differences between these two languages are too great to be entirely wiped away because of lexical correspondences of even the closest type. I shall mention only some of the most salient distinctive traits. Nominal incorporation is lacking in Kalapuya, and pronominal incorporation is confined to the object. All subjective relations are expressed by means of the independent pronouns which precede the verb in the form of very loose prefixes; similarly possessive relations are ex-

pressed by means of loose prefixes. No distinction is made, in Kalapuya, by means of phonetic changes between aorist and non-aorist stems, tense being indicated by means of particles. On the other hand, there are evidences of structural elements which, when considered from a numerical point of view, would seem peculiarly typical of these two languages. Among these correspondences may be mentioned: the lack, in both languages, of a dual number; of an inclusive and exclusive person; the absence of nominal cases; the considerable use of end-reduplication and the total absence of initial reduplication; the presence of instrumental affixes denoting body-part nouns (in Kalapuya these appear as suffixed particles; in Takelma as prefixes); and the apparent absence of distinct verb-stems for the singular and plural.

To sum up, while the correspondences that have been noted between Kalapuya and Chinook on one hand, and between Kalapuya and Takelma on the other hand, are too numerous and too close to be explained away by a theory of accident or recent borrowing, they are not conclusive enough to constitute adequate proof for a genetic relationship between these three linguistic stocks. Such an assumption, to be correct, must be predicated upon the introduction of additional material, especially from the field of Kalapuya linguistics. And I make bold to predict that additional data will be produced in the near future, for, it must be remembered, this is after all only a preliminary paper.

## REVIEWS

## MOSETENO VOCABULARY AND TREATISES.

BENIGNO BIBOLOTTI, Priest of the Franciscan Mission of Inmaculada Concepción de Covendo in Bolivia. From an Unpublished manuscript in possession of Northwestern University Library. With an Introduction by Rudolph Schuller. Northwestern University: Evanston and Chicago, 1917. pp. cxiii, 141, facsimile, map of Bolivia.

The external facts leading up to the publication of this sumptuously printed volume are given by Dr. Schuller in his preface: "Northwestern University Library possesses a fairly large collection of unpublished Spanish manuscripts which are probably unique in the United States . . . Professor Lichtenstein, Librarian of Northwestern University, acquired this material, consisting of books, pamphlets, early periodicals and the like, from Señor Donato Lanza y Lanza during a sojourn in Bolivia. In September, 1916, Professor Lichtenstein asked me to arrange and collate the manuscripts and prepare them for the binder. While examining the different packages in order to make a preliminary selection of the papers according to the subjects treated in them, I found Bibolotti's manuscript dealing with the Moseteno language. The unexpected discovery is all the more important since it concerns extensive materials gathered together by a yet unknown author of a relatively little studied Bolivian aboriginal idiom spoken by Indians who have almost vanished. If there are still a few of them remaining without foreign admixture, they are destined to be absorbed completely in the near future by the process of amalgamation . . . Within a few years the name of the Moseteno will be added to the alarmingly long list of extinct South American Indian tribes." The manuscript is the work of an Italian Fran-

ciscan, concerning whom very little is known; it was written some time between 1857 and 1868.

The Moseteno, also known as Chumanos or Chomanes, are or were one of the Andean tribes of western Bolivia; their territory was embraced within the present province of Yungas. More exactly, to quote from Dr. Schuller, "the habitat of the Moseteno-Chumano embraced the mountainous regions to the east of the Beni, more or less between 15° and 16° south latitude, and 69° to 71° longitude west of Paris. Their eastern neighbors were the Yurucaré; in the north they reached as far as the territories occupied by Mobima and Moxo, or Mojo, tribes, and in the northwest they touched Tacana and Leco speaking peoples. The natural border to the south and the west is the range of the higher Andes."

Dr. Schuller's editorial work has been most painstaking, and the volume is a highly welcome addition to our knowledge of the exceedingly tangled and obscure problems of Bolivian linguistics. In his lengthy introduction Dr. Schuller discusses first the manuscript; the author; the Moseteno Indians and the Franciscan Missions ("in spite of uninterrupted intercourse for many centuries with the more highly developed culture of Peru and Bolivia, the primitive tribes, like the Moseteno, Tacana, Leco, Araona, etc., were not much influenced"); and gives a critical analysis of previous writings on Moseteno. Pages xxviii to xcv of the introduction give a digest in English of our present knowledge of Moseteno, as based on Bibolotti and other writers (Weddell, Heath, Armentia). This section includes notes on phonetics; vocabularies; grammatical processes (nouns: number, gender, formation of nouns, grammatical cases; adjectives; pronouns: personal, possessive, relative and demonstrative, indefinite, interrogative; numerals; adverbs; prepositions; conjunc-



tions; verbs: verbal stems, classification of verbs, tenses, the imperative mood, the participial mood, other moods); and general observations on suffixes, reduplication, and affiliated languages and peoples. Of the three appendices, one is devoted to a full bibliography of manuscript and printed sources. The body of the work is a transcript of Bibolotti's Spanish text (Spanish-Moseteno vocabulary and supplementary papers).

A few of the more interesting points may be noted here. Sex gender is indicated in nouns and adjectives by distinctive suffixes (e. g., *izanqui-t* "baby boy;" *izanqui-s* "baby girl;" *moči-t* "new" m.; *moči-s* "new" f.). There is a genitive suffix in *-s* or *-si*, also a number of local case suffixes. The curiously widespread American second person singular in *m-* meets us here once more (*mi* "thou"). Pronouns are not welded with the verb stem, but occur independently (e. g., *ye queči* "I plant"). A considerable number of verbal suffixes have been isolated by Dr. Schuller, but more intensive study of Moseteno, at first hand, if possible, is needed to make clear their functions. Phonetically, Moseteno would seem to be "far from agreeable to the ear;" it has many "clusters of totally heterogeneous consonants." In this respect it differs from Tacana, Cavineño and other languages of the Bolivian highlands, approaching the "Chaco-Guaycurú linguistic family, although it does not have the slightest affinity with the latter." Nevertheless, Dr. Schuller finds that "the morphological and syntactical structure convey the impression that the Moseteno is related to the Tacaan group, and particularly to the Cavineño."

Dr. Schuller leaves no doubt of the thoroughness of his task, and students of American linguistics owe him a very real debt of gratitude. Perhaps one may be pardoned, however, for expressing the wish that penetrating first-hand phonetic and morphological studies of a number of South American languages, of a standard corresponding to some already accessible for certain North American languages,

be vouchsafed to us in the course of time. These interminable vocabularies, grammatical notes, and classificatory speculations are, let us hope, but the harbingers of more substantial meals.

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GEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF CANADA,  
OTTAWA, ONT.

GEERS, G. J. The Adverbial and Prepositional Prefixes in Blackfoot. L. van Nifterik, Leiden: 1917.

This excellent doctor's dissertation consists of two parts: a critical discussion of the nature of the elements that enter into the Algonkin verb, and a list of nearly 150 Blackfoot verbal prefixes with illustrations drawn from text material.

The character of the highly complex verb of Algonkin has been examined by Jones, Michelson, Uhlenbeck, and others, and is too intricate for detailed review here; except for a statement of Dr. Geers' conclusion that this part of speech is "a compound of various elements (verbal, adverbial, nominal, etc.) characterized as a verbal form by means of a verbal ending." American students have sought, admittedly with qualified success, to find the rules by which verb building is controlled or limited in these languages. Dr. Geers' position seems to be that there are no limiting rules, and that, except for the crystallization of idiom, elements of any character can enter the complex. It is the verbal ending, and not any relation of the constituents, that makes the verb. This interesting conception the author considers documented by the second part of his work; but as the material in his list of prefixes there is not synthesized, his new evidence, while perhaps sufficient, does not substantiate his proposition as directly as might be. The somewhat aggressively controversial tone is to be regretted, as weakening rather than strengthening the keen analysis displayed in the paper.

Particularly is this true of the strictures on William Jones, the modern pioneer in this field, whose farther progress in the subject was cut off by his early death.

It may be added that while the problem in question must be solved by strictly technical means, its bearings are certainly of some general interest. The Algonkin family of languages is one of the most widely spread and populous in America; its distribution in part coincides with lines of cultural cleavage; and its type is an extremely peculiar or radical one. Its characteristic qualities clearly culminate in its verbs; so that a just understand-

ing of these promises to be of ultimate significance to anthropologists engaged in other lines of work.

The author is to be congratulated on his capacity for analytic criticism; and Professor Uhlenbeck on his success in stimulating another productive convert to American philology. Anthropologists in this country will appreciate the interest developing in this field abroad, and can but be the gainers by hearty cooperation with the new Dutch school.

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## PENOBSCOT TRANSFORMER TALES

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### INTRODUCTION

THE following material is part of a collection of mythological texts obtained from Newell Lion of the Penobscot tribe, at Oldtown, Me. After devoting parts of several years prior to 1910 to a general study of Penobscot ethnology, I fortunately joined forces with Mr. Lion, who through a life-long interest in his native literature, has become a sort of *raconteur* among the Indians. Our combined labors then narrowed down to a study of linguistics and mythology. I am glad to pay him well-deserved tribute by stating that he has shown the interest and natural ability of a scholar in our common work. Discounting the fact that he himself ranks as the principal informant among the older men, he was wise enough to consult other old people for corroborative and supplementary material. Consequently I feel quite safe in presenting this version of the transformer trickster-cycle as being fairly complete and typical so far as the Penobscot are concerned.

No previous attempt has been made to record texts in the Penobscot language, although Professor Prince has recorded some short texts in its near relative, Passama-

quoddy, and has occasionally remarked in comparison on characteristics of Penobscot grammar.<sup>1</sup>

In the versions of eastern Indian myths given by the authors, there is, however, an undertone of untrue if not inferior reconception, which takes away the smack of originality that every reader feels the true examples of native oral literature should possess. This is unfortunately the case with all the hitherto published material from this region. Without exception, it has been interpreted and rendered in an altered form. Irresponsibility for the intrinsic worth of the original must pass by before primitive literature is free to make its own appeal to the interest of students.

Among the tribes forming the Wabanaki, or north-eastern Algonkian group, the mythical personage known as the "Deceiver"<sup>2</sup> figures pre-eminently in the rôle of the transformer-trickster. Already a number of published versions of the hero-myth are available from the Micmac,<sup>3</sup> the Malecite,<sup>4</sup> and the Passamaquoddy,<sup>5</sup> although the myths of the last-named people are not presented objectively enough nor recorded critically enough to be of much value for comparison. Incidentally I have also prepared another set, in text form, from the Wawenock.<sup>6</sup> Accordingly, when

<sup>1</sup> J. D. Prince, *The Differentiation Between the Penobscot and the Canadian Abenaki Dialects* (A A 4 [1902]: 17-32).

<sup>2</sup> Penobscot, *Gluska'be*; Wawenock, *Gluska'be*; Passamaquoddy, Malecite, and Micmac, *Glu'skap*.

<sup>3</sup> S. T. Rand, *Legends of the Micmacs* (New York and London, 1894); F. G. Speck, "Some Micmac Tales from Cape Breton Island" (J A F L 28: 59-69).

<sup>4</sup> W. H. Mechling, *Malecite Tales* (G S Can, Anthropological Series, No. 4); E. Jack, *Maliseet Legends* (J A F L 8 [1895]); and F. G. Speck, *Some Malecite Tales* (J A F L 30 [1917]).

<sup>5</sup> C. G. Leland, *Algonquin Legends of New England, or Myths and Folk-Lore of the Micmac, Passamaquoddy and Penobscot Tribes* (Boston, 1884); C. G. Leland and J. D. Prince, *Kuloscap The Master and Other Algonkin Poems* (New York and London, 1902).

<sup>6</sup> This small tribe formed a division intermediate in dialect between the Penobscot and Aroosaguntacook (St. Francis Abenaki), formerly living southwest of Penobscot Bay, and now settled at Becancour, P. Q.



more versions from the widely separated bands of Micmac and from the Passamaquoddy and St. Francis Abenaki<sup>1</sup> are available, we shall be in a position to discuss the problems of the culture-hero concept among the tribes of this group.

As regards the Glusk̓'be myth, making due allowances for individual variations in the narrative, we may assume that in each tribe there is a more or less standard pattern which embraces the individual versions. These versions may, however, show a considerable range in the sequence and choice of episodes forming the whole. Much seems to depend upon the personality of the narrator. In this region there are no organized cults to hold before the people a fixed version of any myth, no matter how important it may be. There is no attempt anywhere to correct tendencies toward divergence in narration, no tendency to eliminate intrusive features which may seem to fit the pattern, and there is no single personal source of authority for the stories. We must, in short, conceive the picture of life among these nomadic hunting-people to understand how myths are handed down, and how the versions are governed by individual tastes, individual memory, and local factors, such as interest, time, place, and like circumstances. Individuals who may be gathered together in camps hear stories, which they may remember in whole or in part, the particular features of which may be lost and ultimately forgotten through mere accident of circumstance. In small tribes we can thus appreciate how myth elements may be lost to the dialect if by chance through a generation they do not happen to be repeated to hearers who may number all told not more than several hundred souls. Radin<sup>2</sup> discusses very clearly both sides of the question of the priority of fixed or correct versions of myths

over the fluctuating element-construction. On the whole, it would be difficult to find sufficient reason, in the existing material from these tribes, to assert the contrary to what has been assumed.

Briefly, in the Penobscot transformer cycle, Glusk̓'be appears in the mixed rôle of a shaman, trickster, and a somewhat altruistic culture-hero. His benevolence grows as the story of his career progresses. Consecutive geographical transformations show considerable forethought for his 'descendants' by which are meant the Indians of the present era. In the animal kingdom, however, most transformations may be laid to more trivial causes, vengeance or rivalry. Other causations are found in first results, apparently accidental actions, becoming future fixed traits. In general the episodes in myths of the eastern region correspond well with those of the central and northern Algonkian, the common elements being re-combined in various ways in different tribes.

My present object is, however, not to attempt a discussion of the eastern transformer concept, but to offer carefully prepared objective material until we have sources sufficient to warrant conclusive comparisons.

As regards transformer characters, several other secondary personages may be noted in Penobscot mythology,—Kwun'a'was ("Long-Hair"), Bi'-'tes ("Froth"), and Gesi'lat ("Fast-Runner"). The first two of these are included in this paper; others will be presented in a subsequent part. The "Froth" story is as remarkable for its contents as is the Glusk̓'be cycle, in that it shows the virgin birth concept and the well-known Achillean conquest combined in the same tale. Discussion of these interesting phenomena is to form a separate study, for our main concern at present

zague, an Abenaki married to a Huron woman, related several episodes in the career of Glusk̓ba', the Abenaki form of the name.

<sup>2</sup> P. Radin, *Literary Aspects of American Mythology* (G S Can, Bull. 16 [1915]).

<sup>1</sup> It seems almost too late to hope to secure an Abenaki version of the myth. The only reference so far to the hero in Abenaki was encountered by the writer in 1908 at Indian Lorette, P. Q. Jean Baptiste de Gon-

is to make available the body of the north-eastern Indian material.

# EXPLANATION OF THE CHARACTERS AND SOUNDS IN PENOBSHOT

a	. .	as in <i>father</i> , of medium length.
a'	. .	lengthened.
e	. .	open medium, about as in <i>met</i> .
ε	. .	long open e, as in North German <i>Bär</i> .
e'	. .	close and long, like <i>a</i> in <i>say</i> .
i	. .	short, as in <i>pin</i> .
i'	. .	long and close, like <i>ee</i> in <i>queen</i> .
o	. .	close, medium in length.
o'	. .	close and longer, with more protruding lips.
u	. .	like <i>oo</i> in <i>boot</i> .
u'	. .	long, with protruded lips.
æ	. .	dulled form of short <i>a</i> , like <i>u</i> of English <i>but</i> .
ɔ	. .	short obscure vowel of uncertain quality, like <i>e</i> in <i>flower</i> .
ɔ'	. .	rather long, like <i>a</i> in <i>fall</i> ; ɔ, open and shorter.
b-p	. .	bilabial stops.
d-t	. .	alveolar stops, no lingual-dental contact.
g-k	. .	medial palatal stops.
s-z	. .	dorsal sibilants.
tc and dj	. .	surd and sonant sibilant affricatives, corresponding respectively to English <i>ch</i> and <i>j</i> .
m	. .	as in English.
n	. .	as in English.
ŋ	. .	palatal nasal, like <i>ng</i> of English <i>sing</i> .
l	. .	as in English.
l'	. .	soft lateral surd, tongue-tip and alveolar contact, preceded and accompanied by aspiration. The effect of this sound is approximated by condensing vowel followed by aspiration and <i>l</i> ; ( <i>i'la</i> ).
h	. .	as in English.
w	. .	as in English.
y	. .	as in English.
ɛ	. .	nasalized vowel, <i>q</i> , <i>q</i> , etc.
ʔ	. .	aspiration following vowel or consonant.
ˈ	. .	accent stress; ˈ secondary stress.

A superior dot following a vowel or consonant denotes lengthening.

There is a rhetorical tendency among the purest speakers to separate two consonants coming together by a weak vocalic glide.

<sup>1</sup> Published with the permission of the Division of Anthropology, Geological Survey of Canada.

This largely eliminates the consonant clusters from Penobscot, which occur commonly in neighboring dialects. Furthermore, in Penobscot, the endings of words are slurred in utterance. There are no pronounced tone modulations. In recording the texts, where the narrator occasionally varied in the pronunciation of words, the variances were retained for their rhetorical value.

## TALES OF GLUSKĀ'BE "THE DECEIVER"<sup>1</sup>

### I. GLUSKĀ'BE'S CHILDHOOD

ndatlo'kq'gan	Gluskā'be	wi'gi'djik
My story	Gluskā'be.	Lived
moni'mkwes'u	na'ga	o'kwenas'al'
woodchuck	and	her grandchild
Gluskā'be	omā'djegənan	māsi'gegwas
Gluskā'be.	He grew up,	everything
udagi'ki'mun	eli'gado'n'kemun	na'ga
she taught him,—	how to hunt,	and
e'li'a'tc	a'malut	na'me's'a'
also how	to catch	fish,—
		so that also
gi'za'uwəsehi'dit	ma'lām	Gluskā'be
they could live.	At last	Gluskā'be
de'bəgil	ogi'zawe'kəhan <sup>2</sup>	ta'mbi'al
grew up enough	that he could handle <sup>2</sup>	bow and
ba'kwal	na'ga	o'kəmas'al'
arrows,	and	to his grandmother
		he said,
ali'ta'wi	ta'mbi	na'ga
"Make me	bow	and
		arrows,
nəga'di'gadona'lan	no'lke	ki's
I want to hunt	deer;	already
		I am
wa'damən	ma'təgwe's'wi'ye	na'ga
weary	of rabbit-meat	and
name's'i'ye	nogi'wo's'an	uni'lan
fish-meat."	Then he roamed in the woods,	he slew
	deer.	deer.
ki'i'	wli'dəha'zu	moni'mkwe's'u
Ki'i'	she rejoiced	Woodchuck.
		Very

<sup>2</sup> Between ten and thirteen years of age.



oga'bami'dəhaməl kwe'nas'al' mi'na  
proud she felt of her grandson. Again  
ki'u'set nuni'ʔan awe's'susal' bedjo'set  
he roamed, then he slew a bear. Coming  
bedəwa'məl awe's'susal' udi'ʔan  
carrying back the bear, he said  
o'kəmas'al' awe'nowa' moni'mkwes'u  
to his grandmother, "What creature is this?" Wood-  
chuck

wanagi'gədahō na'ga obəməgete'si'nan  
jumped up and danced quickly,

e'dudji' wuli'dəhazit udi'ʔan kwe'nas  
so greatly she rejoiced. She said, "Grandson

ktci'awa's ne'ʔat awe's'sus nagasi'bi  
a great beast killed, bear! And indeed

ni'kwup' ko'lausi'nenə mse'la pəmi'  
now we shall live well, abundant fat,

ku'li'tc muwi'pi'bəna ga'matc<sup>1</sup>  
and you did well. We shall live richly!" "Greatly

nkwe'nas ga'di kinha'n'do ni'gi'ni'də-  
my grandchild will be great magician, I greatly

ha'mə ne'gəmatc we'li'hala e'lmausi't  
trust he also will do wonders as he goes

no'sə'snawa' wzam mi'li'gan nesa'-  
for our descendants, because various dan-

naŋgwa'k kedona'lgohodit ni'kan'i  
gers will seek to destroy them, in the future

mi'li'gowa awa's'a' kedona'lgohodi'djihi  
various beasts will seek their lives,

na'gadja'tc si'buwal ugi'ziuli'tona'ldj  
and besides rivers he can transform

we'dji q'da ado'dji nsa'naŋgwa'donuk  
so that not ever so dangerous they are."

Gluskə'be udi'ʔan o'kəmas'al'  
Gluskə'be said to his grandmother,

Nda'tcwe'ldamən kədage'kimin eli'tqzik  
"I should like you to teach me how to make

a'gwi'dən we'dji'tc ka'dona'luk si'psak  
canoe, so that hunt ducks."

nəmoni'mkwes'u udi'ʔan ke'le't  
Then Woodchuck said, "Surely

kədage'ki'mal' nkwe'nas noda'toli'na  
I will teach you, grandson." Then they made a  
canoe.

mala'm'te ugi'zi'tona agwi'dən ki'i  
At last they finished making canoe. *Ki'i!*

uli'dəhazu Gluskə'be na't'e obo'sin  
she rejoiced. Gluskə'be right then embarked

udasi'psak amə'staha si'psa' ma'ləm  
ducking he secured quantities of ducks. At last

sala'ki be'dji kəsələ'm'səni'ke  
all at once came a great deal of wind.

nda'tegəni gi'zi'ami'li'bi'ye wzam  
Not enough he paddle out because

ela'm'sən gi'wo's'an kpi' uga'don'kan  
such a wind. He went about in the woods, he-  
hunted,

eli'dəhazit ga'madje't na'gahogat  
thinking, "Very evidently slow

e'ligadon'ka obə'dəgo's'an omə'djin  
is hunting." He turned back, he went

wi'gwomuk  
home.

## TRANSLATION

Here starts my story of Gluskə'be. He lived with his grandmother, Woodchuck. She raised him and taught him everything—how to hunt, fish, and how to make his living. When he grew up large enough to use a bow and arrow, he said to his grandmother, "Make me a bow and arrows, as I want to hunt deer; I am already tired of rabbit's meat and fish." Then he roamed away and killed a deer, and she was glad. She was very proud of him. Then next he roamed away and killed a bear. "What creature is it?" he asked her when he brought it home. She was glad, and began to dance. "You have killed a bear, a great piece of meat. Now we shall have plenty of fat. We shall live richly." Said she, "He will be a great magician. He will do great wonders for our descendants as he goes on," thought she to herself, "because various dangers will in the future endanger their lives,

<sup>1</sup> Here follows a soliloquy by Woodchuck.

different beasts will seek their lives, also rivers, and he can transform them so that they will not be dangerous." Then Gluskə'be said to his grandmother, "I should like you to show me how to build a canoe, so that I can hunt ducks."—"Surely I will teach you, grandson!" So she taught him how to build a canoe, and at last it was finished. She was glad when he paddled out to get ducks. He got a great many.

Now at last, as time went on, the wind got so strong that he could not paddle about. He tried hunting in the woods, thinking, "Hunting is evidently very slow." So he returned to his wigwam.

## 2. GLUSKƏ'BE BAGS ALL THE GAME-ANIMALS

ma'nit'e wulə's'in uda'bonuk umədje'n'tun  
Then he lay down on his bedding, he began to sing,

ali'nsin'tu e'tcwe'ldak bi'e'səwi'ye  
so singing his words wishing for made of hair

ami'gənagwe we'dji nəgə'm'i'hat awa's'a'  
receptacle, so that he could secure more easily the beasts.

moni'mkwes'u ola'bin na'ga udli''tun  
Woodchuck sat down and made

no'lkai bi'e'swi'ye mi'gənagwe<sup>1</sup> gizi''-  
deer hair material receptacle.<sup>1</sup> When

tək'w udla''kewun kwe'ns'al' da''tama  
done she tossed it to her grandchild. Not

tcani'n'to Gluskə'be nemi''na mu'si'bi'e-  
he ceased singing Gluskə'be. Then again of

swi'ye kəda'k udli''tun moni'mkwes'u  
moose-hair material another she made Woodchuck.

mi''na udla''kewun pe'səgwun e'lin'tək'w  
Again she tossed it to him, still singing.

ne'dudji ma'newadak'w moni'mkwes'u  
Thereupon pulling Woodchuck

<sup>1</sup> They used to have game-bags made of woven animal wool or hair. *Mi'gənagwe* is, however, more specifically a birch-bark basket.

abi'e'somal' udli''tun kəda'k mi'gə-  
her hair, . she made another recepta-

nagwe moni'mkwes'wi bi'e'səwi'ye<sup>2</sup>  
cle of Woodchuck hair material.<sup>2</sup>

nagasi'bi uli'dəhasin Gluskə'be  
Then indeed he was glad Gluskə'be

e'bəgwa'tc ala'mi'zu nomə'djin kpi-  
on account of it he thanked her. Then he left in-  
the woods,

na'ga ugaga'loman' awa's'a' udi'lan  
and he called for beasts. He said,

ne'udabazik'w awa's'əduk ga'di-  
"Come assemble, you animals! It will be,

metka'mi'ge kənaka'n'ebatc nəge'hel'a  
end of the world. You will all perish." Then-  
accordingly

awa's'ak usakhaba'si'na eki'ki'ki'djik  
animals came forth of all kinds.

nodi'lan i'yu bi'zabə'zik'w nemi''-  
Then he told them, "Here you all get inside my-

gənagwek natc a''tama knami''tona  
bag, here not you will see

metka'mi'gek na'ga ne'ka bi'gi'daba'silit  
the end of the world." And then they all entered

mi'gənagwek amədjewa'lan wi'gwomuk  
the bag, he carried it to the wigwam.

udi'lan o'kəmas'al' ən'i'' no'kəmi  
He said to his grandmother, "So! grandma,

nəbedji'p'han awa's'ak nə'djini''kwup'  
I come bringing game-animals. From now on

q'da nsa'gibabmigio'se'wan nono'de'san  
not I (shall have) such a hard time wandering for-  
game." Then she went out

moni'mkwes'u elə'bit məzi' eki'kigit  
Woodchuck looking at all sorts of

awa's məzi' ayo'lduwak mi'gənagwek  
animal all they were there in the bag.

ubi'di'gan moni'mkwes'u udi'lan  
She went in Woodchuck, she said to

kwe'nas'al' a''tama kola'lo'keu kwe'nas  
her grandson, "Not you did well, grandson,

<sup>2</sup> That is why the Woodchuck has only a thin coat of hair on her belly to this day.



gwa'skwaləmolduwa'gtc      ni'ka'ni  
they will starve to death      in the future  
go'sə'snawa      udi'lan      ki'a      nkwe'nas  
our descendants." She said, "You, my grandson,  
ki'a      kəni'kalodəguk      go'sə'snawak  
you      I have great confidence in you      for our-  
descendants.

mo'za'k      nalalo'kekate      kda'tcwi'da'kik  
Don't      do that ever,      for you must  
ala'lo'ke      dante      weli'ha'lgohodit      go'sə'-  
work,      whatever      they will benefit      our-  
snawa'      Gluskə'be      ola'm'sədawan  
descendants."      Gluskə'be      believed her  
o'kəmasal'      nono'de's'an      na'ga  
his grandmother,      then he went      and  
abi'kwəde'nəmən      ami'gənaɡwe      udi'lan  
opened up      the bag.      He said  
awa'sa'      noda'basik'w      gi's      pəmi'le  
to the animals, "Come out, already has gone past  
e'linsə'nəɡwak      mədja'basik'w  
the dangers.      You all go out!"

## TRANSLATION

Then he lay down on his bedding and began to sing, wishing for a game-bag of hair, so that he might get the beasts more easily. His grandmother Woodchuck then made him a game-bag of deer-hair. When it was finished, she tossed it to Gluskə'be; but he did not stop singing. Then again one of moose-hair she made, and tossed it to him; but he did not stop. Then, pulling woodchuck-hairs from her belly, she made one of those. Gluskə'be was indeed glad, and he thanked her. Then he went into the woods and called all the animals. He said to them, "Come on, you animals! the world is coming to an end, and you animals will all perish." Then the animals of all kinds came forth; and he said to them, "Get inside my bag here! In there you will not see the world come to an end." Then they entered the bag, and he carried it to the wigwam. "Now, grandmother," said he, "I have brought some game-animals.

From now on we shall not have such a hard time searching for game." Then Woodchuck went and saw all the different kinds of animals which were in the bag. She went into the wigwam, and said, "You have not done well, grandson. Our descendants will in the future die of starvation. I have great hopes in you for our descendants. Do not do what you have done. You must only do what will benefit them, our descendants." Gluskə'be heeded his grandmother. He went and opened the bag, and said to the animals, "Go out! The danger has already gone by. Go out!" And they scattered.

## 3. GLUSKƏ'BE TRAPS ALL THE FISH

medji'mi      pabə'mile      nbedji'latc  
Always      he went about.      Then when he returned  
wi'gwomwak      una'mihan      o'kəmas'al'  
to the wigwam,      he saw      his grandmother  
edaləme'li'djil      mala'm'te      osi'gi'dəhamal  
there fishing.      At last      he became impatient.  
nda'taməɡwi'na      ubə't'həwi'a      name's'a'  
Not really much      she caught      fishes.  
eli'dəhə'zit      me'wia      wi'djo'ke'moge  
He thought,      "Better      I help her  
no'kəmas      we'djiə'da      sa'giamek'w  
my grandmother,      so that not      so difficult fishing."  
nodli'tun      kse'nəɡan<sup>1</sup>      k'wəsaɡə'i  
Then he made      a weir<sup>1</sup>      across  
si'bu      səŋgəde'təɡwek      ni'gi'zi'tak'w  
the river      at the river-mouth; then, when it was made  
uda'znəmən      eba's'i      wedji'tc      name's'ak  
he made an opening      half way,      so that      the fish  
bi'thi'laha'dit      ne'dudji      mədje'bi'et'  
could enter;      then      he started paddling  
ami'li'      so'beguk      na'ga      aba'bmigagaləwun  
out upon      the ocean      and      round about called.  
udi'da'mən      name'səduk      ga'di'      si'n'ki'le  
He said      to the fishes,      "It is going      to run dry

<sup>1</sup> The Indians made rock and brush fences part way across streams, so that they could spear fish as they passed through the opening left in the middle.

so'bek'w ga'di met'ka'mi'ge mäs'i'tc  
the ocean, going to be end of the world, and all

ki'läwa kənək'q'neba nani'kwup'  
you will die. So now

ngi'zi'tun we'dji'tc pma'zo'ldi'ek'w  
I have made so that you will all live,

mäs'i' tan noda'wi't name's'i'nag'zit  
all that hear me of the fish kind

bi't'hi'latc näzi'bomuk mäs'i'tc kəbmau-  
enter in my river, and all you will-

zo'ldi'ba wzam medji'mi'tc a'yu  
live, because always will exist

näzi'bum ni'kwup' mazi' tan  
my river. Now all that

noda'wit bi't'hi'latc  
hear me will enter."

na'lau name's'ak eki'ki'gi'dji'k  
Then coming the fish all kinds

ma'lam psa'n'te yu' kse'nangan  
at last it was full this fish-weir;

nogu'p'hamən te'dali-medji'mi azu'ldi'dit  
then he closed it, then there always they were-  
enclosed.

ne'nomä'djin awi'gwomwak nodi'tan  
Then he went away to his wigwam. Then he said to

o'kəmas'al' ən'i' no'kəmi' qda'tc  
his grandmother, "Enni" grandma, never

ni'kwup ksa'gi'qmeu' i'bi'tdetc  
now you fish so hard only will

kəna'djip'hak na'me's'ak tan edu'dji  
you go and get fishes as much as

tcwe'imat nəmoni'mkwes'u nodji'-  
you want." Then Woodchuck then went to-

dəbəna'uzin tan owa' ugi'zi'ala'lo'kan  
examine what he he had worked at.

nəma'be'djo's'et yuda'k kse'nangan  
When she arrived here, the fish-weir

wuli'psa'n'te eki'ki'gi'hi-dit na'me's'ak  
brimful all kinds fish,

e'bəgwa'tc kaba'kə'wadi'hadowak ma'djetan  
on account of it they crowded each other out. She  
left

moni'mkwes'u bedji'lat wi'gwomwak  
Woodchuck and came to the wigwam.

udi'tan kwe'nas a'tama kola'lo'keu  
She said, "Grandson, not you have done well,

mazi'ne'k'a'tahat na'me's'ak tandj  
all annihilating the fish. How will

wudlauzo'ldi'na go'sə'snawak ni'ka'n'i  
they finally all do our descendants in the future,

wzam gi'u'na gwa'skwai'ge'sit na'me's'a'  
should you and I have plenty as many fish

tan ge'si'tcuwe'lmak'w ni'kwup'te  
as many as wish? Now at once

nq'dji no'dahale gehe'la o'nq'gin i'dak  
go turn them loose." Accordingly he got up, said,

ko'lame no'kəmi nq'dji pkwu'dəha'la'ηk'  
"You are right, grandma, I will go open it up

ni'kwup'  
now."

## TRANSLATION

Then he went wandering about. When he returned to his wigwam, he saw his grandmother there fishing. He at last became impatient, as he saw that his grandmother was having a hard time fishing. Then he thought, "I had better help my grandmother, so that she will not have such a hard time." Then he made a weir across the mouth of the river, and left an opening half way in the middle, so that the fish could enter. Then he started out upon the ocean, and called everywhere to all the fish, saying to them, "The ocean is going to dry up, the world is coming to an end, and you will all die; but I have arranged it so that you will all live if you will listen to me. All who hear me, enter into my river, and you will live, because my river will survive! Enter all ye who hear me!" All kinds of fish came, until the fish-weir was full; and then he closed it up and held them there. Then he went to his wigwam, and said to his grandmother, "Now, grandma, you will not have to fish so hard, you will only have to go and gather as many fish as you want." Then Woodchuck went to examine what he had



done; and when she arrived, she saw the weir brimful of all kinds of fish that were even crowding one another out. Then she went back, and said to her grandson, "Grandson, you have not done well by annihilating all the fish. How will our descendants manage in the future, should you and I now have as many fish as we wish? Now go at once and turn them loose!" Accordingly he said, "You are right, grandmother, I will go and open up [the weir];" and he went and turned them loose.

#### 4. GLUSKĀ'BE TEMPERs THE WIND

nodami''k'ənəmən Gluskā'be kwesawa'pskek  
Then he overturned Gluskā'be a rocky point,

u'dji'tun wudu'l<sup>1</sup> nodasi'pso'kan  
he made of it his canoe.<sup>1</sup> Then he went duck-  
hunting

wudo'luk pəna'pskolak'<sup>w</sup> ədagwi'na  
in his canoe of hollowed-out stone. Not indeed

uni'łəwi'a' si'psa' medji'mi kəsəla'm'sən  
he killed birds; always the wind blew,

sa'gi'gi'zi'bi'e mala'm'te sala''ki  
he could hardly paddle. At last suddenly

muska'wi'le eli'dəhəzi't tana'gi'ma  
he grew angry, thinking, "What

ali'dəbi'le edu'dji medji'məla'm'sak  
causes such continuous winds?"

i'dam Gluskā'be no''kami nəga'di  
Said Gluskā'be, "Grandma, I am going

gwi'lawa'tun də'nwedla'm'sak moni'-  
to search for where the wind blows." Wood-

mkwes'u i'dam nkwe'nas ga'matc  
chuck said, "Grandchild, very

nawa'doge i'dak Gluskā'be ndlo'san  
far away." Said Gluskā'be, "I am going there,

da'nte be'loda'k nəga'di na'miha awe'n  
no matter how far. I am going to see who

gi'zi''tak'<sup>w</sup> gəsəla'm'sən na'bi'tc be'djo'se  
makes the wind. Soon I shall return."

<sup>1</sup> No particular locality is indicated.

nomā'djin we'tcsak na'lo'set əkwā'bo'se  
Then he went against the wind going; as he-  
gained headway,

ahā'dji aŋgwa'məlam'sən ma'lam təba'was  
further increased the wind. Then on the seventh

ge'sogəna'ki'wik gi'zawa''katc gi'zo''se  
day he could hardly could walk

edu'dəlam'sak məsi' manəla'm'senal  
such strong wind. All blew off

ubi'e'somal mala'm una'mihal eda'li-  
his hair. Then he saw there, swaying-

gwanewi'lit ktaha'n'dwi' si'bəs mala'm'te  
his wings slowly, a great magic bird. Then,

mabe'djo'se awa''katc e'i'lit ktci'si'psal  
when he came there with difficulty where was the-  
great bird,

udi'łan nəmo''sumi' ndaha'be't ki'si'ha'-  
he said, "My grandfather could not you-

dawan aŋgwo'məla'm'sən nəktci'si'bəs  
possibly make stronger wind?" Then the big bird

udi'łan no''səs na'te tege''sigi'zi'ha'dawa  
said, "My grandchild, that's as much as I can-  
make."

Gluskā'be udi'łan ni''kwup' ni''kwəba  
Gluskā'be said, "Now now if possible

aŋgwo'mi'spa'bi'ane ye'e' + nəma't  
sit higher up far over there

təkwaŋk'i' edali'spadənek nəba''  
on the hill where there is a peak, then ought

aŋgwo'məla'm'sən<sup>2</sup> i'da'k si'bəs  
blow stronger.<sup>2</sup> Said the bird,

nada'tegəni' kwe'nas yu'te e'bi'a'  
"Not able am I, grandson; here I have sat

ne'ge'get'oge udi'łan Gluskā'be  
since the beginning." Said Gluskā'be,

nəmo''sumi' ni'atc kwi'djo''kəmal  
"My grandfather, I indeed will help you."

si'bəs i'dak eda'git'e ki'si'  
The bird said, "If so you can

wi'djo''kəmi'ane ke'hele't ndlo'san  
help me, surely I will go there,

<sup>2</sup> Mentioned by the narrator as another one of Gluskā'be's deceptions following the spirit of those narrated in the two preceding episodes.

wzam nda'tcwe'ldamən məsi' elkwe'bi'a  
because I wish that all facing where I sit

wuli'gəsəla'm'sən nəGluskə'be awi'-'  
to have benefit of wind." Then Gluskə'be took

xowa'man<sup>1</sup> ktci'si'psal' oma'dje'wa'man  
him on his back<sup>1</sup> the big bird, he carried him off.

mala'm'te eda'li'spa'se'gek neda'li  
Then where the high peak was, there

bali'p'hat ktca'wa'is nəkcti'si'bəs  
he dropped him accidentally, then the big bird

təmilgwane'te'sin nəGluskə'be odji'mədjɪn  
suddenly had his wing broken. Then Gluskə'be went  
away.

malam'te uwi'gwomuk ube'djo'set udi'lan  
At last to his wigwam he came. He said

o'kəmas'al' ənni' natc ni'kwup'  
to his grandmother, "So! here now

no'li'si'pso'kan ni'kwambtc medji'mi  
I shall have good duck-hunting and now always

wuli'awi'bən ke'helat'e wula'wi'bən  
it will be good calm." Surely it was good calm,

na'lau udasi'pso'kan me'dji'mawibən  
then he went duck-hunting always it was calm,

kə'spən'e' ge'sak a'gwaŋwa'lzəbi  
thick, so much scummy water,

a'tama e'ləwe gi'zi'bi'e udi'lan  
not it seemed he could paddle. He said

o'kəmas'al' e'ləwetc mi'na ndlo'sən  
to his grandmother, "I think again I will go where

kəsəla'm'sən e'i't wza'mi medji'ma'wi'bən  
the wind is, because it is always calm."

mi'na oma'djin ktci'si'bəs e'i't  
Again he went (where) the big bird was;

ma'lam nəma' bedjo'set nda'tama  
then, when there he came, it did not

wewi'nəgo'wi'a'l wzam mi'na gi'zi'gənuł  
recognize him, because again already grown

ubi'e'soma Gluskə'be udi'lan ktci'si'psal'  
his hair. Gluskə'be said to the big bird,

nəmu'sumi danali'dəbi'le edu'dji  
"My grandfather, what is the reason so much

medji'mi awi'bək ta'nəgwabe't ali'dəbi'le  
always it is calm?"— "For the simple reason

se'nabe i'yu'dali be'djo'sən abala'sədəbe  
a man here came bald-headed,

madji'nəg<sup>w</sup>su uda'tcwe'ldamən aŋgwa'-  
evil-looking, he wished stronger

məla'm'sən nasə'ke di'lan ndadje'li'tun  
wind, so then I told him I could not manage it,

na'te tega'gi gi'zi'ha'dawa ndi'ləgun  
this was as much as I was able. He told me,

kəma'djewa'mələn edali'spadənek nəge'he'l'a'  
'I will carry you to where it is higher'. Then,  
sure enough,

madjewa'mit nəbəna'kaləgun ndəmi'lg-  
he carried me; then he dropped me, and my

wane'te'si'məgu'n ni'kwup' pe'səgwut'e  
wing was broken, now just one

i'bi' nələgwan udi'lan Gluskə'be  
only, my wing." Said Gluskə'be,

nəmu'sumi ni'a'tc mi'na gəbə'dəgo'-  
"My grandfather, I again will carry you-

sa'lal e'bi'anəban na'gatc kuli'to'lan  
back where you would sit and also heal

kələgwan udi'lan eda'git'e kwe'nas  
your wing." He said, "Forsooth, grandchild,

ali'gi'zi'hada'wane ga'mədjɪtc noli'dəhasi  
if you could do it, very much I should rejoice;

gi's ga'matc i'yu nsi'wəs'i'nən  
already very here I am tired lying."

neGluskə'be uwi'xoa'man udlo'sa'lan  
Then Gluskə'be took him on his back, he carried-  
him

ebi'li'dəbən uli'ta'wan uləgwa'nal  
where he would sit, he healed his wing.

udi'lan nehe' nəmu'sumi agwe'-  
He said, "Nehe!" grandfather, try

dji'ləgwa'newi nəgehe'l'a ktci'si'bəs  
moving your wing." Then surely the great bird

udag'wedji'ləgwa'newi Gluskə'be  
tried to move his wing. Gluskə'be

ugi'bla'm'soge ni'dak si'bəs ga'matc  
blew over. Then said the bird, "Very much,

<sup>1</sup> X, accidental soft guttural spirant, resulting from collision of ' and h.



kwe'nas kədala'mihi Gluskə'be udi'tan  
grandchild, you have pleased me." Gluskə'be said,  
nəmu'sumi ni'kwup' mo'zak mi'na  
"Grandfather, now do not again  
ado'dji medji'mi da'leləgwa'newi'katc  
so much always use your wings so steadily,  
wza'mi medji'məlam'sak nda'tama  
because continuous winds, not  
go'sə'snawak gi'zi gado'n'kazo'ldi-wiak  
our descendants can hunt for their living,  
edu'dlam'sak tane'dudji da'li'ləgwa'newi'an  
such winds whenever you move your wings  
nda'tama go'sə'snawak gi'zi si'pso'-  
not our descendants can hunt-  
kazo'ldi-wiak wzam a'tama awe'n  
ducks, because not any one  
gi'zi'bi'e so'beguk ni'kwəbaba'  
can paddle on the ocean. Now, if possible,  
na'nəgwutc ke'gi ali'ləgwane'wi'ane  
sometimes for a day move your wings,  
a'la ni'so'gəni nə'gədandala'si'mi  
or else for two days, then rest  
ke'gi ndjəwe'dji'gi'zi si'pso'kaso'ldi-dit  
a day, so that they can hunt ducks  
go'sə'snawak so'beguk i'dak si'bəs  
our descendants on the ocean." Said the bird,  
ko'lame kwe'nas e'lwet'e't wza'mi  
"You speak truth, grandson. I guess too much  
medji'məla'm'sən ni'kwəbət c'da ado'dji  
steady wind (there was), and from now not such  
medji'məla'm'sənu nəma'djin wi'gwomuk  
steady wind." Then he departed to his wigwam  
Gluskə'be nəmabe'djo'set wuli'dəhasu  
Gluskə'be. When he arrived, she rejoiced  
moni'mkwes'u  
Woodchuck.

## TRANSLATION

Then Gluskə'be overturned a rocky point and made of it a canoe for himself. Then he went duck-hunting in his hollow stone canoe. He could not kill any birds, as the wind blew so hard that he could hardly paddle about.

At last he suddenly grew angry, thinking, "What causes such continuous winds?"

Then Gluskə'be said, "Grandma, I am going to search for the place where the wind comes from."—"It is very far," said his grandmother. "No matter how far away it is," said he, "I am going to find out who causes it. Soon I shall return." He went away, going against the wind, it growing stronger as he went. On the seventh day he could hardly walk, it was so strong. It blew off all his hair. Then he saw a great magic bird slowly waving its wings, making the wind. Then, when he reached the place with difficulty, he said, "Grandfather, couldn't you possibly make stronger wind?"—"Grandchild, that's the best I can do," said the big bird. Then Gluskə'be said, "If you could possibly sit higher up, far over there on the hill on the peak, you would make it stronger."—"No, grandson, I could not," said he; "I have sat here since the beginning of things."—"I will help you, grandfather," said Gluskə'be. "Very well," said the bird. "If you will help me, I will go, because I want all who face me to have the benefit of my wind." Then Gluskə'be took the big bird on his back, carried him to a high ledge, and there dropped him accidentally, so that he suddenly broke his wing. Then Gluskə'be left, and went home. "Now," said he, "I shall have good duck-hunting. We shall always have a calm." Then he went out paddling. Surely it was calm. The water grew so thick with scum, that he could hardly paddle. Said he, "I think I will go again there where the wind is. It is always too calm." Then he went to where the great bird was. The bird did not know him now, when he arrived, because Gluskə'be's hair had already grown out again. "What has always caused so much calm, grandfather?" asked Gluskə'be of the big bird. "Simply that an ugly bald-headed man came here and wanted stronger wind; and I told him that I could not manage it, that it was all I could do; and he told me he would carry me on to a higher place. Then,

sure enough, he carried me; and he dropped me and broke my wing. Now I have only one wing." Then said Gluskq'be, "Grandfather, I will carry you back again where you sat, and will also heal you."—"O grandchild!" said the bird, "I should rejoice so much if you would. I am already tired of lying here." Then Gluskq'be carried him, and put him back where he wanted to sit, and healed his wing. "Now, grandfather, try your wing." And the bird tried his wing, and it was healed. Gluskq'be was blown over. The bird was very glad. "Very much you have pleased me, grandchild."—"Now, grandfather," said Gluskq'be, hereafter do not use your wings too steadily, because our descendants cannot hunt for their living when there are such continuous winds. When you move your wings, our descendants cannot paddle or hunt ducks on the water. Now, if possible, wave your wings a day or for two days, then rest a day, so that our descendants can hunt ducks on the ocean."—"You speak the truth. I guess, grandson, there was too much wind. From now on there shall not be such strenuous wind." Then Gluskq'be went home; and when he arrived, his grandmother rejoiced.

5. GLUSKQ'BE STEALS TOBACCO FROM GRASSHOPPER, AND BESTOWS IT UPON THE WORLD

monim'kwes'u Woodchuck	udi'lan said	Gluskq'bal' to Gluskq'be,
nkwe'nas "My grandchild,	kmi'tsana'zi'bna we are out of	udama'we tobacco."
Gluskq'be Gluskq'be	udi'lan said,	dana'skwe "Where lives
udama'we tobacco?"	moni'mkwes'u Woodchuck	udi'lan said,
ami'li on the water	ktci'mana'hanuk on a big island	tca'las Grasshopper

<sup>1</sup>A commonly recognized unit of measure, known as a "look." In the open or on the water this would mean about a league; in the woods, about two hundred yards, as the term is used by the Indians.

eda'li'madje'ganat there raises	udama'weal' tobacco;	ke'nuk but
nda'tama not	ugi'ze'lma'wi'al he will share it,	sagi'nag'zu he is stingy,
na'ga and	a'tci' besides	ki'nha'n'do great magician
Gluskq'be Gluskq'be	udi'lan said	o'kemas'al' to his grandmother,
gi'zi'ha'dawun am able	ugi'ze'lmun to distribute	udama'weal' the tobacco."
noli'tun Then he made	agwi'dan a canoe.	malam'te At last,
udjawa'panamən he put it in	nəbi'k in the water	na'ga and
lteka'mən with his foot.	nəbedji'səwi'le Then it glided	pe'səgwəda once
tegagq'bi'muk' <sup>1</sup> as far as one can see. <sup>1</sup>	nda'tegəni Not enough	te'bi' sufficiently
kəsi'kawi'le fast enough goes	wədu'l his canoe.	ni'kəda'k Then another
na'tc and also,	gi'zi'tək'w when it was made,	udjawa'panamən he launched it,
udebi'gəda'hin he jumped in,	udami'ltekamən he pushed it off with his foot.	nəbedji'- Then-
səwi'le it glided	ni'səda twice	tegagq'bi'muk' a "look"
a'tama not	udebi'na'muwan it was sufficient.	nəmi'na Then again
udli'tun he made.	gi'zi'tək'w When it was made,	udjawa'panamən he launched it,
mi'na again	udebi'gədahin he jumped in,	ami'ltekamən he pushed it off with his foot
nsə'da thrice	tegagq'bi'muk a "look"	bedji'səwi'le it glided.
nagasi'bi' And then	e'bəgwatc because of it	abede'lmū he laughed.
nudli'dəha'man <sup>2</sup> Then he wished <sup>2</sup>	tca'lsal Grasshopper	ki'u'se <sup>3</sup> to be cruising away-
from home <sup>3</sup>	so that	

<sup>2</sup>The magic will possessed by the conjurers.

<sup>3</sup>Denotes to be abroad in the woods in search of favorable conditions for hunting. This is a common Indian occupation.



ne'gəma      ni'gi''kanat      udama'weal  
he              could secure              his tobacco.

bedjo'set      nəmə'      gehela't'e      a''tama  
When he arrived      there      sure enough,      not

tca'las      a'yi'      məsi'      ge'səlat      tca'las  
Grasshopper      was there, all      he possessed himself-  
of      Grasshopper,

be'djit'e      pemi'gi'djik      udama'weal  
even              what was growing              tobacco

uda'ki''kanuk      Gluskə'be      na'ga      mi'na  
in his garden              Gluskə'be.      And      again

ude'bi'hasin      wudu'luk      na'ga      udami'-  
he got in      his canoe,      and      he pushed it

ltekamən      nəmə't'e      bedji'səwi'le  
off with his foot              there              he glided

uda'si'dəmonuk<sup>1</sup>      udi'lan      o''kəməs'al'  
to his beach.<sup>1</sup>      He said      to his grandmother,

nəbe't'ho'lan      udama'we      a'ndatc      mi'na  
"I have brought      tobacco,      never      again

kənada'wi'hogowi'na      wuli'dəhasu      moni'-  
will it be scarce."              Rejoiced              Wood-

mkwes'u      e'skwan      edaldo'n'kehedit  
chuck.              While              they were talking there

nobedji'bi'e'lan      tca'las      nogwa'galon  
then came paddling up      Grasshopper;      then he-  
shouted,

udi'da'mən      kənəkə'kmo'dəna'mi      nodama'-  
he said,              "You have stolen all              my-

we'im      nəGluskə'be      node'lan      onaska'wan  
tobacco!"      Then Gluskə'be      then went out      he met-  
him

tca'lsal      udi'lan      ko'lame      nək'a'na  
Grasshopper, he said,      "You speak truth,      I took all

wedji'a'skwe      ni''ka'n'i      go'sə'snawak      a'tc  
so that      in the future      our descendants      also

ne'gəma      gi'zawe''kaha'dit      udi'lan  
they              can enjoy it."              He said

tca'lsal      a''tama      ko'la'lo'ke      kəda'li'sa'-  
to Grasshopper,      "Not      you do well,      you-

<sup>1</sup> In the old days each hunter had his own strip of beach where his canoe could be kept, and where he always landed when returning home. Beach rights are still preserved among the Montagnais and Naskapi.

gelman      udama'we      ge''si'      gi'zi'ganat  
begrudge      tobacco,      as much as      you raise

nda'haba      ki'a      ke''sawe'kaha'wan      i'dak  
cannot      you      so much enjoy."      Said

tca'las      ki'nək''ga      mi'li'      skani'mi'nal  
Grasshopper,      "Please      give me      seeds,

we'djitc      ki'zi'gənu'k      dan      ge''si'  
so that              I can raise              how              much

tcuwe'lmuk      Gluskə'be      udi'lan      a''tama  
I need."              Gluskə'be              said,              "Not

kmi'lowanal      skani'mi'nal      ke'nukdji  
I will give you              seeds,              but will

kəmi'lan      dan      ge''si'      kadawəwe'kahat  
I give you              how              much              you will need

dan      kwenə'si'an      nodi'lan      ni''kwup'  
as      long as you live."      Then he said,      "Now,

kəmi'lan      udama'we      dan      gwenə'bemat  
I give you      tobacco      as      will support you

kwenə'si'an      udi'lan      nehe''      kədo'newi  
while you live."      He said,      "Nehe'!      open your mouth."

nubi'znəməwan      udo'nuk      udama'weal  
Then he placed              in his mouth              tobacco.

udi'lan      ən'i''      ni''kwup'      ki'zə'bezin  
He said,      "ən'i''      now      you have your share

ki'a      uni'mi'p'han      tca'lsal      na'ga  
you!"      He took him              Grasshopper              and

ubə'si'gi'nahada'wan      uda'pskwansi      udi'lan  
he split the back of              his coat.              He said,

yu'gəni'kwup'      gi'zi''tolan      kə'lə'gwanak  
"From now on              I have made              your wings,

ni''kwup'      madje'dəwi'la      nək'i'zə'besin<sup>2</sup>  
now              fly away,              you have your share."<sup>2</sup>

## TRANSLATION

Once Gluskə'be's grandmother said to Gluskə'be, "My grandchild, we are out of tobacco."—"Where does it exist?" asked he.

<sup>2</sup> This accounts for the brown juice which exudes from the grasshopper's mouth and his long double wings. "He only has enough for one chew, but that lasts him all the time," the Indians say.

Woodchuck answered, "Far out on a big island in the water. Grasshopper raises tobacco; but he won't share it, he is so stingy; and, besides, he is a great dangerous magician."—"I am able to distribute it," said Gluskə'be to his grandmother. Then he built a canoe; and when it was made, he pushed it off with his foot. Its first glide was as far as he could see.<sup>1</sup> It did not go fast enough, this canoe. So he made another, and pushed this off, jumped in, and it went twice as far, "two looks." This was not enough. Again he made one, jumped in, and pushed it off. This went "three looks." Then he laughed. Then by a magic wish he wished Grasshopper to leave home, so that he could secure his tobacco. When he arrived at Grasshopper's place, sure enough, he was gone. Then Gluskə'be took it all, even what was growing in the fields, got into his canoe, pushed it off, and returned. He said to his grandmother, "I have brought tobacco. Never again will it be scarce." And they rejoiced. Then, while they were talking, Grasshopper came paddling up. He shouted, and said, "You have stolen all my tobacco!" Gluskə'be went out to meet him. "It is true," said Gluskə'be, "I have taken all. The reason is, that in the future our descendants too may enjoy it. You do not do well to begrudge tobacco. You raise so much, that you cannot enjoy or use it." Replied Grasshopper, "Please give me seeds, so that I may raise what I need!"—"No," said Gluskə'be, "I will not give you seeds, but I will give you as much as you need for your lifetime. I give you sufficient for life. Now open your mouth!" Then he put some tobacco in his mouth. "Now you have your share." Then he took Grasshopper and split the back of his coat, and said, "From now on you shall have wings. Fly away, you have your share!" (The grasshopper has his tobacco in his mouth, and he chews and spits it all the time, as may be seen by picking him up.)

<sup>1</sup> "One look," a unit of distance.

## 6. GLUSKƏ'BE FIXES THE RIVERS AND FALLS

Gluskə'be udi'lan o'kəmas'al' ni'kwup'  
 Gluskə'be said to his grandmother, "Now,  
 no'kami nəgwi'lawi'wəli'tun dantc  
 grandma, I shall search out and prepare for  
 go'sə'snawak<sup>2</sup> we'dji' qda' sak'a'-  
 our descendants,<sup>3</sup> so that not hard-  
 hedi'hedik'w elmauzo'ldi'dit ni'k'a'ni  
 times they will have while they live in the future.  
 ni'kwup' nəbo'sin ndəbəna'wi'tun  
 Now I leave, I will inspect  
 si'bual na'ga nəgwa'səbe'mal ni'kwup'tc  
 rivers and lakes. Now also  
 nsi'pki'la no'kami ke'nuk mo'zak  
 I shall be a long time, grandma, but don't  
 nsa'hi'katc nubo'sin omə'dje'bian məsi'  
 worry." Then he left, he began paddling, all  
 ubi't'hi'lanal si'bual sa'ηkəde'təgwegil  
 he entered the rivers which emptied into  
 so'beguk udə'bənawi'tonal nəda'ma  
 the ocean, he inspected them. Then where  
 sa'gi'k'e uli'tun e'ləmi bə'n'təgwi'kek  
 difficulties were he fixed it going among the river-  
 fall places,  
 we'dji'tc qda' ado'dji sak'a'hedi'hi'dik'w  
 so that not ever so hard times they would have  
 o'səs'a' ni'ka'n'i məsi'a'tc be'dji  
 his descendants in the future. And all even  
 wuni'ganal<sup>3</sup> ugi'zi'mosi'kte'mənal we'dji  
 the carrying places<sup>3</sup> he cleared out for  
 wulau'dəsək mala'm'te pe'səgwun  
 good path place. Then one  
 si'bu bi't'hi'bi'et nəbo'nək udu'f  
 river he paddled into. Then he placed his canoe,

<sup>2</sup> This implies that people were always in existence somewhere.

<sup>3</sup> A "carry" is the land separating two navigable pieces of water.



ugədəgwa'tun nat'e edalipəmapskwi'lak  
turned it over then where it turned to stone

e'skwat'e ni''kwup'te'<sup>1</sup>  
still there now even.<sup>1</sup>

## TRANSLATION

Then said Gluskə'be to his grandmother, "Now, grandmother, I am going to travel to search for and transform things, so that our descendants may not have such hard times to exist in the future. Now I am leaving, and shall inspect the rivers and lakes. I shall be gone long, but do not worry." Then he started off paddling, and entered all the rivers emptying into the ocean. He inspected them. Wherever there were bad falls, he lessened them, so that they would not be too dangerous for his descendants. He cleared the carrying-places. Then he left his canoe upside down, where it turned into stone, and may be seen there yet.<sup>2</sup>

7. GLUSKA'BE STOPS THE WATER  
FAMINE, ORIGINATES FISHES AND THE  
FAMILIES

aməska'mən o'dene kədəmə'gi'nag'sulduwak  
He found a village (where) they looked feeble  
a'lnəbak e'lmi na'lmuiq əgləbemu<sup>3</sup>  
the people. Up river Guards-Water<sup>3</sup>

ugə'lhama'wun nəbi' a'lnəba' nəbi'  
held back water from the people. Water

na'nəgwutə kwa'skwi ka'dawusmo'lduwak  
some to death died of thirst.

mala'm'te Gluskə'be dalibe'djo'se una'mi'ha  
Then Gluskə'be there came he saw

udalna'bema kədəmagi'nag'su'lduwak  
his people looking sickly feeble.

no'dagwedji'molan tanali'dəbi'le i'da'-  
Then he asked, "What is the reason (of this)?" They

<sup>1</sup> This was the mouth of the Penobscot River, and the canoe is nowadays pointed out as a rock lying on the shore near Castine.

<sup>2</sup> The rock near Castine, Me., mentioned in preceding footnote.

mohodit ke'ganəka'təhogona əgləbe'mu  
said, "Almost he has killed us Guards-Water;

ngwa'skwi kada'wusmoldi'bəna nəga'l'-  
we are dying of thirst, as he

hamogonena nəbi' no'di'damən  
forbids us water." Then he said

Gluskə'be ni'a'tc nəgi'zi'ha'dawun  
Gluskə'be, "I can make him

kemi'lgona nəbi' nodlo'sana sa'ngəmal<sup>4</sup>  
give you water." They went to the chief<sup>4</sup>

əgləbe'mu e'i't nodi'lan kegame'si  
Guards-Water where he was; then he said, "Why

kədəmə'gi'hat' go'sə'snawa' nəso'ke  
do you enfeeble our descendants? For this

ni''kwup' gode'ldamən eli'gədəmə'gi'hat'  
now you will be sorry for enfeebling

go'sə'snawa' ni''kwup' ni'a nəmi'lan  
our descendants, now I shall give them

nəbi' nəmazi'tc' kədə'dəbi' wulə'beda'-  
water, and all will share the water good-

məna ni'mi'p'han na'ga wdəma'hi'ganip'han  
benefit." Then he grabbed him and he broke his-  
back:

we'dji ni''kwup' tama'hi'ga'nat məsi'  
hence now broken-backed all

kəba'lamak metcda'tama ugi'zelda'muwan  
bull-frogs are. Even then not he would give up

nəbi' Gluskə'be wi'kwənəmən udə'mhi'gan  
water. Gluskə'be took his axe

nagasi'bi udə'm'tahan ktci'a'bas'i  
and cut down a big tree

wi'gwe'sk' uga'uhan əgləbe'mual  
yellow birch, cutting it so upon Guards-Water

nelega'wi'lat wi'gwesk' əgləbe'mual  
when it fell yellow birch Guards-Water

gwa'sk'wtahan nəwe'dji ki'zi'dəbi'lan'k  
it struck him dead. That is how originated

si'bu pan'awa'mpske'wuk<sup>5</sup> nəmazi'  
the river Penobscot River<sup>5</sup> then all

<sup>3</sup> A frog-like monster, the prototype of the frogs.

<sup>4</sup> Supposed to have been at Chesuncook Lake.

<sup>5</sup> The etymology of this name is not clear. It is translated by the narrator as "river that broadens out." Varying translations have been suggested.

pska'təg <sup>w</sup> nul branch streams	si'bual rivers	nəməzi' and all
səŋgəde'təgwal river inlets	ktci'si'buk into the big river	wədji' so
ki'si'dəbi'le originated	ktci'si'bu the great river,	nəməzi' and all
a'lnəbak the people	edu'dji so	ka'dawusmo'ldi'hi'dit were thirsty
nəməzi' then all	udja'u'pigi'daho'ldi'na jumped into the water,	nəna'nəgwutc then some
name'si'la'ulədowak became fish,	tcigwa'lsui'la'ulədowak became frogs,	
to'lba'i'la'ulədowak became turtles,	wa'kesuak a few	i'bi only
we'dauzo'ldi'djik survived.	ni'kwup' Now	nəwe'dji' from this
madje'gedit' they increased	kəda'gik others	a'lnəbak people.
ni'kwup'. Now	we'dji' hence	ude'dagwabi'ta'məna they inhabit the length of
pan'awa'mpske <sup>w</sup> tu'k' <sup>w</sup> Penobscot River.	nəwe'dji' Thence	ni'kwup'. now
a'li'wi'zo'ldi'dit they are named	na'nəgwətc some	na'me's'ak fishes
na'me'si'lo'ldi'dit having become fish	uda'lnəbe'mnaga their departed relatives.	
ni'kwup' Now	nəwe'dji' thence	wi'kwu'modit so they took
eli'wi'zo'ldi'dit their namings	eki'ki'git all kinds	na'me's'ak fishes
na'ga and	do'lbak turtles.	

## TRANSLATION

He came to a village where the people looked feeble. Up the river, a monster frog (*aŋgləbe'mu*) held back the water from these Indians. Some even died on account of thirst for water. Then Gluskə'be came there. He saw his people looking sickly. He asked them, "What is the trouble?" They told him, "Guards-Water has almost killed us all. He is making us die with thirst. He forbids us

water." Then Gluskə'be said, "I will make him give you water." Then they went with Gluskə'be, their chief, to where Guards-Water is. Then he said to him, "Why do you enfeeble our grandchildren? Now, you will be sorry for this, for enfeebling our grandchildren. Now, I shall give them the water, so that all will receive an equal share of the water. The benefit will be shared." Then he grabbed him and broke his back. Hence all bull-frogs are now broken-backed. Even then he did not give up the water. So Gluskə'be took his axe and cut down a big tree, a yellow birch, cutting it so that when it fell down upon Guards-Water, the yellow birch killed him. That is how the Penobscot River originated. The water flowed from him. All the branches of the tree became rivers. All emptied into the main river. From this came the big river. Now all the Indians were so thirsty, nearly dying, that they all jumped into the river. Some turned into fish, some turned into frogs, some turned into turtles. A few survived. Now, that's why from them other Indians increased. Now, that's why they inhabit the length of the Penobscot River. Thence now they took their names. Some took fishes' names, since their departed relatives turned into fish. Now thence in this way they took their family names from all kinds of fish and turtles.

## NOTE

To this transformation certain fish, crustaceans, and amphibians owe their origin. As the myth explains, though perhaps rather vaguely for a matter of such importance in the social life of the tribe, the human creatures who escaped transformation took the names, and assumed some associated characteristics, of their transformed relatives. From this developed some of the totemic family groups with totemic associations in naming, paternal descent, and imaginary physical peculiarities. Like the other eastern and northern Algonkian, the Penobscot families each possessed inher-



ited hunting-territories which were designated by the totemic animal names. So we find those families located near the ocean bearing marine-animal names, while the territories of the land-animal families are situated in the interior. The latter trace their origins to independent causes. The family hunting-territory is called *nzi'bum* ("my river"). The family groups had no definite marriage regulations, or taboos against killing the associated animals. Aside from nicknames, individuals were generally known by their family-group names.

In this phase of Penobscot social life we have the most interesting case of the sort encountered in a series of family social-unit studies made among the northern Algonkian tribes.<sup>1</sup>

#### 8. GLUSKĀ'BE KILLS THE MONSTER MOOSE AND CREATES LANDMARKS

nəGluskā'be	odji'mədjəlan	kəda'gi'hi	
Then Gluskā'be	departed	others	
agwi'la'ohan	a'lnaba'	ma'lam	be'dji'lat
he searched for	people.	At last	he reached
ktci'inəgwa'səbem		dali'mskaowat	
a very big lake		where he met	
a'lnaba'	udi'ləgun	ga'matc	sa'nəngwa'di
people.	They told him,	"Very	dangerous
yu	ndode'nenə	nəməs'elo'	tohogona
here	our village.	Many of us	he has killed
ktaha'n'dwi'	mu's	a'tame'ləwe	
a great magic	moose,	not hardly	
ngi-zika'don'ka'zoldi'bəna	udi'lan	ni'a'tc	
can we go hunting."	Said he,	"I	
ngwi'la'ohə	ni'a'tc	kəni'tamo'ləna	
will search for him,	I	will destroy him for you."	

<sup>1</sup> A brief discussion of this feature of Algonkian social organization has been given by the writer in "The Family Hunting Band as the Basis of Algonkian Social Organization" (AA 17 [1915], and "Game Totems of the Northeastern Algonkians" (A A 19 [1917]). A more intensive study of the Penobscot family group is now in preparation.

<sup>2</sup> In the winter the moose congregate in a common feeding-ground where they trample down the snow in paths from which they browse. This is called a "yard."

wespoza'ki'wik	odji'mədjəlan	agwi'la'ohan
In the morning	he departed	to search for
ktci'mo'sul'	ma'lam	aməska'mən
the big moose.	At last	he found him
awu'sənudi <sup>2</sup>	edələ'sənelit	na'ste
in his yard <sup>3</sup>	where he yarded.	Soon
uga'la'bənan		nuno'so'kawan
he started him up,		then he followed him.
elmi'p'hagwet	mo'zul'	sala'ki e'ləbit
As he was following	the moose,	suddenly looking
ni'ka'n'i	e'lkwe'lat	una'mi'tun
ahead	where he was going	he saw
wi'gwomsi's	sədi'k'ansis <sup>3</sup>	na'ste
little wigwam,	little bough shelter, <sup>4</sup>	soon
uza'ŋk'hi'no'des'an	phə'nəm	elə'bit
came walking out	a woman	looking
Gluskā'be	pukədj'i'nskwe'su <sup>4</sup>	ma'ni'te
Gluskā'be	(it was) Squatty-Woman. <sup>4</sup>	Then
bmi'le	a'tamə	udəzide'mawial
going by	not	he answered her
pa'pi'məgo't	be'səgun	e'li'lat
she joked with him	still	going on.
pukədj'i'nskwe'su	mu'skweldam	i'dak
Squatty-Woman	became angry.	She said,
ga'matc	ka'di	pəli'gweyu
"Very	you want to	be haughty,
		now then
kdli'na'mi'tundj	ne'dudji	no'so'ka'wə't
you will see."	Then	she followed him
Glu'skəbal'	e'ləmi'lat	e'ləmi'lat
Gluskā'be	going along	going along
		wherever
ni'latc	na'wəba'məgwek <sup>5</sup>	a'tamə
she reached	a viewing-place <sup>5</sup>	not

<sup>3</sup> This is a sort of temporary shelter made by leaning spruce-branches together. It is conical in shape, like the regular bark wigwam.

<sup>4</sup> This creature is also known popularly as "Jug-Woman." She is conceived of as a short, ugly woman, with no curves at the waist. So when the Indians first saw a stone jug or pitcher, they nicknamed it *Pukədj'i'nskwe'su*. This hag figures prominently in mythology.

<sup>5</sup> An opening in the woods where a view can be had of game.

na'mi'həwial mi'na tamabani'lat  
she could see him again where she reached (an  
opening)

a'tama na'mi'həwial i'dak ga'matc  
not she could see him. She said, "Very

kaŋga'wi'le se'nəbe q'skwe Glu'skəbe  
fast going man that Gluskə'be."

be'dji'lat si'buk sa'ŋgəde'təgwutc<sup>1</sup>  
When she reached the river mouth of the river,<sup>1</sup>

elə'bit agə'mi kwe'səwa'pskek nona'mi'han  
looking across a rocky point, then she saw him

elmi'ta'li'djil mo'zul' nogwu'sagə'gəda'hin  
going along with the moose. Then he jumped across

na'ste ude'mi'zal' udadəmi'kaŋgun  
soon his dog overtook him.

nodi'lan yu'gi'a abi' sko'həle  
Then he said, "Here you sit watch for

pukədji'nskwes' nəgehe'l'a a'ləmus uda'bin  
Squatty-Woman." Accordingly the dog sat down,

nodasko'həlan pukədji'nskwes'uwəl' nowa'  
then he watched for Squatty-Woman. Then that

pukədji'nskwes'u medəbe'lat si'buk  
Squatty-Woman came down to the river,

una'mi'tun kwesəwa'pskek na'ste  
she saw a rocky point, soon

gwus'q'gədahin abe'gəs'ik<sup>2</sup> i'dak tci'<sup>3</sup>  
she jumped across where he struck (Gluskə'be).<sup>2</sup>

She said, "Tci'l'<sup>3</sup>

tcu' kdli'na'mi'tun ne'ləbit una'mi'han  
surely you will see ultimately." Then looking she-  
saw

ktci'a'ləmus'al' nedali'naska'dəhəzit  
the big dog, then there she got discouraged,

u'zəwe'lan ma'lam ye'ugəna'ki'wik  
she turned back. Then on the fourth day

uda'dəmi'ka'wan mo'zul' na'ste uni'lan  
he overtook the moose. Soon he killed him.

abi'kwe'dji'lan nodla'kewan ude'mi'zal'  
He butchered him, then he threw to his dog

<sup>1</sup> Penobscot River, near Castine, Me.

<sup>2</sup> Where Gluskə'be and Pukədji'nskwes'u struck are to be seen two imprints on the rock. One of these is of the ordinary snowshoe shape, this is Gluskə'be's snowshoe; the other is a round one, Pukədji'nskwes'u's.

mu'zula'g'zi'al nsə'da tegagə'bi'muk  
the moose intestines thrice "looks"

udli'nəga'lal ude'mi'zal nbedə'ket  
he left him behind his dog. As far as they fell

wula'g'zi'al na'ləmus umi'tsin nte'lə-  
the moose intestines that dog ate them. There it-

bek'tek nəbi'k na'ga daligəda'le  
lay as it fell in the water, and there it sank;

na'te dali'pəna'pskwi'lak wə'mba'pəsk'<sup>w</sup>  
then there it became stone white stone.

eskwa'te ni'kwup' wewi'naŋgwa'du  
It is still now to be seen.

ni'kwup' ali'wi'təzu musii'kətci'<sup>4</sup>  
Now it is called Moose-Buttocks.<sup>4</sup>

na'te dali'pəna'pskwi'lak a'ləmus  
Then there he became stone, the dog

e'skwat'e ni'kwup' uda'bin oma'djin  
still now he sits. Went away

Gluskə'be bə'dəgi gi'zi'p'sanlat  
Gluskə'be back after he filled

uda'tawaŋkwa'zudi'al wi'u's mu'si'ye  
his cooking kettle with meat of moose

obədəgo'san ma'lam bedjo'se  
he went back. Then he reached

ktci'nəgwa'zəbe'muk ne'dalaŋkwa'zit  
a big lake, then there he cooked;

gizə'ŋkwa'zit umi'tsin gi'zi'pit  
after he had cooked, he ate; after he had eaten,

ugədəgwa'kan uda'tawaŋkwa'zudi'al  
he turned over his kettle

pəna'pskwi'al nogə'dəgwa'lan na'ga  
of stone, then he upset it; and

oda'linəga'lan ni'kwup' eskwa'te  
there he left it. Now still

ugədəgwa'bin nani'kwup' wa'djo  
turned over it sits that now mountain

This place is called Mada'ŋgəmas ("Old Snowshoe"), and may be seen at Castine Head, Me. The impressions are rapidly disintegrating for the rock is soft.

<sup>3</sup> Extending her finger at him from arm's length—a common sign of emphasis.

<sup>4</sup> This is Cape Rosary (Rosier), on the eastern shore of Penobscot Bay.



ali'wi'zo ki'ni'yu<sup>1</sup> ga ubədəgi'ʔan  
 is named Ki'ni'yu.<sup>1</sup> And he went back  
 udi'ʔan a'lnəba' o'səs'a' ən'i'  
 he said to the people, his descendants, "So!  
 gi'zi'ntamo'lna ktci'awa's anda'tc mi'na  
 I have destroyed the big beast, never more  
 koda'mi'hogo'wi'wa ga'matc nuli'-  
 will he bother you." Very much they-  
 dəhaso'lduwak a'lnəbak udi'ʔana  
 rejoiced then the people. They said to  
 Gluskəbal' ga'matc koli'a'li'bəna  
 Gluskə'be, "Very well you have done for us,  
 de'bəneba'na nək'a'tehogona kda'lami-  
 soon might that have destroyed us all; we thank-  
 zwa'mələbəna<sup>2</sup> məwa'i  
 you very much<sup>3</sup> all together."

## TRANSLATION

Then Gluskə'be started out again in search of other people. At last he reached a large lake.<sup>3</sup> There he met the people and they said, "Our village is in great danger from a giant magic moose, for fear of whom we can hardly go hunting. He has killed many of us."—"I will search for him," said Gluskə'be, "and destroy him for you." Then he started to search for him, and reached the "yard" where the giant moose was, and started him running. As he was following the moose, suddenly, looking ahead, he saw a little bough shelter, and a woman came walking out. It was Squatty-Woman (Pukədji'nkwes'u). Then he went right on by, and did not answer her joking. Then, as he went on, Squatty-Woman became very angry, and said, "You are very haughty. Now you will see!" Then she followed Gluskə'be. He went along so fast, that whenever she came to an outlook, she could not see him. She said, "That Gluskə'be is a

<sup>1</sup> Mount Kineo, on the eastern shore of Moosehead Lake. Folk etymology among the Indians says that the first people who saw the mountain after its transformation declared, "*ki'i ni'yu!*" ("oh, [see] here!")

<sup>2</sup> A very formal expression.

<sup>3</sup> Moosehead Lake.

very swift man." When she reached the mouth of the river, looking across a rocky point, she saw him going along after the moose. Then he jumped across. His dog overtook him. He said, "You sit here and watch for Squatty-Woman." Accordingly the dog sat down and watched for her. When she came down to the river, she saw the rocky point, and jumped across in the same place where Gluskə'be landed.<sup>4</sup> She said, "*Tci'*, you will soon see." Then she beheld the big dog, and became disheartened, and turned back. He followed the moose, and on the fourth day overtook him and killed him. He took his insides out and threw them to his dog. They reached the distance of three "looks." His dog ate as far as they went. As the intestines fell in the water, so they lay and sank, turning into stone, and may still be seen white on the bottom of the river. Now it is called Musi'kətci ("moose hind-parts").<sup>5</sup> Then he turned his dog into stone, and there he sits too. Then Gluskə'be returned and cooked his moose-meat in his kettle near the big lake. When he had eaten, he turned his kettle over, and left it there turned into stone. Now it may still be seen. It is the mountain called Kineo.<sup>6</sup> Then he went back and told his people, his descendants, "Now I have killed the big beast. He will never bother you again." They rejoiced, and said, "You have done very much for us. We thank you exceedingly all together."

## 9. GLUSKƏ'BE OVERCOME BY WINTER

nodjima'djəlan	wi'gwomwak	e'ilit
Then he went	to his wigwam	where was
o'kəməs'al'	ga'matc	wuli'dəhasu
his grandmother.	Very much	she rejoiced

<sup>4</sup> Rocks at Castine show imprints of the snowshoes of both personages.

<sup>5</sup> A landmark at Cape Rosary.

<sup>6</sup> For the Indian explanation of this term see footnote 1 on this page.

moni'mkwes'u udi'tal kwe'nas ga'matc  
Woodchuck. She told him, "Grandson, very  
noli'dahas bedji'tan ga'matc ki'si'sagip'on  
I am glad that you come, very has been hard-  
winter,

sa'gi'ki'zauzolduwak go'sə'snawak pselga'-  
they have had hard living our descendants, very  
matc kwa'skwalamo'ldi'djik eduda'ngwa'tek  
many have starved to death; so deep was the  
snow

a'tama aba'si'ak na'mi'ha'wi'ak məsi'  
not the tree-tops could they see. All

wa'wəho'k'hadəwak nodi'tan Gluskə'be  
were buried in snow." Then said Gluskə'be

o'kəmas'al' da'naskwe na e'i't pəbu'n  
to his grandmother, "Where that is winter?"

udi'tan nkwe'nas ga'matc nawa'doge  
She said, "Grandchild, very far off

ndahaba'wen oda'uzi'wun alo'sede  
cannot any one not live. If he goes there,

kwa'skwadjo'ba i'dək Gluskə'be ni'a  
he would freeze to death." Said Gluskə'be, "I

nda'gwedji alo'san naga'di na'mi'ha  
will try to go there, I want to see

pəbu'n ni'kwup' nda'tcwe'ldamən  
winter. Now I wish

kdlha'ngəmwēwin nda'tcwe'lmak ni'sa'ngə-  
you to make snowshoes for me, I want them two-

ma'gzəwak ma'gali'buwewa'i'yak ni'sangə-  
pair snowshoes of caribou-skin, two pair-

ma'gzəwaga'tc no'lkewa'i'yak ni'sangəma'-  
snowshoes also of deer-skin, and two pair-

gzəwaga'tc mu'sewa'i'yak no'madjəlan  
snowshoes of moose-skin." Then he went

e'eləmi'tat<sup>1</sup> ma'lam met'ka'wa  
going along.<sup>1</sup> At last he wore out

ni'sangəma'gzuwa mu'se'wa'i'yak pe'səgwun  
two pair snowshoes moose-skin still

e'lo'set ma'lam mi'na ume't'ka'wa  
going on at last again he wore out

no'lkewa'i'yak pe'səgwun elo'set ma'lam  
the deer-skin (ones) still going on at last

ahə'dji almi't'ke' ma'lam met'ka'wa  
growing colder at last he wore out

nəgwəda'ngəma'gzuwa ma'gali'buwewa'ye  
one pair snowshoes of caribou-skin,

məsala'te nəgwəda'ngəma'gzuwa uda'ngəma  
finally only one pair snowshoes his snowshoes.

natc gi'zətc ga'matc ka'wa'djo mi'na  
Then it had also become very cold, again

una'slan kəda'gihi eləmi'tat ahə'dji  
he put on the others. Going along still growing

almi't'ke' mala'm'te. ke'gome't'ka'wa  
colder. At last then he almost wore out

uda'ngəma wusa'gi'ga'wadjo gi'z gi'zətc  
his snowshoes it was terribly cold after also already

una'mi'tun wi'gwom e'tek e'muk'wte  
he saw wigwam where it was just then

be'djo'se klanga'nuk na'ste umet'ka'wan  
he came to the door at once he wore out

uda'ngəma ubi'di'gan pkwa'mi'ga'mik'w  
his snowshoes. He entered an ice-house.

gi'zi'bi'di'get nkla'ngan gəbəde'de'san  
When he entered, then the door closed tight,

a'tama gi'zi' node'san Gluskə'be  
not he could get out. Gluskə'be

i'dak kwe'<sup>2</sup> nəmu'sumi ma'nit'e  
said, "Kwe!"<sup>2</sup> my grandpa!" Then

udamaskəlo'tangul pəlusə'sizal  
he mocked him the old man

pkwa'mi'al i'dak wa pəlu'səs'is kwe'  
of ice. Said that old man, "Kwe!"

nəmu'sumi Gluskə'be edu'dji kawa'djit  
my grandpa." Gluskə'be was so cold

udi'tan nəmu'sumi ga'matc nəkawa'dji  
he said, "Grandfather, very I am cold,

pkwude'hema'wi<sup>3</sup> pəlu'səs'is udama'-  
open the door." The old man mocked-

skəlo'tawan nəmu'sumi ga'matc nəkawa'dji  
him, "Grandfather very I am cold,

<sup>2</sup> The regular Algonkin salutation.

<sup>3</sup> Every wigwam had a drop flap of skin or bark for a door.

<sup>1</sup> Vowel-lengthenings of this sort (eē +) are rhetorical effects of the narrator.



pkwude'hema'wi      nəGluskə'be      i'dam  
open the door."      Then Gluskə'be      said,  
nəmu'sumi      pkwude'hema'wi      ke'ga  
"Grandfather,      open the door,      almost  
ngwa'skwa'dji      pəlu'səs:i's      udama'-  
I am frozen."      The old man      mocked-  
skəlo'tawan      a'ngwama'doge      e'bəgwatc  
him      more than ever,      on account of it  
awi'kwi'na'wan      nəmu'sumi      pkwude'-  
he laughed at him.      "My grandfather,      open-  
hema'wi      ke'ga      ngwaskwa'dji  
the door,      almost      I am frozen."  
nəgwaskwa'djin      Gluskə'be      pəlu'səs:i's  
Then he froze to death      Gluskə'be.      The old man  
unoda'kalan nat'eləs'ik Gluskə'be ma'lam  
threw him outside. there he lay Gluskə'be. At last  
si'gwan      nəmi'na      abma'uzi'tan      i'dak  
spring (came), then again he came to life. He said,  
to'ki'lat tce'he net'e't ni'a ngawi'nes'a'  
"Awake! tce'he! well there I I have been asleep."  
elə'bit      a'tama      da'ma      wi'gwomte'wi  
Looking      not      anywhere      was the wigwam.  
odji'mə'djəlan      awi'gwomwuk      udli'tan  
He went away      to his wigwam,      he arrived.

## TRANSLATION

Then Gluskə'be went home to his grandmother (Woodchuck). She rejoiced to see him, but said, "Grandson, I am glad you came back, as this has been a very hard winter. A great many of our descendants have starved to death. So deep was the snow that the tree-tops could not be seen; they were covered with snow." Then Gluskə'be said, "Where is that Winter?"—"Very far, grandchild. No one can live there. He would freeze to death if he went there."—"I will try to go there, I want to see Winter," said Gluskə'be. "Now I want you to make snowshoes for me,—two pairs netted with caribou, two with deer, and two with moose skin. Then he started. First he wore out the moose-skin snowshoes, then next the deer-skin pair, and lastly one pair of the caribou-

skin ones. At last it was still growing colder, and he nearly wore out his last pair. Then he came to a wigwam. It was an ice-house. When he went in, the door closed tight, so that he could not get out. Gluskə'be said, "Kwe, grandfather!" At once the old man mocked him in the same voice, "Kwe, grandfather!" He was a man of ice. Then said Gluskə'be, "Grandfather, I am very cold, open the door for me." The old man mocked him in the same tones. "Grandfather, open the door for me, I am almost frozen," said Gluskə'be. He was mocked again, in the same tones. Then he froze to death. The old man threw him out, and there Gluskə'be lay until spring. Then he woke up. Said he, "Awake! Why there, tce'he, I have been asleep." The snow wigwam was gone. Then he went back home.

## 10. MEANWHILE THE FOXES ABUSE HIS GRANDMOTHER, AND GLUSKƏ'BE RETURNS AND PUNISHES THEM

kweni'lat      Gluskə'be      kwa'ηk'wəsək  
While he was away      Gluskə'be      the foxes  
unəba'kada'wanal      monimkwe'suwal  
deceived      Woodchuck.  
medji'mi'      kwa'ηk'wəsək      udli'tan      wi'gi'lit  
Always      a fox      went where      she camped  
monimkwe'suwal      na'ga      udi'tan      no'kami  
Woodchuck,      and      said,      "Grandma,  
nəbe'dji'la      kwe'nas      Gluskə'be      sək'habi'lide  
I have come      grandchild      Gluskə'be."      When she  
looked out,  
monimkwe'suwal      usi'gi'lan      si'səguk  
Woodchuck      he urinated      in her eyes.  
nis      monimkwe'su      ugi'nila'welan      natc  
Then      Woodchuck      became greatly angered.      Then  
kwa'ηk'wəsək      madjegwagwo'ma'tan      na'ga  
fox      ran away      and  
udəbəde'lmu'kazin      medji'mi'  
laughed to himself,      always  
nəkwa'ηk'wəsək      e'linəba'kada'wadit  
then the foxes      so deceiving

monimkwe's'uw'al ma'lam e'ləwe ntkə'bo  
Woodchuck. At last almost became blind

moni'mkwes'u a''tama gi'zim'sa'wi'ha  
Woodchuck, not she would give up hope,

medji'mi' səkha'bi'azu edu'dji kwi'lumant  
always looking out when so anxious

kwe'nas'al Glu'skəbal mala'm'te sala'ki  
for her grandson Gluskə'be. At last after a while

tkə'bo nə'dji naska'dəha'mat  
blind, then she despaired of

ubedji'łalin Glu'skəbal kwe'nas'al  
his return. Gluskə'be her grandchild.

bedji'lat Gluskə'be udi'łan no''kami  
When he came Gluskə'be he said, "Grandmother,

bedji'la pkwude'hema'wi nəmoni'mkwes'u  
I am come, open the door." Then Woodchuck

udi'łan kelbi'ma'djin kwa'ηk'wəsəs ke'ga  
said, "Go away, fox, almost

kəni'li'ba ge''si səgi'li'ek'w Gluskə'be  
you have killed me, so many times have you-  
urinated on me." Gluskə'be

ugədəmak'səda'wul o''kəmas'al' udi'łan  
pitied deeply his grandmother. Said he,

no''kami anda'ga ni'a kwa'ηk'wəsəs  
"Grandma, not indeed I (am) fox!"

nəmoni'mkwes'u udi'łan nda''tama  
Then Woodchuck said, "Never

mi'na ki'zinəba''kada'wi'ləba Gluskə'be  
again can you deceive me." Gluskə'be

udi'łan nda ni'a kwa'ηk'wəsəs no''kami  
said, "Not I fox, grandma,

tcka'wip'ti'newi nəge'hel'a uno'dep'ti'-  
hold out your hand." Accordingly she held out her-

newin moni'mkwes'u nəGluskə'be  
hand Woodchuck. Then Gluskə'be

wi''kwunəma'wan pud'i'n ki'i  
took hold of her hand. Ki'i!

uli'dəhasu edu'dji wuli'dəha'sit e'bəgwatc  
she was glad, so much she was glad, on account-  
of it

seska'demu<sup>1</sup> i'dak ga'matc noli'dəhas  
she cried.<sup>1</sup> She said, "Very I am glad

bedji'łan ke'ga kwa'ηk'wəsəs'ak ni'łəguk  
that you have come, almost the foxes killed me

e'bəgwatc ni''kwup' a''tama  
on account of it. Now not

kəna'mi'ho'lu kwe'nas a'ndatc mi'na  
I can see you, grandchild, never more

kəna'mi'ho'lu wzam ni'kə'bi' Gluskə'be  
I can see you, because I am blind." Gluskə'be

udi'łan o''kəmas'al' e'kwi' ni' i'da  
said to his grandmother, "Don't that say,

mi'na'tetc kəna'mi'hi ni'a'tc kəda'si''pi'lə<sup>2</sup>  
yet again you will see me, and I will treat you,<sup>2</sup>

mi'nat'etc kəna'mi'hi nəGluskə'be  
yet again you will see me." Then Gluskə'be

uda'si''pi'łan nabi'nangwa't ogi'gəhan  
treated her, very quickly he cured her,

ki'hi-i<sup>3</sup> wuli'dəhasu moni'mkwes'u  
Ki'hi-i!<sup>3</sup> she rejoiced Woodchuck.

nəGluskə'be udi'łan o''kəmas'al'  
Then Gluskə'be said to his grandmother,

ni''kwup' medji'mi' kəna'mi'hi aska'mi'  
"Now always you will see me forever."

nəGluskə'be uga'dona'łan kwa'ηk'wəsəs'a'  
Then Gluskə'be went hunting foxes.

ma'lam unək'a''taha pe'səgoal  
Then he killed them all, but one

uda'kwətci''təhan uma'djep'han  
he spared, he took him

awi'gwomwuk udla''ke'wan o''kəmas'al'  
to his wigwam, he tossed him to his grandmother.

udi'łan ni' kəbedji'p'tolən kwə'ηk'wəsəs  
He said, "Now I bring you a fox

ni''kwup' kəda'benka'dəs'in ge''si'  
now you take your revenge as much as

<sup>2</sup> The Penobscot have an extensive knowledge of herb medicines.

<sup>3</sup> Emphatic form of *ki-i* + exclamation, equivalent to "oh!"

<sup>1</sup> Crying for joy is commonly heard of among the old people. The quavering voice of the woodchuck is thought to be crying.



usi'gi'hus kwa'ŋk'wəsək' unə'dji'ka-  
 you were abused by the foxes."<sup>1</sup> She went-  
 dona'dan i'bi'si'al moni'mkwes'u na'ga  
 gathering switches Woodchuck, and  
 ugəla'kwe'bi'lan kwa'ŋk'wəsək' na'ga  
 tied him to a tree the fox, and  
 uda'sem'hən ma'lam kwa'ŋk'wəsək'  
 she whipped him. At last fox  
 se'siawi'gwodəme udi'lan no''kami  
 cried and begged. He said, "Grandma,  
 node'ldamən ge'si' usi'gi'holek' a'ndatc  
 I am sorry as much as I have abused you, never  
 mi'na kədə'l'i'ho'lowan kədəmə'ksədə'wi  
 again I will do it to you. Have pity on me,  
 te'bat e'k'wtahe' nəmoni'mkwes'u  
 enough! do stop (beating me)!" Then Woodchuck  
 ude'k'wtahan udi'lan ən'i' kola'msədul  
 stopped beating him. She said, "Now I believe you."  
 noda'pkwi'a'lan udi'lan ni''kwup'  
 Then she untied him. She said, "Now  
 eləma'uzi'an mo'zak mi'na wi'ni'na'-  
 you may live. Don't again look-  
 wa'katc wi'ne'sosis dali'nəgwi''tci'nide  
 down upon (scorn) an old woman wherever she-  
 is helpless  
 ta'ma nəGluskə'be udi'lan kwa'ŋk'wəsək'al'  
 anywhere." Then Gluskə'be said to the fox,  
 mo'zak amo'tcke be'sotka'mo'katc  
 "Don't even near approach near  
 wi'gwam abi'tə'sige nəwe'dji ni''kwup'  
 a wigwam inhabited." That is why now  
 kwa'ŋk'wəsək' a'kə'ləmit  
 the fox is shy.

## TRANSLATION

While Gluskə'be was away, the Foxes had deceived his grandmother, Woodchuck. They went to her camp, and kept saying, "Grandma, I have come, your grandson." Then, whenever she looked out, they urinated in

<sup>1</sup> The eastern Indians often treated prisoners in this manner, killing all but one and torturing him, then turning him free to return and tell his people what kind of treatment to expect in the future.

her eyes. Then they ran away laughing. They were always plaguing her, until, because of her anxiety to greet Gluskə'be, they at last blinded her; and because he did not return, she gave him up for dead. When Gluskə'be did at last come, he said, "Grandma, open the door!" But she answered, "Go away, Fox, you have almost killed me, so many times you have urinated on me." Gluskə'be then said, "I am no Fox." She said, "You cannot deceive me any longer."—"I am no Fox, grandmother," said Gluskə'be; "hold out your hand." Then he took her hand, and she cried, she was so glad. "I am glad you have come; the Foxes almost killed me; because of it I cannot see you now, grandson, I am blind."—"Don't say that! You will see me again," said Gluskə'be. "I will heal you." Then he cured her. She was so glad when he said, "You will always see me hereafter." Then he went hunting Foxes, and killed all but one. This one he took to his wigwam, and threw it to his grandmother. "Now take your revenge. I have brought you a Fox." Then she gathered switches and lashed the Fox to a pole, and whipped him. He cried and begged, saying, "Grandmother, I am sorry for abusing you. Never will I do so any more." Then she stopped, and said, "I believe you," and untied him. "Now you shall live, but don't ever have contempt for a helpless old woman again." Then Gluskə'be said to the Fox, "Don't ever go near an inhabited wigwam again." That is why Foxes are shy.

## II. GLUSKƏ'BE VISITS HIS FATHER, AND OVERCOMES HIS BROTHERS

ni''kwup' udi'lan o''kəməs'al' mi'na  
 Now he said to his grandmother, "Again  
 nəmə'djəla ni''kwup'aga'k nda'haba'-  
 I go away, now indeed impossible, I will stay-  
 nsi'pko'seu udi'lan o''kəməs'al'  
 away long." He said to his grandmother,  
 nda'tcwi' alo''kewəŋk go'sə'snawa  
 "I must work for our descendants,

nəga'di      nədji'ode'kawə      pəbu'n  
I am going      to visit      winter.  
pi'tamadja'm'to      ugədəmə'gi'ha      go'sə'snawa  
He is very cruel,      he abuses      our descendants,  
oza'mi'      a'we'kat      el'ha'n'dowit      udi'lan  
too much      using      his magic power."      He said  
o'kəmas'al'      dana'skwe      e'i't      ni'bən  
to his grandmother,      "Where is that      he lives      Summer?"  
udi'lan      sawa'nauk      ga'matc      sa'gi'nenā-  
She said,      "In the south,      very      difficult,"  
we'ldəzu      medji'mi      une'nawe'lmawul  
guarded,      always      he is guarded  
spəda'hi      a'tc      ni'bə'i'      udi'lan  
in daytime,      also      by night."      He said  
o'kəmas'al'      nda'tcwi'      ali'lan  
to his grandmother,      "I must      go.  
alambe'səməwi      wəlo'gesal<sup>1</sup>      na'ga  
Cut up for me      rawhide strings<sup>1</sup>      and  
kədada'p'hodun      nəge'hela      na'lau  
roll them into a ball."      Accordingly (undertook) then  
udlabe'si'gan      moni'mkwes'u      ma'lam  
the cutting      Woodchuck.      Then  
təba'wus      ge'sa'pskal      wəlo'gesal      na'ga  
seven      rolls      of rawhide      and  
ni'səngəma'gzuwak      ali'ta'wi      nəge'hela  
two pairs of snowshoes      she made.      Accordingly  
moni'mkwes'u      udə'l'hə'gəman<sup>2</sup>      nomədje'lan  
Woodchuck      filled the snowshoes.<sup>3</sup>      Then he  
started out  
Gluskə'be      udi'lan      o'kəmas'al      mo'zak  
Gluskə'be,      said      to his grandmother,      "Don't  
nsa'hi'katc      na'bi'tc      nəbe'dji'la  
worry!      soon      I shall come."  
moni'mkwes'u      kwe'nas'al      udi'fal      nəma'  
Woodchuck      to her grandson      said,      "There  
be'dji'la'ne      we'dji'dj      we'wi'na'wat  
when you arrive,      so that      you will know  
kəmi'taŋgwus      nəgwədala'gi'gwe      oma'djəlan  
your father,      he has one eye."      He departed

eləmi'fat      ma'lam'te      sala'ki  
going along,      at last      then soon  
mədje'pa'pəngwanga'te      pe'səgwun      e'li'fat  
began to be less depth of snow,      still      going on.  
mala'm'te      ta'ka'mi'ge      na'ste      ome't'ka'wan  
At last      bare ground,      soon      he wore out  
uda'ngəma      nəgəda'gihi      ude'k'holan  
his snowshoes;      the others      he hung on a tree  
uda'ngəma      na'ga      uma'n'əmən      si'suk'w  
his snowshoes,      and      he took out      his eye  
na'ga      uda'sap'kwa'n      abi'gwe'sa'guk  
and      he hid it      in a hollow tree,  
na'ga      udi'lan      gitci'gi'gi'la'suwal'  
and      said      to the Chickadee,  
ne'nawə'bad'mən      nsi'suk'w      oma'djəlan  
"Take care of      my eye."      Then he left,  
mətci'si'da'hi      e'ləmi'fat      ma'a'lam'te<sup>3</sup>  
on foot      going.      At last<sup>3</sup>  
sala'ki      unoda'mən      kə'dwə'gamuk'  
suddenly      he heard      noise of dancing.  
nona'mi'tun      o'dene      nəma'be'dji'fat  
Then he saw      village.      There when he came  
uda'li      udji'tci'wan      umi'taŋk'w'sal  
there      he came as a guest      to his father's  
wi'gwomuk      udi'lan      kwe'      mi'taŋwi  
wigwam.      He said,      "Kwe',      father!"  
i'dak      kwe'      ne'man      kəbe'dode'k'awi  
He said,      "Kwe'!      my son,      you have come to-  
visit me,

noli'dəhas      nəge'nuk      awi'dji'a      anda'gwi'na  
I am glad."      But then      his brothers      not really (glad)  
abe'k'wi'la'məgowia'      ma'nit'e      we'wi'na'wə  
because of jealousy.      Then      he knew  
uga'dona'lgo      nəbe'səgo      dalibi'tsəna'lan  
they sought his life.      Then one      there filled  
ktaha'n'dw'i'      pəna'pskwa'sənal<sup>4</sup>      ubə'-  
great magic      stone pipe,<sup>4</sup>      he-  
skwule'pan      na'ga      udi'lan      Gluskə'bal  
lighted it      and      said      to Gluskə'be,

<sup>1</sup> "Babiche," fine strips of rawhide used for filling snowshoes and the like.

<sup>2</sup> Wove in the netting or "filling."

<sup>3</sup> Emphatic.

<sup>4</sup> Stone pipes with a flat vertical keel-like base were typical of the region.



nehe' uda'ma nage'hel'a Gluskə'be  
 "Now, smoke!" Accordingly Gluskə'be  
 awi'kwənan uda'maŋga'nal noməm'hona'-  
 took his pipe, then he inhaled  
 zaha'lan ni'səda e'li'asaha'lat  
 deeply twice. When he inhaled,  
 nozi'k'əha'lan<sup>1</sup> udama'ŋga'nal nəmi'na  
 he emptied<sup>1</sup> the pipe. Then again  
 wi'kwibəgəde'pat nozekska'm'ki'a'zin  
 he took a puff, then it burst  
 uda'maŋgan udi'da'mən ak'wa'dale<sup>2</sup>  
 the pipe. He said, "Ak'wa'dale!"<sup>2</sup>  
 po'skəli'zəs'u goda'maŋgan ni'dji'e  
 it breaks easily your pipe, my brother,  
 tce'na'nira' nəbi'tsənan nəne'gəma  
 let me fill it." Then he  
 uda'maŋganal ubi'tsəna'lan pi'usəs'wal  
 his pipe filled it. It was small,  
 ke'nuk wq'bi'ga'niyal<sup>3</sup> ubə's'kwule'pan  
 but made of white bone.<sup>3</sup> He lighted it,  
 na'ga umi'lan wi'dji'al tce'na o'wa  
 and he gave it to his brother. "Let (us) this  
 agwe'dji udame'k'hane ma'nit'e  
 try, let us smoke!" Then  
 kada'weləmu'al wi'dji'al awi'kwi'dəhamal  
 he began to smile his brother, he scorned in his  
 mind  
 uda'maŋga'nal edu'dji bi'u'sə'si'lit  
 his pipe so small.  
 eli'dəha'sit waga'gətc be'səgwəda  
 He thought to himself, "So this thing once  
 wi'kwibəgəde'poge nsi'k'əha'latc  
 taking a puff I will empty it."  
 nage'hel'a wi'kwibəgəde na'lal oda'man  
 Accordingly he took a puff, then he he smoked,  
 ma'lam pa'ta'zu nodi'lan kəda'gil  
 then he sickened with smoke. Then he said to the  
 other

<sup>1</sup> Smoked the tobacco all to ashes.

<sup>2</sup> Another exclamation of surprise.

<sup>3</sup> This material is supposed to be ivory, which figures occasionally in the myths. It is possible that the Indians on the coast of Maine had ivory, as the walrus was

wi'dji'al nehe' gi'a'tc uda'ma  
 his brother, "Now, you also smoke,  
 ga'matc wula'sənal uda'maŋga'nal  
 very sweet flavor his pipe,  
 kədo'kani'mi'zəna ne'na'tc ne'gəma  
 our younger brother's." Then also he  
 oda'mən ma'lam pa'ta'zu mi'na  
 smoked. Then he sickened from smoke, again  
 kəda'k oda'mən en'a'tc pa'ta'zu  
 another smoked, and that one sickened from  
 smoke.  
 mala'm'te məzi' ge'si'lit awi'dji'a  
 Then all, as many as there were his brothers,  
 ni'gi'kə pa'tazo'lduwak nəm'lo'səs  
 all sickened with smoke. Then the old man  
 udi'lan ga'matc ktaha'n'do kədo'-  
 said, "Very magic your younger-  
 kani'mi'zuwə e'kwi gadona'lo'k  
 brother, don't seek his life  
 metcə'te gəse'ka'ŋgowatc metcə'te  
 lest certainly he overcome you." In spite of it  
 uga'donaləwal udo'kani'mi'zuwal wzam  
 they sought his life their younger brother, because  
 udji'skawə'lawal nəmi'na udi'łana  
 they were jealous of him. Then again they said  
 udo'kani'mi'zuwal amadi'hi'di'n'e  
 to their younger brother, "Let us play,  
 wa'la'de'ham'ha'di'n'e<sup>4</sup> amoskə'nana  
 dish-game let us play."<sup>4</sup> They produced  
 wala'de ha'maŋga'nal pəna'pskwi'ye  
 a dish game of stone.  
 ki'i'nha'n'dowi'nag'zu i'dak Gluskə'be  
 Ki'i' it was magic looking. He said Gluskə'be,  
 nehe' amadi'hi'di'n'e wzam ni'a  
 "Now, let us play! because I  
 ga'matc nəwi'gam'ke nodə'madi'hidi'n'a  
 very I fond of playing." Then they played.

known in the Gulf of St. Lawrence and as late as 1761 in New Brunswick waters.

<sup>4</sup> This is the well-known dish and dice game. It is played with six dice and fifty-two counting-sticks. The dice are shaken in the dish, five or six of one face counting for the thrower. The counting is very complex.

tam'ka't'e      ke'tca'iwit      awi''kwənan  
 The first      elder brother      took  
 wala'dal      udl'te'si'man      ma'lam  
 the dish,      he threw it,      then  
 aməste'heməna'l      agi'da'məŋga'nal  
 he secured many      counting-sticks.  
 nəGluskə'be      awi''kwənan      wala'dal  
 Then Gluskə'be      took      the dish  
 pe'səgwəda't'e      ela''ket      uza'kskam'ki'te'  
 once only      throwing,      he broke it all to pieces by-  
 si'mal      ume'm'la'we'ləmin      Gluskə'be  
 throwing.      He gave a great laugh      Gluskə'be,  
 i'dak      ak'wa'dale      poskəli'zəs'u  
 said,      "Ak'wa'dale!"      it breaks easily  
 kəwala'dena      tce'na      o'wa      ni'a      nəwala'de  
 your dish.      Let us      this      my      my dish  
 agwe'tcskoha'lane      nomo'skənan      awala'dal  
 let us try!"      Then he produced      his dish  
 bi'u''səsəs'wal      wəmbi'ga'ni'yal      ni'na  
 small      of ivory,      then at that  
 kada'weləmu      ke'tca'iwit      wi'dji'al  
 smiled      the elder      brother.  
 nəGluskə'be      udl'te'si'man      awala'dal  
 Then Gluskə'be      threw      his dish.  
 ma'lam      aməste'heməna'l      agi'da'məŋga'nal  
 Then      he secured many      counters.  
 ne'      nəke'tca'iwit      wi'dji'al      wi''kwənan  
 Then      then the elder      brother      took  
 wala'dal      eli'dəhasit      waga'k      pe'səgwəda  
 the dish,      thinking,      "This      once  
 ala''ka'ne      nsu'ksk'wte'si'ma      nəge'diala'ket  
 when I throw      it will break in pieces."      Then-  
     about to throw  
 udala'wunal      i'bi't'e      daliwasa'si'ha'suwa  
 he could not lift it,      only just      there it slipped from  
 o'ka'si'a'      neda'li      se'ka'ut      udi'lan  
 his finger-nails.      Then there      being defeated,      he-  
     said,  
 nda'te'gəni      i'dji'e      bəgwə'na      wala'de  
 "Not possible,      brother,      to raise      the dish.  
 gəse'ka'wi  
 You have won."

## TRANSLATION

Then Gluskə'be said, "I am going away again to stay a while. I shall not stay long. I must work for our descendants. I am going to visit Winter. He is very cruel. He abuses our descendants too much by his magic power. Where does Summer live?" he asked his grandmother. "In the south," said she, "always very well guarded by day and night." —"Well, I must go," he said. "Cut me some rawhide strings and roll them into a ball." Then she made seven rolls of rawhide and two pairs of snowshoes. Accordingly, she netted the snowshoes. Then Gluskə'be departed, saying, "Don't worry! I shall soon return." Then his grandmother said, "Your father has one eye; you will know him when you get there." Then he went. As he went, soon the snow appeared less and less; then, as he went on, bare ground appeared, and he wore out his snowshoes. Then he hung his other snowshoes on a tree. Then he took out his eye and hid it in a hollow tree, and told the Chickadee, "Watch over it for me." Then he walked on. At last he heard dancing and saw a village. Then he went in as a guest to his father's wigwam. "Kwe, father!" said he. "Kwe, son!" said the father, "I am glad you have come." But his brothers were not glad to see him. Then Gluskə'be knew they were seeking his life. One of them began to fill a magic stone pipe. He lighted it, and said to Gluskə'be, "Now smoke!" Gluskə'be inhaled a long breath twice, and emptied the pipe. Then he took another long breath, and the pipe exploded. Said he, "Oh! it breaks easily. Let me fill a pipe, brother!" So he took his pipe, a small one of ivory, and lighted it and gave it to his brother. "Let us try this! Let us smoke!" Then his brother smiled with a sneer, because the pipe was so small. He thought he would empty it with one breath. Then he began to smoke. He got sick. Then he told the other brother to smoke, and he got sick; and the third the



same, until all were sick. Then the father said, "Your younger brother is a great magician. Do not seek his life, for he will overcome you." Despite this, they sought his life, because they were jealous. "Let us play the dish-game!" They brought a dish of stone, a big magic dish. Said Gluskə'be, "Now, let us begin for I am fond of playing." They began playing. The oldest brother threw first, and won many counters. Then Gluskə'be threw once, and broke the dish to pieces. He gave a great laugh, and said, "Oh! it breaks easily. Let us try my dish!" Then he produced his dish, a small one of ivory. The oldest brother smiled. Gluskə'be threw, and won many counters. The oldest brother thought, "At once I shall break it in pieces when I throw." But when he tried, he could not lift it; his finger-nails only slipped on it. He was beaten. "I am not able to raise the dish, brother. You have won."

12. GLUSKƏ'BE STEALS SUMMER FOR THE  
PEOPLE, ESCAPES FROM THE CROWS,  
AND OVERCOMES WINTER

udlo'sən eda'lgamuk' nodji'wi'dəgan  
He went to where they were dancing to dance  
with them.

nəma be'djo'set una'mi'han  
When there he arrived, he saw

pma'uzowi'n'owa' peba'mi ki'gi'm'don'  
living people going about in groups talking

ka'hadi'djik na'tc ne'gəma  
low. Then also he

uda'si'djo'sən uda'gwedjo'dəmu'kan dan  
edged up. He inquired, "What

mi'na ali'dəbi'le ke'gwus ali'tangwat  
next has occurred, what is being done?"

ma'ni'te pe'səgoal udi'ləgul tcə's'tci'<sup>1</sup>  
Then one of them told him, "Tcə's'tci'!"

ki'abe'tt eli'gi'a' gwe'we'ldamən e'ltangwa'k  
you the likes of you. You know what is going on!"

<sup>1</sup> Accompanied by an insulting gesture, spreading the knuckles of the first two fingers and pointing toward him,—a most insulting exclamation and motion.

nə'na a'tc ne'gəma Gluskə'be udi'fal  
Then also he Gluskə'be said to him,

ki'a'ga'tc tcə's'tci' oma'ni'ta'nenan  
"You yourself tcə's'tci'!" He twisted his nose off  
(with his fingers),

nobi'di'gan eda'lgamuk' nowi'dəgan  
then he went in where they were dancing, then he  
danced,

wi'wunəge'ta'wəwal ni'bənal teba'bo  
round about they danced (circling) summer a fluid

ktci'p'kən'a'djo<sup>2</sup> ni'yu bə'məgat  
in a big bark receptacle.<sup>2</sup> Here were dancing

ni'swak nə'ηkskwak wuli'gowak  
two young girls handsome.

ugəlo'lan nda'tama udə'si'de'məgowi'a'  
He spoke to them, not they answered him,

e'bəgwa'tc awi'kwi'nəngu amo'skwi'la'-  
on account of it they made fun of him. He

ohogo ne'bəgwa'tc wza'mi p'skwa'nenan  
became angry. Then on account of it, because he  
stroked them on the back,

ne'ləmi wi'wunəgaha'dit pe'səgwəda  
while they circled around, at once

gi'z mədje' pi'lwi'nə'g'zuwak me'səma  
already they began to look strange before

mi'na wi'wunəgaha'dik'w ndala'oga'na  
again they circled about they could not dance.

e'ləboldi'hidit a'lnəbak una'mi'hanə  
Looking on the people saw

ni'swa' ma'skak e'bi'i'djik no'noda'kəna  
two toads sitting. Then they threw them out.

ma'li'hi'dəhasu'ldowak e'li' ma'skaitəhadit  
They wondered at how they turned into toads

na'ηkskwak ke'nuk pe'səgwun e'lgaha'dit  
the girls, but still kept dancing

wzam medji'mi tcuwi' wi'wunəge'ta'wə  
because always must surround

ni'bən we'dji'tc a'nda a'wen gi'zi'-  
summer so that no one could

<sup>2</sup> Birch-bark vessels of at least eight different styles were used for storage and culinary purposes.

sa'mənək'w Gluskə'be eli'dəhasit<sup>1</sup>  
touch it. Gluskə'be thought<sup>1</sup>

pəsəga'taha'sitc wi'gwom nugi'zi  
for darkness to come (in) wigwam then he was able

ni'mi'p'han ni'bənal kwe'ni'bəsəga'tek'w  
he grabbed summer while it was dark

unode'gəda'hin amə'djegwago'ma sala'-  
he jumped outside he began to run suddenly

kit'e yu'geda'lgədjik wunoda'wəwal'  
at once those dancing here heard

ni'bənal mekwe'li'djil nde'bena'wi'ahadit  
summer groaning; then they examined it (and saw)

tcil'nazu ma'nit'e ka'ngalowa'hadowak  
finger-marks where it was seized. Then they  
quickly cried out,

a'wen ugi'zi tci'lnal ni'bənal  
"Some one has succeeded snatching away summer!"

i'da'mohodit nabi'lwi a'lnəbe nela'lo'ke  
They said, "That strange man has done that!"

nono'degədaho'ldina nono'so'ka'wana  
Then they leaped to pursue then they chased him

Glu'skəbal sala'kit'e Gluskə'be e'ləmi'lat  
Gluskə'be. Suddenly Gluskə'be going along

unoda'wə no'so'ka'ngotci'djihi' ktcil'-  
heard them chasing after him big

m'ka'sesa' noda'si'da'bi'dun wə'dabak  
crows; then he tied on on his head

pe'səgwun be'dəgwa'pskek wlo'ges  
one ball of rawhide

pe'səgwun eli'lat mala'm'te pe'səgowal  
still going on at last one

ktci'm'ka'ses'al uda'dəmi'kəgul  
big crow caught up to him;

no'ni'mip'hogun wə'dabak nəm'ka'ses  
then he grabbed him on the head this crow

omo'wip'tun be'dəgwa'pskek wlo'ges  
he grabbed the ball of rawhide

na'ga agwulbi'dəwi'lan ali'dəhasu  
and flew back he thought

ka'ses wəda'p' Gluskə'be pe'mip'tak'w  
the crow [it was] head, Gluskə'be he was carrying-  
along.

<sup>1</sup> The conjurer's wish-thought.

mala'm'te elə'bit wlo'ges ke'lnək  
At last looking at the rawhide he seized

me'tci abi'ta'pode malhi'dəha'su  
the end unrolled he was surprised

ka'ses nəmi'na uno'so'kawən mi'na  
crow. Then again he chased him again

uda'dəmi'ka'wan mi'na uni'mip'han  
he overtook him again he grabbed

wə'dabak mi'na ozəwe'dəwi'lan nəmi'na  
his head again he flew about then again

i'bi'te wlo'ges ke'lnək me'tci  
just only the rawhide he seized the end

abi'ta'pode nonaska'dəhasin ka'ses  
unrolled. Then he gave up crow.

pe'səgwun eli'lat Gluskə'be elə'bit  
Still going on Gluskə'be looking

una'mi'tun wa'zali<sup>2</sup> pe'səgwun eli'lat  
saw snow<sup>3</sup> still going on

mala'm'te be'dji'le wa'zali e'ik ki'sa'tc  
at last he came (where) snow was, and already

m'ka'sesak gwa'li ayo'lduwak ke'nuk  
the crows near were; but

na'mi'to'ho'dit wa'zali una'ska'dəhasoldi'na  
when they saw snow, they all gave up

nobədəgi'dəwi'ha'ldi'na Gluskə'be  
then they all flew back. Gluskə'be

una'mi'han uda'ngəma e'khodjinli'djihi  
saw his snowshoes hanging together.

be'dji'lat una'slan uda'ngəma'  
When he came up, he fastened on his snowshoes,

nəgwi'la'wa'tun wsi'suk'w a'tama  
then he searched for his eye not

məska'mowun nəktci'gi'gi'laswal udi'lan  
he found it. Then to Chickadee he said,

dən si'suk'w udi'ləgun di'ktagli<sup>3</sup>  
"Where is eye?" He answered him, "Horned-Owl"

udl'mi'p'tone nogaga'loman dikta'gli'al  
carried it off! Then he called Horned-Owl

<sup>2</sup> A graphic indication that he was returning rapidly to the north country.

<sup>3</sup> American long-eared owl (*Asio Wilsonianus*). The name is derived from the bird's supposed cry.



wi'kwi'man bedji'dəwi'lan di'ktagli  
he called him to him he came flying Horned-Owl;

noni'mip'hən Gluskə'be noge'dnəma'wan  
then he took hold of him Gluskə'be, then he pulled out

si'suk'w ne'gəma una'stun nomə'djelən  
eye, he put it in. Then he left

pəbu'nkik eləmi'lat gwaskwa'i-+  
for winter land going along it grew colder.

mala'm'te una'mi'tun e'tek  
At last he saw where sat

pkwa'mi'ga'mik'w nəma' bedji'lat  
an ice-house. When there he arrived,

ubi'di'gan nəpəlu'səs'is e'bit' udi'ləgul  
he entered; then the old man sitting there said-  
to him,

kwe' kwe'nəs kwe' kwe'nəs<sup>1</sup> nəGluskə'be  
"Kwe', grandson!"—"Kwe', grandson!"<sup>1</sup> Then-  
Gluskə'be

amo'skənən ni'bənal na'ga abo'n'an  
took up the summer and set it down

e'lkwe'bi'lit pəlu'səs'izal sala'kit'e  
facing in front of the old man. Suddenly

bedji'a'mpse'zu pəlu'səs'is i'dak  
he came to sweat the old man. He said,

kwe'nəs ga'matc nda'bama'lsin me'wi'a  
"Grandson, very I am hot, it is better

mə'dji'a'ne — kwe'nəs ga'matc nda'-  
that you go away."—"Grandson, very I am-

bama'lsin me'wi'a mə'dji'a'ne. ke'nuk  
hot, it is better that you go away." But

Gluskə'be pe'səgwun elə'bit nəmi'na  
Gluskə'be still sat there. Then again

pəlu'səs'is awi'kwo'dəma'wan Gluskə'bal  
the old man begged him Gluskə'be

amə'dji'lin udi'lan kwe'nəs nəbe't  
that he go away. He said, "Grandson, I wish

mə'dji'a'ne ke'ga kəni'li kwe'nəs  
that you would go, almost you kill me!"—"Grand-  
son;

<sup>1</sup> Gluskə'be is mocking him.

<sup>2</sup> An insulting exclamation, accompanied by spreading the knuckles and pointing.

nəbe't mə'dji'a'ne ke'ga kəni'li  
I wish that you would go, almost you kill me!"

uda'maskəlo'tawal Gluskə'be mə'lam  
He mocked him Gluskə'be, then

pəlu'səs'is wi'tan pəni'le gə'spən'e  
the old man his nose melted off continuing until

upu'di'nal pəni'fal ka'skəme'fal  
his legs melted off he melted away.

nəGluskə'be odji'mədjın ne'li no'des'et'  
Then Gluskə'be departed. Then as he went out

na'ste gi'bi'le pkwa'mi'ga'mik'w  
soon melted down the ice-house.

#### TRANSLATION

Then Gluskə'be went on to where they were dancing. He saw the living people in groups talking low. He edged up, and asked, "What is going on next?" Then one answered, "Tcestci!<sup>2</sup> the likes of you to know what is going on?" Gluskə'be said, "You yourself tcestci!" and he twisted his nose off with his fingers. Then he entered where they were dancing round about a big bark dish which contained Summer like a kind of jelly. Two handsome girls were there dancing. Gluskə'be spoke to them, but they did not answer. They made fun of him. Because of this he stroked them on the back as they were dancing around. After circling once, their appearance began to change; before they made another turn, they could not dance. The people looking on them saw two toads sitting there. They threw them out, because the girls had turned into toads.<sup>3</sup> They wondered, as they still kept on dancing, why the girls had become toads, guarding the Summer (jelly) so that no one could touch it. Then Gluskə'be wished for darkness in the wigwam. Then he grabbed the Summer in the dark, and started to run away with it. The others, dancing, heard the Summer groaning. Examining it, there were finger-marks where it had been picked out. They

<sup>3</sup> Probably accounting for the origin of the Toad-Woman creature (Maski'k'wsi) mentioned before as a minor supernatural being.

cried out, "Somebody has snatched away Summer. That stranger has done this." Then they leaped up and went in pursuit of Gluskə'be. Soon he heard them coming in the shape of big crows. He tied his rawhide ball on his head. Then one of the big crows grabbed him on the head. He grabbed the ball of rawhide and flew back, thinking he had Gluskə'be's head. Then he saw the end of the rawhide as he unrolled it flying along. He started again in pursuit, and again grabbed another ball, thinking it was the head. Then again only rawhide he held by the end. Then he gave it up. Gluskə'be kept on until he saw snow. Soon he reached the snow. The crows chasing him turned back when they saw the snow. Gluskə'be took his snowshoes from the tree, put them on, and looked for his eye. He could not find it. "Where is my eye?" he asked the Chickadee. "A big Horned-Owl carried it off," answered the Chickadee. Then Gluskə'be called the Owl, and it came flying, and he pulled out the Owl's eye and put it in his own head. Then he left, going to where it was still colder. Then he came to where the ice-house was. He entered, and the old ice-man said, "Kwe, grandson!" Gluskə'be mocked him in return. Then Gluskə'be took the Summer, and set it down in front of the ice-man. He began at once to sweat, saying, "Grandson, I am very hot. You better go away." Gluskə'be mimicked him, but sat still. Then the old man begged him, "Grandson, go away, you are almost killing me." Gluskə'be again mimicked him. Then the ice-man's nose melted off, then his legs, and finally he melted away. Then Gluskə'be left, and the ice-house melted away too.

13. GLUSKƏ'BE DEPARTS, AND PROMISES  
TO AID THE PEOPLE WHEN  
HE RETURNS AGAIN

omədjɪ'n wi'gwomwuk nəmə' be'djo'set  
He went to his wigwam. When there he arrived,  
wuli'dəhasu moni'mkwes'u Gluskə'be  
rejoiced Woodchuck. Gluskə'be

udi'tan said,	ən'i" "So!	ni''kwup' Now	gi'zi'uli''tun it is fixed
anda'tc never	mi'na again	ado'dji such	sa'gi'po'nuwi severe winter.
nəme''talo''kewan I have finished working	go'sə'snawa' for our descendants.	ni''kwup' Now	
ki'u'na you and I	kəmədʒe'ode'bəna will move away	me''tagwi'- to the extreme	
dji'lak end	kəda'ki'na <sup>1</sup> of our land <sup>1</sup>	nədʒiwi'gi'ak''w to live there	
aska'mi forever.	metcə't'etc Nevertheless	kda'lo'kewana'wak we shall work for them	
go'sə'snawak our descendants,	medji'mitc and always	noda'wəŋk I shall hear them	
wi'kwu'dəməwi'hi'di'de whenever they call for me	wi'djo'ke'dəwa'ŋgan for help.		
nədʒi'ni''kwup' From now on	nədʒe'dala'lo''kan I shall work		
eda'li'ta'wa to make	sa'wonal stone arrow-heads	tci'ba'dok' perhaps	
e'ləmi'ga'dək' in future years	ktci'a'odin a great war	ni'ldj these will	
ewe''ke'di'dʒil be used	mi'ga'ke'hi'di'dit when they fight	go'sə'- our	
snawak descendants."	nodi'da'mən Then spoke	moni'mkwes'u Woodchuck:	
ən'i'' nega'tc "So!	ni'a ndli''tun then also I	ni'ma'wan <sup>2</sup> shall make	lunches <sup>2</sup>
bəsəda'mun of crushed corn	a'o'dimge in the war	go'sə'snawak our descendants	
uni'mawa'nuwul' their lunches."			
ni''kwup' Now	pemgi'zəga to-day	tənedu'dji whenever	
atlo''kalut a story is told of him,	tcana'lo'ke he stops work	Gluskə'be Gluskə'be	
nodaba'skwazin raises his head	na'ga and	udəbəde'lmin laughs heartily,	

<sup>1</sup> Surmised to be at the eastern end of the world.

<sup>2</sup> Hunters and warriors carried small quantities of prepared corn and smoked meat in their belts on their journeys, called "lunches."



udi'da'mən aha'a' eskwa't'e nəmi'-  
he says, "Aha'a! Yet even they remember-  
kawi'dəha'mguk go'sə'snawak  
me our descendants."

## TRANSLATION

Then he went home, and his grandmother rejoiced. "Now," said he, "I have fixed it so that never again will there be a winter too hard. I have finished working for our descendants. Now you and I will go away from here to the extreme end of our land (the earth). There we shall live forever; nevertheless we shall work for our descendants. I shall always hear them whenever they ask help of me. From now on I shall continue to work. I shall make arrow-points. Perhaps in future years a great war will come. Then they can use them, our descendants." Then Woodchuck, his grandmother, said, "Now I also shall make stores of baked crushed corn for our descendants' food when the great war takes place, to be their provisions."

Even now, to-day, whenever a story is told of him, Gluskə'be stops work, raises his head, and laughs heartily. He says, "Aha'a! Even yet our descendants remember me."<sup>1</sup>

SECONDARY MYTHS CONCERNING  
GLUSKƏ'BE

## 14. GLUSKƏ'BE IS DEFEATED BY A BABY

Gluskə'be	ga'matc	ktci'se'nəbe
Gluskə'be	very	great man
pse'li'gi'si'ha'du	məzi'	wuse'ka'wan
many things he could do	all	he overcame
ktci'awa's'a'	ne'sana'g'zi-li'dji'hi	məzi'a''tc
great beasts,	dangerous ones,	and all
ktci'məde'olinowa' <sup>2</sup>	wuse'ka'wə	be'dji'
great conjurers <sup>3</sup>	he overcame,	even
kəsəla'm'sən	wuse'ka'wə	ən'i''
the wind	he overcame.	"So!"

<sup>1</sup> It was believed even until recently by some of the older people that Gluskə'be would some day return and restore the country to the Indians; the expulsion of

udi'da'mən ni'a nda''tamə awe'n a'yi'  
he said, "I not any one there is  
tan se'ka'wit nəp'hə'nam udi'lan  
but I conquer!" Then a woman said,  
e'kwi'ni'da a'yu a'wen se'kask'  
"Don't say that, there is one who will conquer  
you."

Gluskə'be i'dam awenaskwe'na se'ka'wit  
Gluskə'be said, "Who is that who conquer me?"

udi'da'mən p'hə'nam ni'a'ga ni'gwomnuk  
She said the woman, "Indeed in my own wigwam  
a'yu se'kask' Gluskə'be i'dak nəga'di  
there is who will conquer you." Gluskə'be said,  
"I want

na'mi'ha nəp'hə'nam udi'lan nəga'  
to see him." Then the woman said, "Well, then,  
a'lose ni'gwomnuk Gluskə'be i'dam  
come to my wigwam." Gluskə'be said,

q'ha nədjina'mi'ha nodlo'san  
"Yes, to see him." Then he went

wi'gwomuk nəma' be'djo'set una'mi'han  
to the wigwam. When there he came, he saw

awa's'izal' dalimi'li'ha'dage nəp'hə'nam  
a baby there in his mischief. Then the woman  
i'dam owa'was'is nda'haba gəse'ka'wə  
said, "That baby cannot you conquer."

Gluskə'be udəbəde'lmu nəwawa's'is  
Gluskə'be laughed. Then the baby

muskwe'ldamən tci'bago''kezin seska'demin  
got angry, gave a great scream cried,

a''tamə gi'zi'dji'gana muskwe'ldak  
not could hush him he was mad.

nodi'lan p'hə'nam ehe'' Gluskə'be  
Then said woman, "Ehe"! Gluskə'be

agwedji'se'kawə Gluskə'be mi'na  
try to conquer him." Gluskə'be again

udəbəde'lmu nəwa'wa's'is tci'bago''kezu  
laughed, then the baby made a scream.

nəGluskə'be uga'digla'hama'wul  
Then Gluskə'be tried to stop him

se'skade'mizi be'zəgwun e'l'kwesit  
crying himself still he kept on.

the Europeans to be accomplished by one sweep of the hero's foot forcing them into the sea.

<sup>2</sup> Məde'olinu, professional conjurer.

udi'lan Gluskə'be naga'səga'o ta'gwi  
Said Gluskə'be, "Then let us both  
se'skade'min'e na'tc Gluskə'be useska'-  
let us cry!" Then Gluskə'be cried,  
demin tci'bago'kezu na'lau se'skade'mi'na  
gave a great scream, so thence they cried.  
ma'alam' awa's'is e'k'wəzu nomi'li'ha-  
At last baby stopped crying, then he-  
dagon a'was'is nabi' soqe'wadun na'tc  
made mischief baby, water spilling; then  
Gluskə'be mi'li'ha'dagon mala'am'te  
Gluskə'be likewise did mischief, until at last  
a'was'is sawa'tu ola'bin awa's'is  
baby got tired, he sat down baby,  
əne'bi't udaldja'go'kan ma'ni'te  
then there sitting there he defecated, then  
kwə'lbada'bo na'ga umi'djin nəGluskə'be  
he turned around and ate it. Then Gluskə'be  
se'ka'wun nedali'se'ka'wat Gluskə'be  
was conquered, there he was conquered Gluskə'be  
nda'tama udli'gi'zi'ha'dawun  
not he could accomplish it.

## TRANSLATION

Gluskə'be was a very great person. He did many things. He defeated all his opponents. Great dangerous beasts, all great magicians, he defeated. Even the wind he defeated. "So," he said, "I—why, there is no one but whom I can conquer." Then a woman who heard him said, "Better refrain from saying that; there is some one who will conquer you." Said Gluskə'be, "Who is he who can conquer me?" Said the woman, "Even in my wigwam there is one who will conquer you." Said Gluskə'be, "I want to see him." This woman replied, "Well, then, come to my wigwam." Said Gluskə'be, "Yes, I will go and see him." Then he went to the wigwam. Arriving there, he saw a baby in his usual mischief. The woman said, "This baby you are not able to conquer." Gluskə'be laughed loudly. The baby grew angry. He gave a scream; and, crying, he would not be hushed, because he was angry. Then said the woman, "Well, Gluskə'be, try

to conquer him." And Gluskə'be laughed again. Then the baby uttered another scream, and Gluskə'be tried to stop his crying; but he kept on just the same. Then said Gluskə'be, "So, let us both cry." Then he, too, uttered a scream, and Gluskə'be cried. So they were both crying and screaming. At last the baby stopped crying; but he began more mischief, he began spilling water. Then Gluskə'be did the same. They both spilled water all about. Soon the baby got tired spilling water and sat down. Forthwith he defecated, and then he turned around and ate it. Now Gluskə'be was conquered. Right there he was conquered; Gluskə'be could not do that.

## 15. GLUSKƏ'BE CAUSES HIS UNCLE, TURTLE, TO LOSE HIS MEMBER, AND RECOVERS IT FOR HIM

sala'ki bemo'sedit kpi' Gluskə'be  
Once walking along in woods Gluskə'be  
na'ga wusa'si'zal' do'ləbal<sup>1</sup> umada'bana  
and his mother's brother Turtle<sup>1</sup> they came down  
ktci'si'buk udlaŋkwa'zi'na gi'zaŋkwa'-  
to a big river; finally they cooked dinner; after-  
zi'hi'dit umi'tsi'na gi'zi'pi'hi'dit  
they had cooked, they ate. After they had eaten,  
dali'uda'mona sala'ki elə'bi'hi'dit  
there they smoked. Suddenly they looked  
agə'muk si'buk una'mi'hana p'he'namu  
across the river, they saw women  
me'dəbə'bazi'djik dali'tkasmo'ldi'na  
coming down to the shore, there they went in bath-  
ing.  
ak'wa'dale awi'gi'na'wa do'l'be p'he'namu  
Ak'wa'dale! He wanted to cohabit Turtle with-  
the women.  
i'dak nda'wəzəm<sup>2</sup> tanbet'e't ndla'lo'kan  
He said, "Nephew,<sup>2</sup> how please shall I do  
we'dji gi'zi'be'su't'kawak ni'gik  
so that can approach those

<sup>1</sup> Sculptured terrapin (*Chelopus insculptus*).<sup>2</sup> It is interesting to note that the relationship terms employed here indicate Turtle to have been the hero's maternal uncle.



p'he'namu      ga'matc      nga'dawq'dəbebi  
women,      very much      I desire to cohabit."  
udi'lan      wza'si'zal      kdla'lo'ke'gatc  
He said      to his uncle,      "So finally you do this,  
tə'məze      gəbe'skuhwə'di<sup>1</sup>      na'ga      aba's'ik  
cut off      your member<sup>1</sup>      and      on a stick  
kwu's'aga'k'w'hamən      nəge'hel'a      do'l'be  
push it across."      Accordingly      Turtle  
uga'dona'dun      kwe'nəha'n'dowa'kwak  
hunted for      a long magic wood  
aba's'i      na'ga      abe'skuhwə'di      udə'məzəmən  
stick,      and      his member      he cut off  
na'ga      ubi'za'mudun      aba's'ik      na'ga  
and      stuck it through      on the stick,      and  
agwu's'aga'k'w'hamən      nəbe'dak'w'hak  
pushed it across.      Then, when it reached  
eba's'təgwe      aq      nozənk'hi'gəda'hin  
middle of river,      aq/      then jumped out  
sko'tam      noba'gaha'dun      udl'mikwu's'i-  
a trout,      then he grabbed it,      he finally  
ha'done      do'l'be      ube'skwəhədi  
swallowed it      Turtle's      member,  
ki'n'gi-ni-la'wele      do'l'be      e'bəgwa'tc  
terribly greatly he got angry      Turtle      on account-  
of it  
se'si-la'we      nəGluskə'be      udi'lan      e'kwi  
he cried.      Then Gluskə'be      said,      "Don't  
ge'gwus      ali'dəha'zi      wulago'gatc  
anything      think of it,      for this evening  
kəmə's'ənəmən      kəbe'skuhwə'di      nəme'-  
you will get it      your member."      Then he-  
wi'a'dəhasin      do'l'be      nowelə'gwi'wik  
felt better      Turtle.      Then that evening  
Gluskə'be      uma'dəmi'mən      i'zame'gwešəwal<sup>2</sup>  
Gluskə'be      hired      Fish-Hawk<sup>2</sup>  
awa's'ana<sup>3</sup>      udi'lan      mo'zak      sap'taha'katc  
to go torching for fish.<sup>3</sup> He said,      "Don't      spear him

<sup>1</sup> Literally, "gun."<sup>2</sup> Osprey (*Pandion haliaetus*).<sup>3</sup> To fish at night from canoes with torches made of birch-bark which light up the depths of the river and also draw the fish so that the spearmen can see them.

na'mes      ki'napska'ldjəde      eba's'i  
a fish      big-bellied      in his middle,  
wu'dəbak      gəsa'p'tahan      mala'm'te  
on the head      you spear him."      Then  
una'mihal      i'zame'gwe's'u      na'mes'al  
he saw it      Fish-Hawk      the fish  
ki'napska'ldjal      wsa'p'tahan      wu'dəbak  
big-bellied      he speared him      on the head,  
gi'i'      wuli'dəhasu      do'l'be      na't'e  
gi'i'/      he rejoiced      Turtle.      Then  
oba'skəzan'      na'mes'al      na'ga      uge'dnəmən  
he cut open      the fish      and      he took  
abe'skuhwə'di      e'bəgwa'tc      wq'ba'gwəšən  
the member      on account of (the soaking)      it was-  
shrivelled.  
udi'lan      Gluskə'be      wza'si'zal'      wi'hw'za'e  
He said      Gluskə'be      to his uncle,      "Hurry up  
gla'modu'      əne'dudji      wi'za'nəg'zit  
attach it!"      Then so much      he hurrying  
do'l'be      gəlama'ket      abe'skuhwədi  
Turtle      to attach quickly      his member  
e'bəgwa'tc      wzu'skwi'p'tun      wzo'skwa't'e  
on account of it      belly up he put it      right upside down  
abe'skuhwə'di      we'dji      ni'kwup'      do'l'be  
his member      so that      now      Turtle  
soskwa'tek      abe'skuhwədi      e'bəgwa'tc  
upside down      member      on account of this  
ni'kwup'      ali-wi'la      do'l'be      soskwa'los  
now      he is called      "Turtle      inverted member."

## TRANSLATION

Once upon a time Gluskə'be was walking along in the woods. His mother's brother, Turtle, was with him. They came to a big river, where they cooked a meal and ate it. After they had eaten, they smoked together. All of a sudden, looking across the river, they saw some women coming down to the shore to go in bathing. Turtle voluit copulare cum mulieribus very eagerly. Said he, "Nephew, what shall I do so that I may get near those women? Volui copulare very much." His uncle replied, "Cut off your member, put it on a stick, and send it across: that is what

you will do." So thus Turtle found a great long stick, cut off his member, and stuck it upon the end of the stick. Then he pushed it across the river underneath the water. When he had sent it half way in the middle of the river, lo, a trout jumped out of the water and grabbed and swallowed Turtle's member. *Ki'n!* he was angry. So angry was Turtle, that he cried. Then Glusk'be said, "Don't think anything of it, for to-night we shall recover your member." Then Turtle felt more at ease, and that evening Glusk'be hired a Fish-Hawk to go spearing fish by torch-light. Said he to the Fish-Hawk, "If you encounter a great big-bellied fish, don't spear it in the middle, but hit it on the head." So the Fish-Hawk went spearing by torch-light. At last he saw the big-bellied fish, and speared it on the head. *Ki'i!* how Turtle rejoiced! Straightway he cut open the fish, took out his member. On account of its being in the belly of the fish so long, it was much water-soaked and wrinkled. Then said Glusk'be, "Hurry, stick it on, connect it!" And Turtle hurried, and quickly joined his member on; but he put it on his belly bottom side up in his haste, so that now Turtle has his member upside down. That is why the turtle is now called "wrong-side up member."

16. GLUSK'BE AIDS TURTLE  
TO GET MARRIED; BUT TURTLE  
GETS BURNED, AND TRIES IN VAIN  
TO KILL GLUSK'BE

nodji'ma'dji'na nodlo'sana a'lnqabai o'dene  
Then they started out, then they went to a village  
of people,

noda'li udji'tci'hi-wana sa'ngama'ke  
and there they came as visitors to the chief

kæl'u''<sup>1</sup> kæl'u'' łowa'udo'zal nado'l'be  
Auk.<sup>1</sup> Auk had three daughters. That Turtle

<sup>1</sup> Supposed to be Great Auk (*Plautus impennis*) or perhaps Razor-Billed Auk (*Alca torda*).

<sup>2</sup> The formal proposal by means of wampum. Some male relative, in behalf of the suitor, carries a belt, collar, or handkerchief full of wampum to the mother of

o'li'na'wan pe'səgowal na'kskwal udi'lan  
liked one girl. He said

uda'wəzəmal Glusk'bal nda'wəzə  
to his nephew Glusk'be, "My nephew,

nda't'cwelma nabe'səgo na'kskwe  
I want that one girl

ewə'si'səwit ni'kwup' ni'a  
youngest. Now I

nda't'cwe'ldamən gi'a kæl'u'lwewin<sup>2</sup> i'dak  
wish you to propose." Said

Glusk'be ən'i'' ni'atc kæl'u'lwewul  
Glusk'be, "So! I will propose for you."

gehe'l'a welə'ngwi'wik ogəl'u'lwān  
Accordingly at evening he proposed

Glusk'be uli'dəha'ma do'l'be na't'e  
Glusk'be. He was accepted Turtle, right away

uni'ba'wina ki'i'+ mam'ho'nagan  
they married. *Ki'i+* a big dance

na'ga o'manaska's'in do'l'be nemi'tso'ldin  
and provided a feast Turtle. Then they ate

na'ga pa'poldin ne'ngama'di'hi'din'  
and played games and running-races,

na'ga eli'gəda'holdin Glusk'be udi'lan  
and also jumping. Glusk'be said

wza'si'zal ki'a'tc wi'dji'gəda'hi  
to his nephew, "And you join in jumping,

k'wskwi'dji'gəda'hi kəsi'l'hos wi'gwom  
jump over the top your father-in-law's wigwam

kæl'u'' sa'ngma'wi'ga'mik'w nsə'da  
Auk the chief's house, three times

k'wskwi'dji'gəda'hin ke'nuk q'da  
jump over it, but no

a'ηkwomu'k' nsə'da ki'i'+ edu'dji  
more than three times." *Ki'i+* when

spi'gəda'hit do'l'be məzi' oma'hi'na'wal  
over the top he jumped Turtle, all were surprised

e'dudji spi'gəda'hi'lit do'l'bal məzi'  
when he jumped over Turtle. All

the girl desired, at the same time delivering a commendatory speech. If the suit is favorable, the wampum is accepted; otherwise it is returned. This procedure constituted one of the few ceremonies in the native life of the region.



wnə'k'anəgə'mi'ha ski'no'sa' edu'dji  
he outstripped them the youths. Then so

bəli'dəha'sit do'l'be i'dak nda't'enəge'k'<sup>w</sup>  
he felt proud. Turtle he said, "That is not my-  
limit!"

nəmi'na udli'gəda'hin nəGluskə'be  
Then again he tried to jump, then Gluskə'be

udli'dəha'man nəbi't'e'sin na'ga  
caused him by wishing, "Get caught and

gəbəni'lan a'nəba'ndje'lan<sup>1</sup> na'ga  
fall." Then he fell (the rascal),<sup>1</sup> and

skwude' zu'sk'w'te'sin məzi'  
(in) the fire lay on his back, all

wi'kwu'tkəde'k bə'skwan nəwe'dji  
wrinkled dried his back. That's why

a'liguk do'l'be ubə'skwan ni'kwup'  
looks so turtle his back now.

awa'katc ugi'zi:kaba'kana'l kəlu'  
Hardly he could snatch him out Auk

udalu'səgul do'l'be wewi'dəha'man  
his son-in-law Turtle. He knew

uda'wəzəmal ne'li'ho'go't aməskwi'dəha'  
his nephew so was causing it. He got angry with-

man eli'ho'go't ga'matc aga'djo do'l'be  
him for doing it, very ashamed Turtle

e'dudji muskwi'dəha'sit ugi'zi'dəhəda'man  
so much he felt angry. He made up his mind

wəni'lan Glu'skəbal welə'gwi'wik  
to kill Gluskə'be. At evening

udi'lan uda'wəzəmal pe'mələ'gwik  
he said to his nephew, "To-night

ki'u'nate ni'zo'si'nun'e ge'hel'a  
you and I directly together will lie." Accordingly

uni'zo'si'n'a wa'skwe Gluskə'be  
they lay together that Gluskə'be

wewi'dəha'mal ke'di'alalo'kelit ma'ni'  
knew it what he would do. After

<sup>1</sup> The first degree of objurgative emphasis in verbs, translated ordinarily nowadays as, "Then he fell, damn him!" The objurgative element here is *-dj-*, a still more forceful element is *-djale-*, and the ultimate is *-djalegitti-*.

ki'səsi'nohodit udli'dəhaman mədje'gənətc  
they had lain down, he wished, "Commence also-  
to grow

gəbe'skuhwədi nəge'hel'a mədje'gən  
your member." Accordingly it grew

do'l'be abe'skuhwəhədi ma'lam'  
Turtle his member. Then

ude'dəbi'gwunag'zo'təgun to'gi'lat  
it became as long as to reach to his head. He woke up

pema'kwəsi'gwa'wen eli'dəhasit  
lying alongside of him some one he thought (it was)

Gluskə'be ga'o agwi'lonat i'dak  
Gluskə'be sleeping; he felt of him, he said,

ki'i' + ule'wəgan wewa'mada'mən  
"Ki'i' + his heart!" He felt of it

eda'l'te'sək uni'se'kwak'w wi'kwənəmən  
there it beating, his knife he took.

sesala'ki uzə'p'tahan ne'dudji  
All of a sudden he jabbed him. Then

tci'ba'gəwet agee' + ya' e'ləbit  
he gave a cry, "Agee + ya'!" Looking

a'nsəma ude'zək'wəhe'mən ube'skuhwadi  
right square he had jabbed it through his member.

## TRANSLATION

After this they started out, and went to a village, where, as strangers, they entered the chief's house. Auk was the chief. Auk had three daughters. Now, the Turtle took a liking to one girl; so he said to his nephew, Gluskə'be, "Nephew, I should like that particular girl, the youngest one; so now I want you to propose for me." Gluskə'be replied, "All right, I will propose for you." So that night Gluskə'be sent the proposal-wampum to the chief for Turtle, and he was accepted. Right away they got married. *Ki'i'!* a splendid dance and a great feast were furnished by the Turtle. The people ate and played games, running races and jumping. Then said Gluskə'be to his uncle, "Now you jump in the contests, too. Jump over your father-in-law's wigwam, Auk's, the chief's house. Jump over it three times, but not more than three times."

*Ki-i!* when Turtle jumped over the top of Auk's wigwam, all the people were greatly astonished. He beat every one in jumping. And he became very proud, this Turtle, and said, "Oh! that's nothing." Then he tried to jump again. Now Glusk<sup>q</sup>'be, by thinking, caused him to get caught in the wigwam-poles of Auk's house; and there the rascal stuck, and soon fell into the fire, where he lay on his back. His back was all wrinkled and dried. That's why the turtle's back is so nowadays. Auk, indeed, could hardly snatch his son-in-law from the fire. Turtle knew that his nephew was the cause of his trouble, and so got angry with him for what he had done. Turtle was very much ashamed, and, besides, very angry; so he made up his mind to kill Glusk<sup>q</sup>'be that evening. That evening he said to his nephew, "To-night we shall lie down together." Accordingly they slept together that night. Now, Glusk<sup>q</sup>'be knew what Turtle was planning. So, after they had lain down, Glusk<sup>q</sup>'be, by thinking, caused Turtle's member to grow very large. So Turtle's member began to grow very large indeed, until at last it got to be as large as his own body, as tall as his head. When he woke up, Turtle thought that the object lying beside him was Glusk<sup>q</sup>'be, sound asleep; so he felt of him, and said, "*Ki-i!* his heart throbs." He could feel the pulse beating in his member. Then he took his knife and all of a sudden stabbed it. He made an outcry. "*Agee' + ya'!*" Point blank he had jabbed his knife through his own member.

## SECONDARY HERO-TRANSFORMER TALES

### I. LONG-HAIR (KWUN-A-WAS) IS ABANDONED BY HIS PARENTS, AND IS RAISED BY HIS GRANDMOTHER, WOODCHUCK

wa''ka na'ləmək me''təgwik pan'awa'-  
Far up river at head of Penobscot-  
mske'u'tuk'w nə'wat e'igəsa o'dene  
River long ago where was village

ali-wi''tazu called	q'zwazo'ge's'ak Crooked-Channel	ni'wi'gi'za there lived
ktci'sa'ngəmo great chief	a'li-wi'zo named	nək'wata'wit Lone-Light,
gi' nha'n'do great magician	na'ga and	gi'ni'nag'wzu very powerful
gizi'dəha'nigəzo''sa beloved by his people;	na'ga and	taba'wus seven
une'mona his sons.	nə'gwudas Six	gi'ni'nag'wzowak were powerful,
ke'nuk but	nihi'mosa'dji'na these he loved;	ke'nuk but
məde's'q the youngest	pi'waba's'u small,	ni'lil a'tama that one not
amosa'dji'na he loved	e'bəgwatc so much that	ami'lw'p'na he gave him away
wuzu'gwu's'a to his mother-in-law	moni'mkwes'uwal' Woodchuck.	nemoni'mk- Then Wood-
wes'u chuck	oma'dje'gənan raised him	o'kwe'nasal' as her grandchild,
nodli'wi'lan then called him	Kwun'a'was Long-Hair,	wutc eli'wli'guk for so nice (was)
ubi'e'somal' his hair,	ga'matc very much	omosa'dji'na she loved
o'kwe'nasal her grandson,	uzam because	una'mi'ta'wan she saw him
e'li how	ga'di going to be	gi'nhan'do'wilit great magician.
ki'mən taught him	e'li how	ka'dona'lut to hunt
pəla't'e nta'm'ka the very first of all	e'li how	po'nəma'wut to set snares for
ma'təgwe's'u rabbit.	be'dji'leo Came here	kado'powə'gan a famine,
nə'məs'i' then all	mədje'kenoldi'na left the place	a'lnəbak the people.
noda'li Then there	nəga'la'na they abandoned	moni'mkwes'uwal' Woodchuck
na'ga and	kwe'nasal her grandson.	na'ga And
Kwun'a'was Long-Hair,	pəla't'e first of all,	ma'təgwes'uwal' rabbits



ogadona'lə we'dji kisimi'tsi'dit  
to hunt, is that they could eat.  
nəKwun'a'was uda'tcwe'ldamə o'kəməs'al'  
Then Long-Hair wanted his grandmother  
udli''tagwun tə'mbial na'ga ba''kwāl  
to make him a bow and arrows  
we'dji giz'i'bmət madji'les'uwāl  
so that he could shoot partridges.  
moni'mkwes'u udli'han tə'mbial na'ga  
Woodchuck made for him bow and  
ba''kwāl nta'mka't'e ki'u''set Kwun'a'was  
arrows. The first time he walked about (hunting),<sup>1</sup>  
Long-Hair  
q'gi'mataba'wus ne'ladji'hi madji'les'uwāl  
remarkable seven killed partridges.  
e'dudji wli'daha'sit moni'mkwes'u  
So much she rejoiced Woodchuck  
e'bəgwatc' bə'məge' moni'mkwes'u udi'lan  
on account of it, she danced. Woodchuck said  
kwe'nus'al ə'n'i'' kwe'nus'is na'ga  
to her grandson, "Now, little grandson! and  
pmauzi'nena ni ni''kwup' ka'dona'lan  
we shall live this now you will hunt  
ktci'awa's'ak ni''kwup' kəmi'lan  
big animals now I shall give you  
kəmo''sumsal uda''tambial nəmoni'mkwes'u  
your grandfather's his bow. Then Woodchuck  
omu'skə'nəmən mi'gəna'gwe udli'k'hasin  
took out a bark vessel, searching  
odji'mo'skəng wə'mbiga'ni'ye<sup>1</sup> tə'mbial  
she took from it white bone made (ivory)<sup>1</sup> bow  
na'ga sa'wonal nodi'lan kwe'nas  
and flint arrows, then she said, "Grandson,  
wa tə'mbi kmo''sumsal uda''tambial  
that bow your grandfather his bow.  
nə ni''kwup' məsi'dan ne'mi'hat  
Hence now all whatever you may see  
awa's a'tamatc kəbu'lgū  
beast never escape you."  
nta'm'ka't'e gi'wi'fat Kwun'a'was  
The first time he went about, Long-Hair

<sup>1</sup> Described as a composite bow made of three lengths of ivory lashed together.

q'gi'matəba'was no'ika' ne'la'dji'hi  
remarkable seven deer killed.  
dana'skwe no''kami a'nda mi'na  
"How is it, grandma, not more  
ta'ma ai''wi'yak a'lnəbak moni'mkwes'u  
anywhere exist people?" Woodchuck  
seska'demin si'pki' dəbi'dəhasu  
cried for a long time she pondered  
moni'mkwes'u mala'm'te i'dak nkwe'nas  
Woodchuck then she said, "My grandchild,  
ai'wak kəda'gik a'lnəbak ki'u'natc  
there exist other people,— your and my  
kəda'lnəbe'mnawak ke'nuk i'yu  
our people (relatives), but here  
eda'li'naga'lnagoban we'dji gwaskwa'lamiak  
is where they abandoned us so that starve to death,  
aso''ke gəbma'uzi'bəna e'skwa  
in spite of it we are living yet.  
a'lmot'ha'doba'nik ala'gwi we'dji  
They moved away in direction whence  
sə'ŋkhi'lat gi''zo's<sup>2</sup> ni''kwup' gwa''fi  
comes out the sun.<sup>2</sup> Now near  
ktci'so'beguk ayo'lduwak məzi' elə'goda'-  
the great ocean they exist. All our kin  
man udali'wi'dji'lanə nəKwun'a'was  
there went with them." Then Long-Hair  
udi'damən ni''kwup' ngwi'la'uhan  
said, "Now I shall search for them,  
nəga'di na'mi'hak ndalnə'bemak  
I want to see them my people."  
udi'lan moni'mkwes'u o'kwe'nas'al  
Said Woodchuck to her grandchild,  
ga'matc nəgwi'te'ldamən anda' mi'na  
"Very much I am afraid not again  
kəna'mi'ho'ləwan wzam na'nəgwutc  
I shall see you, because some  
ma'dji'se'nəbak ki'dji'ak ka'dona'lgogāt  
are bad men your brothers seeking your life  
na'mi'uske kda''tcwi wuli'sko'hoda'mən  
when they see you you must take good care.

<sup>2</sup> The east.

ni'snoldji o'denal e'tcwi'adodjosa'nil  
There will be two villages equally to be passed-  
through

ni'ilil sɔpka'mane kəbma'uzi ni'kwup'  
these if you succeed with you will live. Now

kda'tcwi' ni'a wi'djo'kemal  
must I help you."

nəmoni'mkwes'u udli'kha'sin mi'gəna'gwik  
Then Woodchuck searched in a bark vessel,

omə'skənəmən kə'dəgwa'bi'zun udi'lan  
she took out a belt. She said,

i'yu da'nteliktwe'ldamən kdli'-  
"Here whatever you wish it will,

gi'zabeda'mən i'bi'tde kəlo'ldamən  
obey you, only speak to it

e'li'tcwe'ldamən nagasi'bi Kwun'a'was  
what you wish." Then Long-Hair

udi'lan o'kməs'al mo'za'k  
said to his grandmother, "Do not

nsa'hi'katc nda'gwe'dji' nenawe'lməsi'  
worry about me, I shall try to take care of myself

gweni'la tcumi'na be'dji'la udi'lan  
while going. Surely again I shall come." He said

o'kməs'al o'wa noda'məgan  
to his grandmother, "This my pipe

kan'əga'dəmo'lan pənapskwa'sən o'wa  
I leave with you, stone pipe, this

gəbo'nən elkwe'si'nən nəkədəbi'na'wan  
place in your bed as you lie down, and you watch it.

tan gwe'ni' ni'wigit mo'za'k sa'hi'kat  
As long as it is empty, don't worry;

azo'ke na'mi'ha'de udo'ta'oban  
but, on the other hand, if you see it contains

paga'kan kə'dəbi'na'wan nə'djən  
blood, watch it, for then

eda'li da'yine's'a' sa'nəgwa'k ke'nuk  
there is present danger, but if

a'nda psa'n'əbekwe nəbma'uzin nizna'bi  
not it is full, I am alive, soon

be'dji'le  
I shall come back."

## TRANSLATION

Far up the river, at the head of Penobscot River, where there was a village called Crooked Channel, there lived a great chief named Lone-Light. He was a great and powerful magician, beloved by his people, and he had seven sons. Six were strong, and these he loved; but the youngest was small, and that one he loved not. On this account he gave him away to his mother-in-law, Woodchuck. Then Woodchuck raised him as her grandchild, and called him Long-Hair, for he had such nice hair. Very much she loved her grandson. Then she taught him how to hunt beasts, first of all how to set snares for rabbits.

There came a famine, and all the people left the place and abandoned Woodchuck and her grandson. Then Long-Hair began to hunt. First of all, rabbits he hunted, so that they could eat. Then Long-Hair wanted his grandmother to make him a bow and arrows, so that he could hunt partridges. Woodchuck made for him a bow and arrows. The first time he went about, Long-Hair, strange to say, killed seven partridges. So much Woodchuck rejoiced on account of this, that she danced, and said to her grandson, "Now, little grandson, indeed we shall live from now on. You will hunt big animals. Now, I shall give you your grandfather's bow." Then Woodchuck took out a bark basket. Searching in it, she took out a bow of ivory, and flint arrows, and said, "Grandson, that bow is your grandfather's bow. Henceforth whatever beasts you may see will never escape you." The first time he went about, Long-Hair, strange to say, killed seven deer. "How is it, grandmother, that no more people exist anywhere?" Woodchuck wept; and for a long time she pondered, then she said, "My grandchild, there do exist other people,—your relatives and my relatives,—but they abandoned us here to starve to death. In spite of it, however, we are living yet. They moved away in the direction whence comes up the



sun. Now, near the great ocean they still exist. All our kin went there with them." Then Long-Hair said, "Now, I will search for them, for I want to see my people." Said Woodchuck to her grandchild, "Very much I fear that not again shall I see you, because some are bad men, your brothers, who will seek your life when they see you. You must take good thought, for there will be two villages equally to be passed through; and if you pass these, you will live. But now I must help you." Then Woodchuck searched in a bark basket, and took out from it a belt. Said she, "Here! Whatever you wish for, it will obey you if you only say to it what you wish." Then Long-Hair said to his grandmother, "Do not worry about me. I shall try to take care of myself on my journey. Surely I shall come again." He said to his grandmother, "Here is my pipe; I shall leave it with you, my stone pipe. Place this in your bed as you lie down, and watch it. As long as it is empty, worry not; but should you see it contain blood, watch it well, for then danger is present before me. But if it does not become full, I am still living, and shall soon come back."

2. LONG-HAIR STARTS OUT  
IN SEARCH OF HIS PEOPLE, AND OVERCOMES  
THE BAD PEOPLE OF THREE VILLAGES

nəKwun'a'was	omadje'lan	agwi'la'ohan
Then Long-Hair	went away	to seek
udalnə'bemal	elmo'set	taba'was
his people,	going along	seven
ke'sogna'ki'wik	abe'djo'san	o'denek
days ends	he came	to a village.
ubi'di'gan	ni'ta'ma'tek	wi'gwam
He entered	the first	wigwam,
wli'daha'suwak	ktci'pəlu'sis	na'ga
they rejoiced	old man	and
tci'phe'nam	udi'łana	Kwun'a'wasal
old woman.	They said	to Long-Hair,
ga'matc	ni'u'na	sa'nagwat
"Very much	we	dangerous
		here

ndode'nenā	ga'matc	ma'dji'	se'nəbe
our village,	very	bad	man
sə'gəma	oga'dona'lan <sup>1</sup>	məzi'	dən
chief	he tries to kill <sup>1</sup>	all	who
be'djo'set	udode'nenuk	de'bənuk	gəbe'dji-
come	to his village,	soon	they will come to-
nədji'p'hoge		ko'li'sko'hodamən	
get you;		you take good care for yourself,	
kadonā'lguk	kəwi'djo'kemzi'	tega'gi'	
they want to kill you;	you help yourself	as much as	
bəgwa'ta'wan	tebedjo'san	ni'zwak	
you are able to."	Then came	two	
se'nabak	udi'da'mena	kənə'dji'	
men	they said,	"We are going	
kadonā'łana	tama'kwe	nəgwazəbe'	
to kill	beaver	in the-	
msi'sak	udi'da'mən	ni'a	dli'łan
little pond."	He said,	"I	will go."
pəlu'səsis	udi'łan	ni'a'tc	kwi'djo'kemal
The old man	said,	"And I	will help you.
taba'was	se'nəbak	ki'gi'mi'	ndla'gi'man
Seven	men	secretly	I ordered
kəso'sana	omadjabo'si'na	tama'kwe	
to go along."	They all started to where	beaver	
e'i't	e'ləbit	Kwun'a'was	ktci'
was.	He saw	Long-Hair,	big
nəgwa'səbem	e'lmaga'me'k	una'mi'hən	
lake	along the lake;	he saw	
ktci'	wa'djowal	nodi'łəgun	yu'hi'
big	mountains.	They told him	these
a'lnaba	nə wa'sis'e'	tama'kwe	wza'mi'
people,	"That	nest	of beaver
a'gwane'gi'zəgat	se'batc'	kmo'dnana	
late in the day,	but to-morrow	we will attack him	
tama'kwe	yut	kda'tcwi'	ka'dəguni'
beaver.	Here	must	we stay over-
di'bna	ma'ni'te	wulə'gwak	yu'gik
night."	Then	they lay down	these
madji'a'lnəbak	be'məlagwek	na'tc	
bad people	on the glare ice.	Then	

<sup>1</sup> This verb is used in the sense of "hunting down," "preying upon," in reference to game-animals.

Kwun'a'was senq'bema olq'gwana  
Long-Hair his men lay down  
pəgwa'mik nagazi'bi' uda'do'kso'ldi'na  
on the ice. At the same time they told stories  
a'bədelmo'lduwak nəKwun'a'was  
they were laughing. Then Long-Hair  
wudəgwa'bi'zun wi'sekhoso'ldi'na na'g-  
his belt covered them, and  
a'tc ne'gəma uda'dokso'ldi'na na'ga  
also they told stories and  
uda'bədelmo'ldi'na mala'm'te ktci' gi'lak  
laughed. Then great stillness  
kəda'gik a'lnəbak məsi'te kwa'skwadjo'-  
the others, people all froze to-  
ldowak ma'dji'a'lnəba' ne'gəma'skwe  
death bad people. Then they  
Kwun'a'was na'ga usenq'bema  
Long-Hair and his men  
dje'kwəni' gao'ldowak nəma'djabo'si'na  
all night slept. Then they went  
o'denek məsi'awen uli'dəhasu  
to the village, every one rejoiced  
nek'a'nehe'dit ma'dji' a'lnəbak  
that they overcame bad people.  
bəməgə'na a'lnəbak edu'dji'  
They danced the people, so much  
wuli'dəhaso'ldi'hi'dit e'bagwatc  
they rejoiced on account of it  
mo'wi'mi'tsoldowak mi'na odji'mədjın  
they held a great feast. Again departed  
Kwun'a'was mi'na təba'was  
Long-Hair, again in seven  
kesogna'ki'wik obedjo'san kəda'k  
days' time he came to another  
o'dene mi'na'te obi'di'gan ni'tama'tek  
village, then again he entered the first  
wi'gwam mi'na tci'a'lnəbe na'ga  
wigwam, again an old man and  
tciphə'nam uli'dəha'suwak mi'na  
old woman rejoiced, again  
udi'łana Kwun'a'wasal no'li'dəha'si'bna  
they said to Long-Hair, "We rejoice

ni'una ne'mi'holek'w ke'nuk  
that we see you, but  
ka'dona'lguk nda'lnəbe'mnawak ni'u'natc'  
they seek your life our people, and our  
madji'se'nəbe sə'ngəma de'bəne kəbe'dji'-  
bad man chief soon will come to-  
nadji'p'hoge kda'tcwi' ko'li'ne'nawe'-  
get you you must take good care for-  
lmas'in tebe'dji'nadji'p'hogon se'nəba  
yourself." Then came for him men.  
udi'łəgo kna'dahe'oldi'bna bantu'k'w'sisak  
He was told, "We will engage in sport in the little-  
rapids."  
gi'zi'pit oma'djewi'djo'san ube'daba'si'na  
After he had eaten, he went with them. They-  
reached  
ktci'ba'n'təguk udi'łana Kwun'a'wasal  
a great rapid. They said Long-Hair,  
nehe' debo'se ki'a ni'ka'n'ke debo'san  
"Now, embark in the canoe! You get in the-  
bow!" He got in  
agwi'dənuk noda'mi'la'kana nəgwə'-  
into the canoe, then they pushed him off. Then-  
dagwa'bi'zun una'stun udi'łan  
his belt he put on, he said  
ugə'dəgwabi'zun kdli'ha'lgwebna nə  
to his belt, "We will drift down." Then  
moni'mkwe'su e'ləbit uda'məngan  
Woodchuck looking at her pipe  
ta'obe paga'kan seska'demin i'dam  
in it was blood, she wept; she said,  
nkwe'nas sa'gi' mi'ko'kam  
"My grandchild severe is in danger."  
nodə'bi'na'wun uda'məngan mala'm'te  
Then she watched it her pipe. At last  
si'unki'le uda'məngan moni'mkwe'su  
it went dry her pipe. Woodchuck  
onagi'gədahi'n obə'məgan i'dam  
jumped up, she danced, she said,  
kwe'nasis pma'uzəs'u  
"My little grandchild is living!"  
Kwun'a'was mādja'həlgwan ba'n'təguk  
Long-Hair began to drift away into the rapids.



malə'm'te səbi'ha'ləgwe udjis'a'gəbi'an  
Then safely he drifted through, he paddled ashore  
umə'djeni'gəp'tun nalə'muk uni'ga'nuk  
he began to carry his canoe up river on the portage.  
nəməbe'dji-lat udi'lan yu'hi  
When he arrived there, he said to them these  
ma'dji'a'lnəba ga'matc wi'gawə'djen  
bad people, "Very much I like the sport,  
mi'na a'lehalgo'di'n'e məsi't'e nodi'lan  
again let us drift down." All then he told them,  
a'eda teba'basik'w ga'matc segəso'ldowak  
"Well, you get in." Very much they were afraid,  
ke'nuk tcwi'dəba'bazak a'lehalgo'di'n'al  
but they had to get in. They drifted down.  
məsi't'e nəgi'ka'n'egak məsi't'e  
All were killed. All  
sukskatcagi'haso'lduwak oma'djin o'denek  
they were ground to pieces. He went to the village  
pə'təgi mi'na wuli'dahaso'lduwak  
back again, they rejoiced  
e'li'neka'tahat ktaha'n'dowak ma'dji'a'-  
for killing the great magicians bad-  
lnəbak e'bəgwatc obə'məgana na'ga  
people, on account of it they danced and  
ami'tso'ldi'na  
feasted.  
mi'na odji'mədjīn taba'was  
Again he went away, seven  
ge'sogəna'ki'wik be'djo'san kəda'k  
days' time he came to another  
o'dene mi'na obi'di'gan ni'ta'ma'tek  
village, again he went in the first  
wi'gwam yuo'dene i'siga'ni tci'kte  
wigwam. This village one side was quiet,  
a'tcsi'ga'ni na'ska'təngwat wuli'dəhaso'-  
the other side was uproarious; they-  
lduwak e'bəgwatc bə'məgan uga'gəhi'-  
rejoiced on account of it a dance, they were-  
ki'hawa yu'hi' kəda'gi'hi a'lnəba  
tormenting these other people  
a'gamo'dene uga'gəhi'ki'hawa wza'm  
across the village, they were tormenting because

agwi'telma'gawə ni'yu' eda'li'wədjī'-  
they were afraid. Then here where coming-  
tci'həwe't udi'ləgo nani'u'na metci'mi'  
from he was told, "So we always  
e'ltəgwak ndode'nena ngə'dəmagi'ho'-  
so are doing our village, they abuse-  
gonawak wza'm nəgwi'te'lməna'wan  
us because we are afraid of them,  
e'li' gi'nhan'do'ldi'dit madji' sa'ngəma  
such great magicians are they, the bad chief  
na'ga wsenə'bema udi'ləgun de'bənuak  
and his men." He was told, "Very soon  
gəbe'dji'nədjī'p'hoge wza'm ka'dona'lguk  
they will come to get you because they seek your-  
life.  
ni'kwup' koli'nenawe'ləmasin ge'hela'te  
Now, take good care of yourself." Accordingly  
na'nagae'was be'dji'na'djip'han se'nəbe  
soon after he came for him a man  
be'dji-lat udi'lan Kwun'a'wasal nehe'  
coming said to Long-Hair, "Now,  
ni'dəbe kəba'po'ldi'bəna'gwa kədebe'-  
my friend, we are going to play they say, we will-  
skwomha'di'bna<sup>1</sup> Kwun'a'was udi'lan  
play ball."<sup>1</sup> Long-Hair said to him,  
ke'hele't ni'dəbe ndli'lan ni'atc  
"Surely, my friend, I shall go, for I  
nəwi'gi ebe'sk'wəma noma'gənan  
I am fond of ball." Then he picked  
taba'was se'nəba ke'so'se'dji'hi  
seven men to go with him.  
e'lməbo'sihi'dit Kwun'a'was gi'zi'dəmi'p'han  
While they were going, Long-Hair took and broke-  
off  
kwa'n'a'skwonda'gwi'zal na'ga udala'm'sa'-  
the tip of a spruce-branch, and put it in his-  
hasin be'djo'set eda'li ebe'skwomha'-  
bosom, coming there they played-  
di'hi'dit udi'ləgun nehe' ni'dəbe  
ball. He was told, "Now, my friend,

<sup>1</sup> Lacrosse. This game was formerly played after the Iroquois manner.

yu'gi'lwala'gwi nu'dalaba'si'na Kwun'a'was  
 this is your direction." Then they went Long-Hair  
 na'ga wi'dqba' ugi'za'dji'na no'wa  
 and his friends ready to play, then that  
 ktaha'n'do ube'djip'han ebe'sk'w'ha'-  
 magician brought the-  
 maganal na'ga udla'kan ktaha'n'dwi  
 ball and threw it down, a magic  
 wa'sagag'dap mani't'e madje'gwe'le  
 empty head, skull. Then it began to roll  
 ktaha'n'dowi wa'sag'dap na'lau  
 the magic skull. Then  
 oma'dnago'na wa'sag'dap mala'm'te  
 it attacked them the skull. At last  
 ubet'ko'gona gwa'li' ktci'so'beguk  
 it drove them near the great ocean,  
 me'tagwe'dji'lak kwesq'wei'k nedu'dji'  
 to the end of a point of land. Then so  
 Kwun'a'was gada'ksko'dak masi' wzu'kskam-  
 Long-Hair kicked it all smashed to-  
 ki'teka'man ne'dudji Kwun'a'was  
 pieces. Then Long-Hair  
 memla'uelmit i'dak Kwun'a'was ak'wa'dale  
 gave a great laugh. He said, Long-Hair, "Oho!  
 ni'dqbe bo'skali'zäs'u ebe'sk'w'ha'magan  
 my friend, a very tender ball  
 tce'na o'wa ni'a ndabesk'w'ha'magan  
 let us this my my ball  
 agwe'tskoha'lane ni'yomo'skip'han  
 let us try." Then he took out  
 kwan'a'skwonda'gwal nabe'gas'ik  
 his spruce-branch tip. When it struck ground,  
 madje'gwe'le keda'k wa'sag'dap  
 it began to roll another skull  
 nawo'mbi'ga'ni'ye ma'nite mädje'ba'-  
 that of ivory. At last it began-  
 gahadq'mu nda'tama ugi'zi' tca'n'-  
 to bite, not could they kick-  
 tekamo'na ktaha'n'dowak ma'lam  
 it away the magicians. Then  
 abe'tpo'lägona nabi'k so'beguk mani'  
 it drove them to the water in the ocean, then

tca'uwapi'gidaho'lduwak nabi'k  
 they jumped all into the water.  
 begas'o'ldi'dit ktci'name's'i'la'uladowak<sup>1</sup>  
 Where they struck they were transformed into big-  
 fish.<sup>1</sup>  
 nāKwun'a'wasal wun'a'dodema'wona  
 Then Long-Hair they begged of him  
 uni'dja'nowa wulege'si'zowa'<sup>2</sup> nāKwun'a'was  
 their children's little breech-cloths.<sup>2</sup> Then-  
 Long-Hair  
 udi'lan nda'tama kami'lo'nak wza'm  
 said, "Not I shall give them to you because  
 e'li'gadona'li'ek'w be'dji' na'dode'kolek'w  
 that you sought my life coming to visit you.  
 nawa'doge no'djibe'dji'la no'dji'na'-  
 A long ways I came from in order to see-  
 mi'hyo'lek'w ki'lawa ni'dji'ak nani'kwup  
 you, you my brothers. But now  
 ndje'li'bma'uzi'ek'w ni'dji'a'steke'si'ek'w  
 hence so you shall live you shall never increase."  
 wuli'dəhaso'ldi'wi'na Kwun'a'was ni'dqba'  
 They rejoiced Long-Hair his friends.  
 bə'maga'na na'ga mitso'ldi'na  
 They danced and feasted.

## TRANSLATION

Then Long-Hair went away to seek his people. Travelling for seven days, he came to a village. He entered the first wigwam; and an old man and woman in it rejoiced, and said to Long-Hair, "We are very dangerous here in our village. A very bad man is our chief. He tries to kill all who come to his village. In a short time they will come to get you; so take good care of yourself, for they seek your life. You help yourself as much as you are able to." Then came two men. They said, "We are going to kill beaver in the little pond." Said he, "I will go too." The old man said, "And I will help you. Seven men secretly I ordered to go along with

<sup>1</sup> Becoming sharks.<sup>2</sup> The sharks asked for these as a means of recovering something to enable them to restore themselves by their magic.



you." Then they all started to where the beaver was. Long-Hair saw a big lake, and along the lake he saw a big mountain. Then they told him, these people, "That is the nest of the beaver. It is too late in the day now; but to-morrow we shall attack him, the beaver. We must stay here over night." Then they lay down, these bad people, on the glare ice, and Long-Hair and his men lay down on the ice at the same time. They told stories and were laughing. Then Long-Hair covered them with his belt. And they too told stories and were laughing. At last a great stillness came over the other people. They all froze to death, the bad people. Then Long-Hair and his men slept all night; and they went to the village, where every one rejoiced that they had overcome the bad people. They danced, and the people rejoiced so much over it that they held a great feast.

Again Long-Hair departed; and again, in seven days' time, he came to another village; and then, again, he entered the first wigwam; and again an old woman and an old man rejoiced; and again they said to Long-Hair, "We rejoice that we see you; but our people seek your life, and our chief is a bad man. Soon he will come to get you. You must take good care of yourself." Then came for him some men; and he was told, "We will engage in sport in the little rapids." After he had eaten, he went with them, and they reached the Great Falls. And they said to Long-Hair, "Now get into the canoe. You sit in the bow." He got into the canoe, and they pushed him off. Then he put his belt on, and said to his belt, "We will drift down."

Then Woodchuck, looking at her pipe, saw in it blood, and she wept. She said, "My grandchild is in severe danger;" and she watched it, her pipe, and at last the pipe went dry. Then Woodchuck jumped up, danced about, and said, "My grandchild is still living!"

Long-Hair then began to drift away into the rapids. At last safely he drifted through and paddled ashore, and he began to carry

his canoe up the river on the portage. When he reached them, he said to these bad people, "Very much I like the sport; let us drift down again." Then he told them all, "So, you get in." They were very much afraid; but they had to get in, and they all drifted down and they were killed. They were ground to pieces, all of them. Then he went back to the village again, and they rejoiced for the killing of the great bad magicians, and on account of it they danced and feasted.

Again he left, and in seven days' time he came to another village; and again he went in the first wigwam. In this village one side was quiet, and the other side was uproarious. On account of it a rejoicing and a dance were being held. The latter were tormenting the other people across the village; they were tormenting them because they were afraid. Then, as he came up here, he was told, "Thus they are always doing in our village; they abuse us because we are afraid of them; such great magicians are they, the bad chief and his men." He was told, "Soon they will come to get you, because they seek your life. Now take good care of yourself." Accordingly, soon after a man came for him, saying as he came up to Long-Hair, "Now, my friend, we are going to play; we will play lacrosse." Then Long-Hair said to him, "Surely, my friend, I shall go, for I am fond of lacrosse." Then he picked seven men to go with him; and while they were on the way, Long-Hair took and broke off the tip of a spruce-branch and put it in his bosom. When he reached the place where they played ball, he was told, "Now, my friend, this is the direction of your goal." Then they went, Long-Hair and his friends, and were ready to play. Then the magician brought the ball and threw it down. It was a great magic skull. And it began to roll, this magic skull, and it attacked them, and at last it drove them near the great ocean to the end of the land. Thereupon Long-Hair kicked it, and smashed it all to pieces. Thereupon Long-Hair gave a great laugh. Said Long-Hair,

"Ho, ho, my friend, such a tender ball! Let us try this, my ball." Then he took out his spruce-branch tip; and when it struck the ground, it began to roll, another skull of ivory. At last it began to bite. The magicians could not kick it away. Then it drove them to the water into the ocean, and they all jumped into the water. When they struck, they were transformed into big fish, sharks. Then they begged of Long-Hair the breech-cloths of their little children; but Long-Hair said, "I shall not give them to you, because you sought my life when I came to visit you. A long distance I travelled in order to see you, my brothers, but henceforth thus you shall live. You shall never increase." Long-Hair and his friends then rejoiced. They danced and feasted.

### 3. LONG-HAIR FINDS A GOOD VILLAGE, AND DOMESTICATES THE DOG

nodji'mædjin Kwun'a'was nona'stun  
Then he went away Long-Hair; then he put on  
a'gudægwa'bi'zun na'ga udi-da'mæn  
his belt and said,  
kda'tcwi bedjo'sebna no'kæmasæge'  
"We must come back to grandmother  
pe'mla'ngwik ge'lat'e be'djosak  
this evening." Straightway they came  
o'kæmasæge' moni'mkwe'su e'dudji  
to his grandmother Woodchuck; so much  
wuli'dəhasit moni'mkwe'su e'bægwa'tc  
rejoiced Woodchuck on account of it,  
seska'demu nodo'dala'si'min Kwun'a'was  
she wept. Then he rested Long-Hair,  
taba'was geso'gəni ka'o me'mægwa'sit  
seven days he slept. When he had enough,  
mi'na o'kæmas'al' udi'lan mi'na  
again to his grandmother he said, "Again  
ngwi'la'ohak kəda'gik a'lnəbak  
I will search for other people  
pi'lwam'to'di'djik pska'oge natc  
of a different kind. Where found, there

kdloda'nena pi'ta i'yu nagi'wadjin'ə-  
we will move. Extremely here lonely it is  
gwat ni'kupaga'k na'bi'tc be'djo'se  
now indeed, soon I shall come back,  
na't'etc kma'dje'oda'nena nodji'mæ'djin  
and there we shall begin to move." Then he left  
Kwun'a'was udi'ægūn o'kæmas'al  
Long-Hair. He was told by his grandmother,  
ni'kwup kdlo'san pa'skwenauk  
"Now you walk southward,  
ni'dji'dali'mska'wat wuli'alnə'bak  
because there you will find good people."  
taba'was ge'sogəna'ki'wik ube'djo'san  
Seven days' length he came  
o'denek mi'na ni'tama'tek wi'gwam  
to a village, again in the first wigwam  
ubi'di'gan wuli'dəhaso'lduwak a'lnəbak  
he entered. They rejoiced the people  
eda'li udji'tci'hiwet udi'ægūn ga'matc  
there he was a guest. He was told, "Very much  
noli'dəha'si'bəna be'djo'san ga'mædji'yu  
we rejoice that you come, very here  
u'li'o'dene se'luk awa's'ak wəla'kəga'n  
a good village many beasts (game), good place  
to live in  
i'bi'tde na'nəgwutc ma'dji'gowak  
only some bad  
awa's'ak nsanə'g'wəwak ni'kwəpəba  
beasts dangerous. Now, if  
i'yua'yane ki'aba ni'gik ma'dji'awa's'ak  
here you stay, you may these bad beasts  
gəbemha'n'dwi'ka'dəwak i'dak Kwun'a'-  
you subdue them by magic." Said Long-  
was noli'dəhas a'tc ni'a  
Hair, "I am glad, and I  
kəna'mi'ho'lna e'lwet'e'tc nəbe'do'dəbəna  
see you, and probably we shall move here,  
na'ga kwi'dji'le'mələna' ni'una  
and we shall stay with you, I and  
no'kæmas wespoza'ki'wik o'dji'mædje'lan  
my grandmother." The next morning he left,  
nə'gədægwa'bi'zun una'stun ugəlo'ldamən  
his belt he put on, he spoke to it,



i'dak kda'tcwi bedjo'sebəna  
he said, "Must we come  
pe'məŋ'gwik ki'gwamnuk wuli'dəhasu  
this evening to our camp." Rejoiced  
moni'mkwe'su na'te ola'dji'na na'ga  
Woodchuck there, they got ready, and  
omədjə'oda'na wuli'dəhasolduwak a'lnəbak  
they started off. They rejoiced the people  
nəma'bedode'hi'dit o'denek  
when they arrived at the village.  
omə'djin kpi ugwi'la'ohan awa's'a'  
He went to the woods searching for beasts.  
ma'lam'te aməska'wə nagasi'bi  
At last he found them, and then  
ugaga'loman awi'kwi'man pəla'te  
he called for them, he called them to him. First  
agwi'la'ohan da'nowa wi'gədak'  
he looked for which one was willing  
awi'dji'leman a'lnəba' gi'zi be'daba'zi'dit  
to stay with people after they had assembled  
awa's'a' ne udi'lan nehe' a'wen  
the beasts; then he said, "Now, who  
wi'gədak' awi'dji'leman ko'sə'snawa  
is willing to stay with our descendants?"  
ma'nit'e na'nəgwut'c gi'ni'la'wele na'ga  
Then some were very angry and  
udə'lmi bawə'skaha'sin udi'da'mən  
went off shaking themselves, said,  
a'tama ni'a nəwi'dji'le'man uza'mi  
"Not I I stay because  
kədəmə'ksəsu'lduwak mala'm'te sala'ki  
they are too poor." At last suddenly  
be'səgo i'dak ni'a nəwi'dji'leman  
one said, "I I stay with  
ko'sə'snawak na'lawi'ste nəwi'dji'  
our descendants, I am willing now I with them  
kə'dəməksəswama'ŋk na a'ləmus i'dak  
will share poverty." That dog said.  
nəKwun'a'was udi'lan ga'matc  
Then Long-Hair said, "Very much  
kədala'mi'hi gi'a'tc' ki'si wi'djo'  
I thank you, you also can help

kemək ko'sə'snawak ni'kwup' yu'gi'k  
them our descendants, now these  
e'ləmi bawə'skahasə'ldi'djik ni'gi'k  
going off shaking themselves these  
gi'a'tc gwi'te'lməguk ni'ki'a'məzi  
you also they will fear you. They all  
eki'ki'ki'djik gwi'te'lməguk na'gasi'bi  
different kinds they will fear you." And then  
wi'kwi'mə kəda'gi'hi awa's'a' udi'lan  
he called them to him the other beasts. He said,  
o'wa ni'kwup a'ləmus owa'tc  
"This now dog him  
gwe'te'ləmik owa' mi'kwe ne'ka  
you will fear. This squirrel (is) most  
ma'dji'git ke'nuk ni'a' gi'zi'a'dawun  
evil one, but I can fix him  
a'tama'tc mi'na sana'g'si'wi na'ga  
and not will again be dangerous." And  
wi'kwi'man udi'lan gi'a' mi'kwe  
he called him to him, he said, "You squirrel  
ki'ni'na'gwzi ni'atc' ki'zi'a'dolan  
powerful I indeed can fix you  
gəbi'u'səs'in e'dudji djabu'u'səs'ian  
you become small, so small you become  
kwi'te'lmətc ka'ses nosa'mtaga'wenan  
you will also fear the crow." Then he stroked his  
hair,  
noma'djebi'u'səs'in mi'kwe ni'kwup'  
then he began to grow small squirrel. Now  
eli'gi'lsəs'it mi'kwe  
he is as large as the squirrel.

## TRANSLATION

Then he went away, Long-Hair; and he put on his belt, and said, "We must go back to grandmother this evening." Straightway they arrived at his grandmother's. Woodchuck rejoiced so much, that Woodchuck wept on account of it. Then Long-Hair rested for seven days. He slept. When he had enough, again he said to his grandmother, "Again I will search for other people, of a different kind. We will move there where

they are found. Extremely lonely it is here, for now I shall soon come back, and we shall begin to move there." Then Long-Hair left. He was told by his grandmother, "Now you walk southward, because there you will find good people." After seven days he came to a village, and again he entered the first wigwam. The people rejoiced, and there he was their guest. He was told, "We rejoice very much that you have come, for here is a very good village. There is much game. This is a good place to live in, only that some beasts are dangerous. Now, if you stay here, you can subdue these bad beasts by magic." Then said Long-Hair, "I am glad to see you; and probably we shall move here, and we shall stay with you, I and my grandmother." The next morning he left. He put on his belt; he spoke to it; he said, "We must come this evening to our camp." Woodchuck rejoiced, and they got ready and started off. The people rejoiced when they arrived at the village.

Then he went into the woods, searching for beasts. At last he found them, and then he called them by hallooing to them. First he sought out which one was willing to stay with the people. After the beasts had assembled, then he said, "Now, who is willing to stay with our descendants?" And some were very angry, and went off shaking themselves, saying, "Not I will stay, because they are too poor." At last suddenly one said, "I will stay with our descendants, I am willing now, I will share their poverty with them." It was the dog that spoke. Then Long-Hair said, "I thank you very much, for you also can help them, our descendants. Henceforth those who went off shaking themselves, they shall also hold you in fear. All of the other different kinds shall hold you in fear." And then he called the other beasts, and he said, "Now, this dog, him you shall fear. The squirrel is the most evil one, but I can fix him so that he will not again be dangerous." And he called him, and said, "You, squirrel, powerful one, I indeed can make you become

small; so small may you become, that you indeed will fear the crow." And he stroked his hair, and the squirrel began to grow small. Now he is only as large as the squirrel.

#### 4. LONG-HAIR'S GRANDMOTHER DIES, AND HE FALLS IN LOVE, ONLY TO BE KILLED BY A JEALOUS SORCERESS

nuna'di'elin	amə'stəhan	awa's'sa'
Then he went hunting,	he got a supply of	beasts.
na'gasi'bi	ami'ləwan	mi'tcəwə'gan
And then	he gave away	the food
awa's'wi'ye	na'ga	wuli'dəhaso'lduwak
animal meat	and	they rejoiced
a'lnəbak	edu'dji	wəla'm'tak'w
the people,	so	kind he was
		the strange
a'lnəbe	umi'tso'ldi'na	bə'məganə
man,	they feasted	they danced.
nəmoni'mkwe's'u	uda'kwama'lsin	na'ste
Then Woodchuck	became sick,	soon
ume'tci'ne	ga'matc	Kwun'a'was
she died.	Very	Long-Hair
usigi'dəhasu	ode'ldamənal	o'kəmas'al
felt lonesome,	he missed	his grandmother,
taba'was	geso'gəni	seska'demu
seven	days	he wept,
		then he woke up;
agwi'la'wamba'man	p'hē'nəmu	e'ləkwa'
he went to look for	a woman	to cook for-
ləgotcił	ni'swa'	o'li'na'wan
him,	two	looked good to him,—
		one
saŋgəma'skwe's'is	kəda'k	ktaha'n'doskwe'
a chief's daughter,	the other	a great sorceress.
ni'la'skwe	a'wəs'a'gi	tcuwe'lməgu'l
The latter	beyond measure	wanted him.
na'kskwe	Kwun'a'was	abe'meləmənan
Young girl	Long-Hair	he preferred,
sa'ŋgəmaskwe's'i'sal	e'dudji	nəktaha'n'-
the chief's daughter;	so	then the-
doskwe	ali'dəha'mat	ndahaba'skwe
sorceress	thought,	"Impossible that one
Kwun'a'was	amə'səna'wi'al	ni'lil
Long-Hair	will get her	the one



e'tcwe'lmədji'l ni'a nda'tcwi məsə'n'a  
he wants, I I must possess

Kwun'a'was ala'tc ni'fakta'gwi ni'kwup  
Long-Hair or else I will kill both." Now

nəmədjədəbi'dəhada'mən dan udli'gi'zi'nə-  
then she began to think out how she could-

ba'ka'tawan Kwun'a'was'al pəla't'e  
entice Long-Hair. First of all

ogomo'dəna'man ugə'dəgwa'bi'zun  
she stole his belt,

na'gasi'bi udlo'san e'i'lit wi'gwomwa'k  
and then she went where he was in his wigwam.

udi'lan Kwun'a'wasal nəbe't'  
She said to Long-Hair, "I wish

gi'zi'alho'li'a'ne ktc'i'məna'hanuk nəga'di-  
you could paddle me over to the big island, I want

nəda'wi'zi asi'ki'mi'nal gi's  
to pick low-bush cranberries. Can

nda'lawadmi'gemi ndə'l'ho'ləgen ki'a't'e  
not get any one else to paddle me over, but you

məsəha'la ka'dawə'mbeməl nəKwun'a'-  
are the last one I am going to request." Then-

was udi'lan ni'a nəwi'gəda'man  
Long-Hair said, "I I am willing

gəda'l'ho'lən nəga'matc wuli'dəha'su  
to paddle you over." Then very much she felt-  
pleased

ktaha'n'doskwe nəwubo'si'na ktc'i'məna'-  
the great sorceress. Then they went to the big-

hanuk bedji'la'dit udi'lan Kwun'a'wasal  
island. When they came there, she said to-  
Long-Hair,

nsa'wa'tu nga'di'andala'si'mi i'yu'  
"I am tired, I want to rest here,

pəla'' a'bin'e ma'kae'was udi'lan  
first let us sit down a little while." He said

Kwun'a'was a'ha a'bin'e nola'bin  
Long-Hair, "Yes, let us sit down." Then they-  
sat down.

omə'dje a'eda wula'wenan Kwun'a'was  
She began so to stroke his hair, Long-Hair

uga'win nəwaha'n'doskwe ude'stawan  
fell asleep, then the sorceress placed

uma'ksən wə'dəbək Kwun'a'wasal  
her moccasin on his head, Long-Hair's.

nega'lat wi'kwənəmən udu'f na'ga  
Then she left him, she took her canoe and

abo'sin unəga't'hən Kwun'awasal  
went away, she abandoned Long-Hair.

to'ki'lat Kwun'a'was nda'tama  
He woke up Long-Hair, not

una'mi'ha'wial p'hənəmu ma'nit'e  
he saw her his woman, then

awewi'dəha'mal unəga'thogul nobaba'-  
he knew (what had happened). He was abandoned,

mo'san mənə'hanuk uma'daban  
then he wandered all about the island. He-  
walked down

si'dəbuk' nona'mi'hən name'sizal  
to the shore, then he saw a little fish,

nodi'lan nəga't'hoge'nia nodla'gi'man  
then he said, "I am abandoned then inform

nə'dji' we'wado'keman ktc'i'a'si'ga'lədi  
go tell him the big bone shark

nda'tcwe'ldamən nat'a'gəho'ləgun  
I wish to be taken ashore."

nobeda'gədelən asi'ga'lədi udi'lan  
Then he came swimming the bone shark. He said

Kwun'a'wasal kənət'a'gəho'ləl de'so'se  
to Long-Hair, "I will take you ashore; get upon

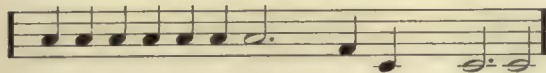
nbeskwa'nak na'ga kəbə'sigi'gwewin  
my back and close your eyes,

mo'zak əmpskə'bi'katc ke'gwus  
do not open your eyes, whatever

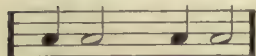
noda'mane no'noda'mən mi'lkwezo'lduwak  
you may hear." Then he heard various kinds of-  
noises.

mala'm'te sala'ki wunoda'wal a'wenil  
At last suddenly he heard some one

ke'dəwinto'li'djil  
singing,—



po'gədjə'wana'dəbə's      pe'bəm      ho'o'lut  
"Old ruffled head of hair      is sailing      about.



ki'nau      ki'nau  
See him!      see him!"

awe'n'a      ge'dəwi'ntak      agwedji'molan  
"Who that      singing?"      he asked him.

e'kwədjɪ'ksi'da'we      e'səga'na'      unat'a'gos'a  
"Don't listen,      it is clams."      He walked ashore,

ama'djin      awi'gwomuk      be'djo'set  
he went      to his wigwam.      When he came

wi'gwə'muk      e'bəgwatc      ki'ste mi'tcəwə-  
to the wigwam,      on account of it      ready at once      was-

gan      gi'zangwa'səməñ      ktaha'n'doskwe  
food      already cooked      the sorceress.

Kwun'a'was      udi'lan      ge'gwi'welo'san  
Long-Hair      said to her,      "Why did you come?"

ke'ləbi'no'des'e      ktaha'n'doskwe'      i'dam  
Get out of here!"      The sorceress      said,

a'ha'      no'des'e'      kəmi'mi'wi'a'li  
"Yes!      I will get out,      you have driven me away,

ke'nuk      kədi'fil      gode'ldaməntc      e'li  
but      I say to you      you will be sorry      how

mi'mi'wi'ha'li'an      ni'kwup      kədado'keul  
if you drive me out.      Now      I will tell you

eli'dəbi'lak      wu'n'a      na'kskwe      e'tcwe'lmət  
what has happened,      that      girl      you desired

kwə'zi'lat      se'nəbal      madje'kawa'dowak  
has run away      with a man.      They ran away,

ke'nuk      ni'a      nəwe'weləmo      e'it  
but      I      I know      where she is.

nda'haba      gi'a'      kəməska'o      ke'nuk  
It is impossible      you      you find her;      but

tcwelda'mane      kəda'ki'nosa'ləltc  
if you wish,      I will show you."

Kwun'a'was      awi'gəda'mən      udlo'san  
Long-Hair      was willing      to go,

noma'dji'na      ktahan'do'skwal      ma'lam  
they started      the sorceress.      At last

be'djo'sak      eləma'dəni'kik      udi'da'mən  
they came      among the mountains.      She said

auha'n'doskwe'      ən'i'      gəbedjo'san  
that sorceress,      "Now      you have come

gwa'li'      e'i'hi'dit      odə'lo'hwi'gan      udi'lan  
near      where they are."      She pointed,      she said,

ne'i'hi'dit      ni'swak      wa'djowak      ni'  
"There are      two      mountains,      there

awa'si      e'i'hi'dit      de'bənuk      ki's  
beyond      they are,      soon      after

bəsəde'ge      kdlo'sa'nəna      natc  
nightfall      we will go,      and there

ngəmə'səna'nəna      malə'm'te      ki's      bəsədek  
we shall take them unawares."      Then      after      dark

mədjɪ'na      ma'lam'te      gwa'li'      nəma'  
they went.      At last      near      to where

wa'djowak      e'i'hi'dit      udi'lan      nehe'  
the mountains      they were      she said,      "Now,

gi'a      ni'ka'n'ose      uni'ka'n'o'san  
you      go ahead!"      He went on ahead

Kwun'a'was      ma'lam'te      eba'si      e'it  
Long-Hair.      At last      half way      he was,

numi'kawi'dəhəda'mən      ugə'dəgwa'bi'zun  
then he remembered      his belt.

na'ste'      ti'k'e'pode      na'skwe      gi's  
Soon      the earth rumbled,      then      already

wza'mi      me'tsi      gi'z      we'udji'te'si'nu  
too      late,      already      they collided

wa'djowak      nomədjə'lan      ktaha'n'doskwe'  
the mountains.      Then she went      the great sorceress

wi'gwomuk      wuli'dəha'su      se'ka'wat  
to her wigwam.      She rejoiced      conquering

Kwun'a'wasal      wi'kwi'dəhasu      ktaha'-  
Long-Hair.      She made fun      the-

n'doskwe'      e'li'gi'zi'      ba'kada'wə  
sorceress      how she had      fooled

Kwun'a'wasal      nana'kskwesis      a'tama  
Long-Hair.      That young girl      not ever

mədjɪ'lewi'sa      e'bəgwatc      na      na'kskwesi's  
went from home,      on account of it      that      young girl



usi'gi'daha'su e'li me'tci'ne Kwun'a'was  
 felt sorry how he died Long-Hair.  
 nāme'tq'begat atlo'kqga'n  
 Then here ends the story.

## TRANSLATION

Then he went hunting and got a great supply of game. And then he gave away the food, this animal meat; and the people rejoiced, so kind-hearted was the strange man, they feasted, they danced. Then Woodchuck became sick, and soon she died. Very lonesome was Long-Hair. He missed his grandmother. For seven days he wept, then he woke up; and he went to look for a woman to cook for him. Two looked good to him. One was the chief's daughter, the other was a great sorceress. The latter desired him beyond measure. But the young girl Long-Hair preferred, the chief's daughter. So then the sorceress thought, "Never that one will Long-Hair get,—her, the one he wants; for I indeed must possess Long-Hair, or else I shall kill both." Thereupon she began to think out how she could entice Long-Hair. First of all, she stole his belt; and then she went where his wigwam was, and said to Long-Hair, "I wish you could paddle me over to the big island, for I wish to pick low-bush cranberries. I cannot get any one else to paddle me over. Now you are the last I am going to request." Then Long-Hair said, "I? I am willing to paddle you over." Then she felt very much pleased, the great sorceress. And they went to the big island. When they came there, she said to Long-Hair, "I am weary, I wish to rest here first; so let us sit down a little while." Then said Long-Hair, "Yes, let us sit down." And they sat down. She began so to stroke his hair that Long-Hair fell asleep. Then the sorceress placed her moccasin on his head, and she left him. She took her canoe and went away, abandoning Long-Hair. When Long-Hair woke up, he did not see his woman, then he knew what had happened. He was

abandoned. And he wandered about the island and walked down to the shore. Then he saw a little fish, and said, "I am abandoned, go inform the big Bone Shark. Go tell him that I wish to be taken ashore." Then the Bone Shark came swimming, and said to Long-Hair, "I will take you ashore. Get upon my back and close your eyes. Do not open your eyes, whatever you may hear." And he heard various kinds of noises. At last he heard some one singing,—

"Old ruffled head of hair is sailing about. See him! See him!"

"Who is that singing?" he asked him. "Don't listen to it, it's the clams." Then he walked ashore and went to his wigwam. When he came to his wigwam, food was ready at once. It had already been cooked by the sorceress. Then Long-Hair said to her, "Why did you come? Get out of here!" Then the sorceress answered, "Yes, I will get out. You have driven me away. But I say to you, you will be sorry if you drive me out. Now I will tell you what has happened. That girl you desired has run away with a man. They have gone. But it is I who knows where she is. It is impossible for you to find her; but if you wish, I will show you." Long-Hair was willing to go, and they started. At last they came among the mountains; and the sorceress said, "Now you have come near where they are." She pointed, and said, "There are two mountains. Over there, beyond, they are. Soon after nightfall we will go and take them unawares." Then after nightfall they went; and when they were near the mountain, she said, "Now, you go ahead." Long-Hair went on ahead. At last, when he was half way, he remembered his belt. Soon the earth rumbled; but then it was already too late, for the mountains had collided.

Then the great sorceress went to her wigwam. She rejoiced at conquering Long-Hair. The sorceress made a joke of how she had fooled Long-Hair. That young girl had never

left home. On account of it the young girl grieved, because Long-Hair was dead. Here ends the story.

#### 5. FROTH-OF-WATER (BI''TES)

[The Virgin Birth; Abandonment of the Mother; The Child becomes a Prodigy, and Kills the Invulnerable White-Bear by a Shot in the Heel, and Frees the People.]

wəwi'git           atlo'kəgan           na'kskwe  
Here camps           story.           Young girl  
be'ki'nəkskwe<sup>1</sup>   wi'git'tka'səmo   medji'mi  
pure girl<sup>1</sup>           was fond of swimming,   always  
kla'hama'wan   neba'udodji   wi'git'tka'səmin  
advised her   against so much   fond of swimming  
wi'ga'wus'al   sala'kitc   alambegwi'no'sis<sup>2</sup>  
her mother (said), "Some time Under-Water-Nymph<sup>2</sup>  
gəma'dji-be'djip'hak'w   a'tama   djiksəda'mu  
will put you in trouble,"   Not   she obeyed,  
pe'səgw'un   eli'wi'git'tka'səmit'   sala'ki  
just the same   so fond of swimming.   At last  
peba'mi'tka'səmit'           unat'agə'zogun  
once moving around swimming,   as she waded ashore,  
ni'we'lkwes'et   una'mi'han   bo'kəde'za'  
in front of where she was going   she saw   bubbles  
moski'lədjik   ski'dəbegwe   amal'hi'na'wə  
coming up   on the surface of water.   She was-  
surprised,  
nodjani'gəba'win   e'skwatəqəba'mat   sala''-  
then she stopped and looked.   While looking, sud-  
kit'e   mə'djebi'ta'ilak   e'skweləba'mat  
denly   began gradually turning   while looking  
udli'na'wə   ma'n'aba   awə'sis   na'ste  
ultimately   it appeared   resembling   baby,  
be'dji'no'lam'sən   manit'e   skaula'm'soge  
then came a breeze.   Then   it blew towards her  
bi'te   nozek'pa'uləgun   noga'di'   madje'-  
the froth.   Then she got frightened.   Then she-  
p'howan   gi'za'skwe   nda'tegəne   wza'mi'  
wanted to get away from it,   already   could not, too

<sup>1</sup> A virgin.

<sup>2</sup> A supernatural creature believed to live beneath the water.

me'tsi'   ki's   bi''tes   amə'te'kan'gun  
much late   already   froth   came into contact with her.  
na'ste   da'li'wa'ni'le   bi''tes   unat'agə'-  
Then   it disappeared   froth.   She waded-  
zogan   nomə'djin   wi'gwomwak   a'skamat'  
ashore,   then she went   home.   Thereafter  
a'tami'na   tka'səmi'   ənelmi'dəbi'lak  
not again   swam.   As time went on,  
sala'kit'e   madje'gan   wa'de   nodi'ləgun  
all at once   began to grow   her belly.   Then said  
wi'ga'wus'al   tanmi'na   kdli'dəbi'lan  
her mother, "What more   trouble has happened to-  
you?"  
i'dak   na'kskwe   nda'tegek'w   ndli'dəbi'lau  
Said   the girl,   "Nothing   ails me,  
ke'gwusebəgwa'   wi'ga'wus'al'   udi'ləgun  
what for (why)?"   Her mother   said to her,  
ga'madjga   kəmal'hi'nag'zi'   ke'geme'si'  
"Very   you look surprising   why  
madje'gak'   ka'de   e'lwe't   se'nəbe   ki'zi'  
grows   your belly,   it seems   man   already  
be'sut'kək'w   i'dak   na'kskwe   ni'ga  
has been near you."   Said   the girl,   "Mother,  
e'sma   ni'a'   se'nəbe   nəbe''  
never   me   man   came  
sut'kə'go   udi'ləgun   wi'ga'wus'al'   ka'di  
near me."   She said   her mother, "You are trying to  
nəba'kadawi   kenu'gtc   ə'da   ki'zi'kə'ləzi'yu  
deceive me,   but also   not   you can hide yourself,  
debəne'tde   kwe'wi'la   mala'm'te   sala'ki'  
here soon   you will be found out."   Then   at last  
ki'na'p'skəzu   ne'mi'ho'go't   ami'tak'w'sal'  
very large she looked.   When he saw her,   her father  
udi'ləgun   ga'matc   kəma'dji'   p'he'namwi'  
he said,   "Very   you are bad   woman,  
a'nsəba   i''kaska'mone   gwa'sk'w'taho'ləba  
I have a notion   if I did not hold in myself   to strike-  
you dead.  
nəni''kwup'   yu't'etc   wi'gi'an   nəgwi'tci'  
Now   here   you will live   alone,  
ta'nt'e   eli'bedji'lan   ni''kwup'   yu't'e  
whatever   (fate) may come to you.   Now   here



edalinəgado'damlek' ni'a kədji'bagi'de-  
where we are going to leave you. I I am disgusted-  
hamal ni''kwup' ta'n't'e eli'gwaskwa'ləmi'  
with you now, whether you may die of starvation  
alə'da nomə'djeoda di'na nəgwədo'dene  
or not." Then they moved away the whole village.  
na't'e edali'nəga'lot' na'kskwe ga'matc  
Then there leaving her young girl very  
q'da uli'dehəzi me'tci'nəga'lot'  
not she was happy. She was left alone to die,  
eli'dəhə'zit' t'a'n'dje't' ndli'debi'lan  
she thought, "What now will become of me-  
ultimately?  
e'lwet'etc yunda'li' kwaskwa'ləmin  
It seems probable here I shall die of starvation."  
ne'dudji memlə'wi' seska'demit' ma'lam  
Thereupon greatly she burst out crying. Then,  
eskweda'l'pəzit sala'ki' bedji'dəwi'lat  
while she was crying, suddenly came flying  
kaskama'nəs'u i'dak ek'wə'zi' nda'haba  
Kingfisher. He said, "Don't grieve, impossible  
kwaskwa'ləmi'yu ni'a'tc wi'djo'kəmal  
to die of starvation here. For I I will help you,  
naga ko''kəməsən'adja'tc kən'ena'wel'muk'  
and our grandmother also will take care of you,  
p'ske'gədəmu's<sup>1</sup> ki'i uli'dehəzu na'kskwe  
P'ske'gədəmu's.<sup>1</sup> K'i'i, she was glad the girl;  
i'dak en'i'' nəbma'uzin nodi'lan  
she said, "So! I will live." She told  
kaskama'nəs'wal' wli'uni' ga'matc  
Kingfisher, "Thank you very much  
kdala'mi'hi' mala'm'te welə'gwi'wik  
you please me very much." Then in evening  
bi'di'get wi'ne''so'sis aləs'a''kami'gwi'ye  
came old woman, ground-moss material  
udlag'wə'wəngan na'ga kaŋkski'gəbi'al  
her clothing and cedar-bark  
ugədəgwa'bi'zun<sup>2</sup> udi'lan kwe'nas  
her belt;<sup>3</sup> she said, "Grandchild,  
moza''k ke'gwus debi'dəhəda'mo'katc  
don't anything worry, in mind

<sup>1</sup> A female supernatural creature, referred to by the Kingfisher as their "grandmother."

<sup>2</sup> This is the native conception of the appearance of the fairy-woman.

san'kewi'dehasi ni'a'tc kənena'wel'mat  
be contented, for I will take care of you."  
ta'nədodji de'banaskawi'ha'dan na'kskwe  
When it was time for her to bear a child girl  
udi'lan no''kəmi' ga'matc noli'dəhəsi  
said, "Grandma, much I am glad.  
kəda'ləmi'zəwa'mal  
I thank you very much" (for what you are going to do).  
yugə'skwe<sup>3</sup> abma'uzwi'noma ktci'sa'ngəma  
These his<sup>3</sup> people great chief  
ktci'əzaga'te<sup>4</sup> elmot'ha'di'hi'dit si'pki'  
Big-Screech-Owl<sup>4</sup> moved away long while  
bedo't'hadowak awa'si' bema'dəni''kik  
getting there far over the range of mountains-  
(divide)  
ne'dali'ska'mohodit o'dene ma'nit'e  
there they met with village. Then  
uda'liwi'k'azo'ldi'na yugə'skwe a'lnəbak  
there they settled these people  
eda'lode'nedjik ədagwi'na oli'dəhəma'wi'wa  
inhabitants of village. Not really they were-  
pleased.  
ma'nit'e umə'djeka'dona'lawə yu'hi'  
Then they began to be hostile to these  
pi'ləwi a'lnəba ma'nit'e ktci'əzaga'te  
strange people. Then Big-Screech-Owl  
owe'wi'na'wə elikadona'lgohodit udi'lan  
knew how they were after their lives; he said  
ubmauzwi'noma' kda'tcwi'tc mi'ga''kebna  
to his people, "Must we fight  
ka'di'a'iyagwe mala'm'te sala'ki' a'lnəbe  
if we want to stay." Then at last a man  
be'djo'se udi'lan ktci'əzaga'tal' ka'di'  
came; he said to Big-Screech-Owl, "If you are-  
going  
i'yu a'iyegwe kda'tcwi'tc mi'ga''ke  
here to stay, you must also fight,  
wzam q'da ni'u'na nəmo'sədjine'wi'-  
because not we we love them

<sup>3</sup> The scene here reverts to the girl's father and his band.

<sup>4</sup> The species denoted here is *Cryptoglaux acadica*. The name is derived from the native idea of its cry.

na'wak bi'lwi'a'lnqbak wzam ni'u'na  
strange people, because our

sa'ngaməməna wamp'sk'w ba'lqba'o  
our chief White-Bear is proud.

kda''tcwi'tc se'ka'wi'bena q'da se'kawi'-  
You must conquer us, not if you conquer

wek'we kda''tcwi'tc ali'bma'uzi'ba t̃ahalau'  
us you must live the same as

awa''kanak i'dak ktci'qzaga''te ən'i''  
slaves." Said Big-Screech-Owl, "So!

ki'zq̃dji'to'ləba ta'n'tado'dji' ki'zq̃dji'  
we are ready whenever you are ready

nəmi'ga''kan a''tama nodji'madje'oda'wan  
to fight; not ever away from here we shall leave."

nomə'djin a'lnqbe saṅgəma'k'e udi'lan  
Then left the man, (he went) to the chief. He said

sa'ngəmal' a''tama madjeoda'di'wi'ak  
to the chief, "Not they will leave;

ugi'zq̃dji'na umi'ga''kana i'dak  
they are ready, they fight." Said

sa'ngəma ən'i'' nəgase'ba kwi'ldawo'nena  
the chief, "So, and to-morrow we will attack."

gehe'l'a wespoza''ki'wik agwi'lda'wona  
Accordingly next morning they attacked;

noda'odina ma'lam sala''ki' sa'ṅk'hi'lat  
they began a battle. Then suddenly came out

wamp'sk'w ni'uk a'eda<sup>1</sup> ktci'qzaga''te  
White-Bear these well<sup>1</sup> Big-Screech-Owl

wzenq'bema elq̃bo'ldihi'dit ma'nit'e  
his men they looked and saw. Then

madjep'ho''hadowak nəktci'qzaga''te  
they began to run with fright. Then Big-Screech-Owl

noda'dəhazu elq̃'bit saṅk'hi'lat' awa's'  
became discouraged when he saw coming up the  
beast

elgi'kwi'nag'wzit amp'tawa''kwe aspo''s'e  
so big looked he half way up the trees his height

nedali'naska'dəhazit noga'galəwan udi'lan  
here he got discouraged he cried out he said

wa'mp'skwal' gi'sta'hi'bəna kla'hama'we  
to White-Bear, "You have conquered us stop off

kəzenq'bemak nala'wiste nda'wa'ka'nwi'bəna  
your men I give up now we will become slaves,"

i'dak wamp'sk'w ən'i'' uli'gan  
said White-Bear, "So! that's good."

nogə'l'hamawan wzenq'bema udi'lan  
Then he stopped his men he said,

e'kwi'huk' awa'ka'n'owak  
"Let them alone they have become slaves."

wana'kskwe<sup>2</sup> ktci'qza'ga''te udo'zal'  
That girl<sup>2</sup> Big-Screech-Owl his daughter

abi'us'əs'i'dəmi'n ski'no''si'zal ma's-  
had delivered her baby a boy Ma's-

ki'k'wsi'<sup>3</sup> udi'lan senq'besis nami'-  
ki'k'wsi'<sup>3</sup> said, "The little man is now-

hi'g'wsu ke'gwus tci'gədl'i'wi'la i'dak  
seen what will you name him? She said,

po'kəde'zi'bi''tes wzam q'skwe dali'-  
'Bubble-Froth' because why there he-

ki'zi'dəbi'le nəbi'k  
was conceived in water."

i'dak p'ske'gədəmu's ən'i'' uli'-  
Said P'ske'gədəmu's, "So! a good-

wi'zu owa''tc ki'zq̃ba'i'de ne'k'q̃ktaha'n-  
name he also, after he becomes a man,  
(will become) greatest great-

dowit se'nq̃be i'yu alak'wami'gi'  
magician man here on this side of the land

naste'tc awa's'i' q̃da'wahanik uli'dəhazu  
and soon across the top of the range." Rejoiced

na'kskwe na'lau p'ske'gədəmu's oli'nena'-  
the girl then P'ske'gədəmu's took-

welman wiga'wus'uit na'ga une'manal  
good care of her the mother and her son

ki'i' na'tcwa kaskama'nəs'u  
Ki'i'! Then that Kingfisher

abe'dewa'da's'in e'ki'ki'gi'li'dji'hi' na'me's'a'  
bringing back all kinds of fish

<sup>2</sup> A supernatural creature, another name for P'ske'gədəmu's. The etymology of the name is not clear. The narrator interpreted it as denoting "a woman whose eyes tempt men."

<sup>1</sup> Rhetorical pause.

<sup>2</sup> The scene now returns to the heroine.



ga'matc ola'uzik'ha nenawelmə'dji'hi  
very much he fed them well those whom he was-  
taking care of,

a'tcwa ski'no'sis sa'ηgləba'su na'ga  
and that boy grew very healthy and  
na'bi'go nagi'ste'bəgi'luk' nəma'ski'k'wsi  
fast. Then when he had grown enough, then-  
Ma'ski'k'wsi

udage'ki'man unadi'e'li'lin ugi'zi'ta'wun  
taught him to hunt, made him

təbi'al' na'ga kpi' udlo'salan  
a bow and in woods took him

ma'təgwe'su'kana gi'zage'ki'man eli-  
they hunted rabbits. When she taught him how-

nadi'e'li'muk nənə'gəma ski'no'sis  
to hunt then he boy

nəgwi'tci'te una'di'elin mi'lewa'da'su  
all alone hunted lots of game he brought,

awa'swi'ye oli'gi'zə'uzik'ha wi'ga'wus'al'  
wild meat well provided for his mother

na'ga o'kəmas'al' maski'k'wsi'al'<sup>1</sup>  
and his grandmother Maski'k'wsi.<sup>1</sup>

ma'la'm'te gi'zəba'o ni'u'l kaskama'nəs'wal  
Then when he became a man then this Kingfisher,

gwi'na wi'dəbal udi'əgun tca'kəba  
really his friend told him, "You ought to

kwi'la'ohə kmo'sumas na'ga ko'kəmas  
search for your grandfather and your grandmother

na'ga kəda'gik kdalnə'bemak nəbe'djo'-  
and others your people." Then coming-

s'at wi'gwomwak udi'lan wi'ga'was'al'  
to his wigwam, he said to his mother

na'ga maski'k'wsi'al' ndi'lak'w  
and Maski'k'wsi, "Told me

kaskama'nəs'u ndalnə'bemak a'gwa  
Kingfisher my relatives, it is said,

pse'luk' nənə'kwup nəgadi'kwi'laohək'  
are many. Now then I am going to search for them."

udi'lan maski'k'wsi'al' tanala'gwi-  
He said to Maski'k'wsi, "Which way

<sup>1</sup> The term "grandmother" is here used in accordance with native ideas of courtesy.

e'i'hi'dit ndalnə'bemak ma'nit'e i'dak  
are they my people? Then said

ma'ski'k'wsi' ga'matc nawa'doge ke'nuk  
Ma'ski'k'wsi, "Very far away but

aso'ke tcu' kəbe'dji'lan e'oldi'dit  
certainly surely you will come where they are."

i'dak ən'i'' ni'kwup' yu'te gədlə'san  
She said, "So! now here you go on toward

nala'təgwe'snaok ma'lam'tetə kənami'tun  
north direction at length also you see

pe'mi'awanadəni'kek əne'o'ldi'hi'dit  
a cross-range of hazy mountains then there they are

awa'si kdalnə'bemak wespoza'ki'wik  
across your people." Next morning

u'dji'mədjə'lan Bi'tes na'lau  
went away Froth meanwhile

abmo'san kəge'so'gəni' ma'la'm'te  
walking along a long day's journey. At last

sala'ki elə'bit' pe'+mi'awana'dəni'kek  
suddenly looking [he saw] way off a cross-range of-  
misty mountains.

ki'i' uli'dəhazu i'dak de'bənə'te  
Ki'i' He rejoiced, he said, "Soon

nbe'dji'an eo'ldi'hi'dit ndalnə'bemak  
I shall come where they are my people."

ki'i' elmi'lat wi'zana'g'wzu təba'wəs  
Ki'i' going along he hurried himself seven

kesogəna'ki'wik nobe'dji'lan awa'sa'dənowa'i  
days' time. Then he came to the other side of the-  
mountains.

una'mi'tun o'dene i'dak ən'i'' de'bəne  
He saw a village. He said, "So! Soon

na'mi'hən ndalnə'bemak elə'bit' una'mi'tun  
I shall see my people." Looking he saw

eba'so'dene tci'k'te ə'skwe kəda'k  
half the village quiet, then other

agamo'dene tci'bagi'təngwat dali-  
side the village appeared noisy, many-

abe'skwomhadi'djik kəda'gik ə'skwe  
together there playing ball, others then

bəməga'hadowak ni'tam'tek wi'gwom  
were dancing. The first wigwam

ubi'di'gan tci'k'tek ala'gwi wada'k  
he entered in the quiet direction there was

moni'mkwes'u ma'nit'e wi'se'lmu  
Woodchuck. Then she cried

ənspi' da'ldon'ke i'dak ali'ge nkwe'nas  
while there talking. She said, "Poor grandson,

ga'matc ni'una nza'k'ahadi'bəna  
very much we we suffer

məzi' ni'una awa'k'anak amədje'gi-  
all we slaves." Then she-

dama'wan Bi''tezal' wedq'uzi'lit  
began to relate to Froth her life-history.

i'dak nədja'tc gi'a kəwi'dji.  
She said, "And then you you with

awa'kanwi' ənode'k'wəgzin anobe'nag'zin  
slave sort." Then she stopped grieving she bustled-  
around.

udla'ηkwelan uda'dji'han Bi''tesal  
She prepared food, she made him over with good-  
food, Froth.

nomi'tsi Bi''tes neda'li'pit a'lnəbe  
Then he ate Froth; while there eating, a man

bi'di'gi'gəda'hit i'dak awa'sis i'yu  
rushed in quickly. He said, "A little beast here

kpi'wus p'ma'p'tuwi'lan kəba'po'ldi'ben  
in the bush is tracked going by we will have-  
sport,

a'gwa no'so'ka'wana i'dak moni'mkwes'u  
it is said, they pursued him." Said Woodchuck,

ki'nəg'ba pla'gi'zi'po se'nəbe ma'nit'e  
"At least ought to wait till he is done eating the-  
man." Then

Bi''tes i'dak ən'i' debne'te ngizə'dji.  
Froth said, "So! soon I shall be ready,

ni'a'tc ga'matc nəwi'gam'holəgun  
I too very I am fond of

pa'pwəgan na'te gi'zi'pit uwi'kwunan  
sport." Then when he finished eating he took

uda'təbi'al udi'lan moni'mkwes'wal  
his bow. He told Woodchuck,

mo'za'k nsa'hi'katc no'kəmi' nono'delan  
"Don't worry about me, Grandmother." Then-  
he went on

Bi''tes yu'geda'k se'nəbak se'ka'ldi'djik  
Froth. Here (outside) men were standing

eda'lska'wəzo'ldi'djik udi'lan Bi''tesal'  
there waiting for him. They said to Froth,

yu'te kpi'wus abma'p'tuwi'lan awa'sis  
"Here in the thicket fresh tracks going by,"  
little animal

nauza'man'e nəge'hel'a ama'djaba'zi'na  
let us chase him." Surely they all went forth.

ma'la'm'te pema'p'tuwi'lat elq'bit  
Then his tracking looking

Bi''tes ki'nala'gitdi'e'na<sup>1</sup> wada'k  
Froth, *ki'nala'gitdi'e'na*<sup>1</sup> there

pema'p'tuwi'lat ma'n'aba wi'gwom  
his tracks going like a wigwam

wə'dji' kedji'p'tazi'gəza'ne wudjki'k  
as though greatly pulled out from the ground

e'spamp'tak'w e'e'<sup>2</sup> ma'nit'e kwəgwo'male  
such big tracks *e'e'*<sup>2</sup> Right away he began to run

Bi''tes uno'so'ka'wan awa'si'zal e'e'  
Froth, chasing the little animal, *e'e'*

na'lau agwagwo'male yu'gaskwa'lnəbak  
Then how he ran. These people

məzi' bədəge'k'hodjo'lduwak udji'gi'-  
all hung back. They let him-

ta'wawal Bi''tesal' uni'-  
go ahead Froth he went ahead-

kani'alin e'bəgwa'tc awi'kwi'dəhamawal  
of them on account of it they were laughing at-  
him in their minds

wə'skwe Bi''tes e'lmī'lat ma'lam  
this Froth as he was going along. Then

udadəmi'ka'wal awas'izal' elq'bit  
he overtook him little beast looking (he saw)

gi'nəlagitdi'e'na wada'k se'ket  
*gi'nəlagitdi'e'na* there standing

amptawa'kwe spo'se wə'bi'awe'sus  
half way up the trees in height White-Bear

ktaha'n'dwi' wamp'sk'w gi'i' nəbma'dje'wan<sup>3</sup>  
magic White-Bear *gi'i'* then he shot at him<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> An expression of extreme surprise.

<sup>2</sup> Rhetorical, like *ki'i'*.

<sup>3</sup> An objurgative form, see footnote 1, p. 220.



a'tebəgwatc weo'ləwi'al nemi'na a'bəman  
not because of this he felt it. Then again he shot,

ma'lam me'tci'lal aba'kwal məs'alat'e  
then all were used up the arrows except

be'səgwun aba'kwe ki's mal'hi'dəhazu  
one arrow. Thereupon he wondered

Bi''tes sala'kit'e saŋk'hi'dəwi'lat  
Froth, suddenly came out flying

ktci'gi'la'sis ma'nit'e pa'gəs'in Bi''tes  
Chicadee. Then he alighted (struck) Froth

udləlməŋa'nak' ma'nit'e mädje'kwezu  
on his shoulder. Then began making a noise-  
(whispering)

ki'gi'mi' ktci'gi'gi'gi'gi' wa'gwa'nak  
slyly "Ktci'gi'gi'gi'gi' heel."

elə'bit Bi''tes ke'gwus neda'tes'uk  
Looking Froth something throbbing there

wa'gwa'nak wəmp'sk'w ə+ abə'mädje'-  
at his heel White-Bear ə+ he shot-

oda'mən<sup>1</sup> edalap'ski''tes'uk na'ste  
it<sup>1</sup> where the throbbing thing was. Then

udlmi'gi'bi'lan wəmp'sk'w Bi''tes  
he toppled over White-Bear, Froth

eli'lat wa'ŋgada'k tci'dəna'kwi'hazu  
going there he was dead he was stiff.

me'tci'ne elə'bit Bi''tes udeza'k'w-  
He died looking Froth he had-

tela'mən ule'wəŋgan wəmp'sk'w aba'kwe  
shot him his heart White-Bear arrow

səba'mo ule'wəŋganuk ki'i' ma'lam'te  
clear through in his heart. Ki'i' Then

saŋk'haba'zi'hi'dit a'lnəbak na'nəgwutc  
they came up in a mass the people, some

e'bəgwatc abədelmo'lduwak bedəba'zi'hi'dit  
on account of it were laughing when they got there

eləbo'ldi'hi'dit nada'k wəmp'sk'w  
they looked and saw there White-Bear

elə'sik me'tcädje'ne<sup>2</sup> i'dak Bi''tes  
lying there dead.<sup>2</sup> Said Froth,

kədə'bəgwaho'lna awa'sis ki'i' ga'matc  
"I will give you your share of the beast Ki'i' Very

wli'gan pa'pwəgan yuga'skwe a'lnəbak  
good sport." These people

ma'nit'e atci'dawə'm'kwahazo'lduwak  
right away they cast their faces down quickly.

a'tawen klo'zi' ma'nit'e bədəgə'bazuwak  
Nobody spoke. Then they walked back

o'denek' na'tc Bi''tes amə'djin o'denek  
to village. Then Froth walked to the village.

ma'la'mte moni'mkwe'so'ke udi'lan  
Then (he got) to Woodchuck. He said,

no'kə'mi' ndlmädje'telawa awa'mp'sk'w  
"Grandma, I have shot him dead that White-Bear."

ki'i' ma'nit'e wi'se'Imu moni'mkwes'  
Ki'i' Then cried Woodchuck

e'dudji'wuli'dəhasit ə+noba'bəməgana  
so glad she felt ə+ then they danced around.

udi'lan kwe'nas'is ga'matc gəme'm'-  
She said, "Grandson, very you have done-

lawi'gi'zi'hadu gəse'kawan ne'k'ə  
a great thing, you have conquered the greatest

gi'nhan'dowit se'nəbe dalwskit'ka'mi'gwe  
magician man there in the world."

i'dak Bi''tes nəga'elə'bemuk kaska-  
Said Froth, "By the help of King-

ma'nəs'u na'ga ktci'gi'gi'la'sis ki'i'  
fisher and Chickadee!" Ki'i'

elmi'wla'ngwi'wik ktci'uli'dəhazwəŋgan  
that evening a big rejoicing,

e'bəgwatc ktci'bəməgan məzi'awen  
on this account big dance, every one

uli'dəhazi wespoza'ki'wik odji'madjelan  
was happy. Next morning he left for

wi'ga'wus'əge udli'lan ma'la'm'te  
his mother's. He went along. At last

be'dji'lat udi'lan wi'ga'wus'al' wulə'dji'  
he arrived, he said to his mother, "Be well prepared,

se'ba kəmadje'odebna nəməs'ka'wək  
to-morrow we will move. I have found (and met)

kda'lnəbe'mnawak wespoza'ki'wik  
our people." The next morning

umädje'odana obe'dji'lan ka'skamanəs'u  
they started off; along came Kingfisher

<sup>1</sup> An objurgative form.

<sup>2</sup> Another objurgative form.

na'ga ktcigigi'la'sis na'ga maski'k'wsi  
and Chickadee and Maski'k'wsi  
ube'dji' adi'o'hewi'kada'wana kaska-  
came, good-by they bid him. King-  
ma'nas'u udi'lan a'di'yo<sup>1</sup> Bi''tes  
fisher said, "A'diyo" Froth  
ni''kwup' elma'uzi'an ke'gwus  
now (in future) as long as you live anything  
ali'sa'gi'mi'ko'ka'mane gami''kawi'-  
if you meet with great danger think of-  
dahamin kwi'djo''kemaldj a'tc  
me, I will help you accordingly. And  
maski'k'wsi a'tc udi'lan Bi''tesal'  
Maski'k'wsi also said to Froth,  
ni'a'tc kwe'nas ke'gwus ali'sa'gi'mi'ko'-  
"And I, grandson, anything when you meet with  
ka'mane kəmi''kawi'dəhəmin na'tc  
difficulty, think and wish for me." And  
ktci'gi'gi'la'sis i'dak ni'a'tc kəmi''  
Chickadee said, "And I, think-  
kawi'dəhəmin wi'djo''kemaldj nodji'ma'-  
of me, I will help you." Then they-  
dji'na wi'ga'wus'al' ma'lam be'djo'sak  
went and his mother. At last they reached  
o'denek ma'nite moni'mkwes'oke  
a village. Then to Woodchuck's (wigwam)  
bi'di'gan ma'nite wi'se'lmū moni'mkwes'u  
they went in. Then cried Woodchuck  
edudjiwli'dəhəzit nan'agae'wus abedq-  
so glad was she. After a little while they all-  
ba'zi'na udalnə'bema amo''sumsal'  
came up, his relations, his grandfather,  
o''kemas'al' na'ga gəda'gi'hi-  
his grandmother, and the other  
udalna'bema udi'lagun umo''sumsal'  
relatives. Said to him his grandfather,  
wedji'beda'bazi'ek' ni'u'na nda'tcwe'ldamen  
"The reason why we came, we I wish you  
kəda'n'heldama'wi'nena eli'kədamə'gi'-  
to forgive us for leaving you so misera-  
pagi'logət ki'ga'wus ga'matc  
bly, your mother. Very

<sup>1</sup> From French *adieu*.

kəməs'e'li'ki'gahi'bena se'ka'wat ne'kə  
a lot you saved us; conquered the greatest  
ktaha'n'dowit se'nəbe nəni''kwup'  
magic man. Now then  
i'yu'tc eda'liktci'sa'ngəməwi'an nəni'a  
here also you will be a great chief, and I  
ni''kwup' ngə'dnəmən ndli'dəbə's'wəngan  
now take off my office mantle  
nəgi'a gəna'stolən nogə'dnəmən  
and you I put it on." Then he took off  
uza'ngəmə'odi<sup>2</sup> unasta'wan kwe'nas'al'  
his chieftainship-path,<sup>2</sup> he put it on his grandson  
Bi''tesal' nəBi''tes udali'ktci'sangəma'in  
Froth. Then Froth there great chief became.

## TRANSLATION

Here camps story of a young girl, a virtuous girl, who was fond of swimming. Her mother advised her against too much swimming. Her mother said, "Some time a water-nymph will put you in trouble." She did not obey her mother. She was just as fond of swimming. Once as she waded ashore, after swimming, she saw bubbles coming up to the surface of the water in front of where she was going. She was surprised. Then she stopped and looked. While looking at the bubbles, they suddenly turned to froth, and appeared finally, while she looked on, to resemble a baby. Then came a breeze that blew the froth towards her. She became frightened, and wanted to get away from the froth; but it was too late. The froth came in contact with her body, and then disappeared after touching her. She waded ashore, and then went home. Thereafter she did not swim.

Time went on, and all at once her belly began to grow. Her mother asked, "What trouble has happened to you?" The girl said, "Nothing ails me. Why?" Her mother said, "You look strange. Why does your belly grow? It seems man has already been near you." Said the girl, "Mother, man has not been near me." Then the mother said, "You

<sup>2</sup> This was a robe of bear-skin with painted designs.



are trying to deceive me, but you cannot hide yourself here. Soon you will be found out." Then at last, when her belly was very large, her father saw her, and said, "You are a very bad woman. I have a notion, if I do not restrain myself, to strike you dead at once here. You will have to live here alone, whatever may come to you. I am disgusted with you; and we are going to leave you here, whether you die of starvation or not."

Then the whole village moved away and left the young girl. She was very unhappy after she was left alone, and thought, "What will ultimately become of me? It seems probable that I shall die of starvation here." Then in consequence she burst out crying. While she was crying, Kingfisher came flying to her suddenly. He said, "Don't grieve! It is impossible to die of starvation here. I will help you, and my grandmother, *P'ske'gadəmu's*, and I will take care of you." *Ki'i*, the girl was glad, and said, "*ən-i*", now I shall live." She told the Kingfisher, "Thank you very much. You have pleased me exceedingly." Then in the evening came an old woman. Ground-moss was the material of her clothing, and cedar-bark her belt. She said, "Granddaughter, don't let anything worry you. Be contented, for I shall take care of you." When it was time for her to bear a child, the girl said, "Grandmother, I am very glad, and thank you for what you are going to do for me."

Big-Screech-Owl, great chief, and his people, moved away, and were a long while getting far over the divide of mountains. There they came to a village, and there they settled. The inhabitants of the village did not like it very well; they were not pleased. Then they began to antagonize the strange people. When Big-Screech-Owl knew that they were after the lives of his people, he said, "We must fight if we want to stay." At last a man came to Big-Screech-Owl, and said, "If you are going to stay here, you must fight, because we do not love you strange people,

and because our chief White-Bear is proud. You must conquer us, or, if you do not conquer us, you must live as our slaves." Said Big-Screech-Owl, "Go ahead! We are ready to fight whenever you are, and we shall never leave here." Then the man left, and went to his chief and said, "They will not leave, and they are ready to fight." Said the chief, "So then! To-morrow we will attack them." Next morning they attacked, and began battle. Then suddenly White-Bear came rushing up. Big-Screech-Owl's men looked and saw him, and then began to run, they were so frightened. Then Big-Screech-Owl became discouraged when he saw the beast coming up. The beast was so big, that he was half way up the trees in height. Big-Screech-Owl was discouraged, and cried out to White-Bear, "You have conquered us. Stop! Hold off your men! I give up now! We will be your slaves." Said White-Bear, "So! That's good." Then he called off his men, and said, "Let them alone, they have become our slaves."

The girl, Big-Screech-Owl's daughter, had delivered her baby, which was a boy. *Maski'k'wsi* said, "The little man is now seen here. What will you name him?" She said, "Bubble-Froth, because he was conceived there in water." Said *P'ske'gadəmu's*, "So! A good name; and after he becomes a man, he will become the greatest magician on this side of the land-divide, and soon after also across the top of the range." The girl rejoiced. *P'ske'gadəmu's* thereupon took good care of both mother and son. *Ki'i*! That Kingfisher brought them all kinds of fish, which fed very well those whom he cared for. The boy grew very fast and was healthy. Then, when he had grown enough, then *Maski'k'wsi* taught him to hunt. She made him a bow and took him in the woods. Rabbits they hunted. When she had taught him how, then he hunted alone, and brought in an abundance of wild meat. He provided well for his mother and grandmother, *Maski'k'wsi*. When he be-

came a man, his true friend, Kingfisher, said to him, "You ought to search for your grandfather and your grandmother and the others of your people." When he came back to his wigwam, he said to his mother and Maski-k'w'si, "Kingfisher told me it is said I have many relatives. Now, then, I am going to search for them." Then said Maski-k'w'si, "Very far away, but you will surely come to their abode." She said, "Now go to the north until you see a cross-range of hazy mountains, and across them you will find your people." Froth, on the next morning, went away, and walked for many days. At last he suddenly saw a range of misty mountains in the distance. *Kii!* He rejoiced, and said, "Soon I shall come to where my people are." He hurried along for seven days' time, and then he came to the other side of the mountains. He saw a village, and said, "Now, then, soon I shall see my people." Looking, he saw half the village quiet, and the other half noisy, and many there together playing ball, and others dancing. He entered from the quiet direction, and in the first wigwam he entered was Woodchuck. When Woodchuck saw Froth, she began to cry, and at the same time spoke and said, "Poor grandson! we suffer very much because we are all slaves." Then she began to relate to Froth the history of her life. She said, "And you are now with the slave sort." Then she stopped grieving, she bustled about and prepared food, and gave it to him. Then Froth ate; and while eating, a man rushed in quickly, and said, "A little beast is tracked, having gone by in the bush. We shall have great sport, it is said." Said Woodchuck, "At least you ought to wait until the man (Froth) is done eating." Then Froth said, "So! I shall soon be ready. I too am very fond of sport." When he had finished eating, he took up his bow. He told Woodchuck, "Don't worry about me, grandmother." When he went outside, men were standing there waiting for him. They said to Froth, "Here in the thicket a little way off are the

fresh tracks of the animal going by. Let us chase him!" Accordingly then they all went forth. Froth began looking at the tracking; and when he saw the tracks, *ki'nalagitdie'na* they looked like the place where a wigwam had been after being wrenched from the ground, *ee'*, they were so big and deep! Right away Froth began to run and chase the little animal. *ee!* How he ran then! These people all hung back, they let him go on ahead. He went ahead of them, and on this account they were all laughing in their minds at him. Then, as he went on, he overtook the little beast, and saw it standing there half way up to the trees in height. It was the great magic White-Bear. Then Froth shot at it. But even so, he did not notice it. *Gii'*, then again he shot. Then at last all his arrows were used up except one. Suddenly a Chickadee appeared flying, and alighted on Froth's shoulder and began to whisper, "*Kti-gi-gi-gi* heel!" Looking, Froth saw something throbbing on White-Bear's heel. *q+*! He shot at that cursed throbbing round thing. Then White-Bear toppled over. Froth went up to him. White-Bear was stiff and dead. Looking at him, Froth saw that he had shot White-Bear in his heart, and the arrow had gone clear through. *Kii!* The people came up in a mass. Some of them were laughing when they got there because of it. They looked, and saw White-Bear lying there dead. Said Froth, "I will give you your share of the beast. *Kii!* It was very good sport." The people right away cast down their faces quickly. Nobody spoke. Then they walked back to the village. When Froth saw Woodchuck, he said, "Grandma, I have shot him dead, that White-Bear." *Kii!* Then Woodchuck cried, she was so glad. *q+*! They danced around, and she said, "Grandson, you have done a very great thing. You have conquered the greatest magic man in the world." Froth said, "It was by the help of Kingfisher and Chickadee." *Kii!* That evening there was a big rejoicing-feast. There was a big dance on this account, and every one was



happy. Next morning Froth left for his mother's. Going along, at last he arrived, and said to her, "Get well ready. To-morrow we shall move. I have found and met our people." The next morning they started off. Along came Kingfisher and Chickadee and Maski·'k'wasi. They came to bid good-by. Kingfisher said, "Adieu, Froth! now as long as you live, in the future, if you meet with great danger, think of me. I will help you accordingly." And Maski·'k'wasi also said, "Froth, when you meet with difficulty, think of and wish for me." And Chickadee said, "And as for me, think of me. I will help you." Then they went away. At last Froth and his mother reached a village. Then to Woodchuck's wigwam they went; and Woodchuck cried, she was so glad. Soon after, all his

relatives came up, --his grandfather, his grandmother, and the other relations. His grandfather said to him, "The reason we come is that we wish you to forgive us for abandoning your mother so miserably. You saved us a great deal when you conquered the great magic man. Now, then, here is where you will be a great chief, and I now take off my office mantle<sup>1</sup> and I put it on you." Then he took off his chieftainship-path<sup>2</sup> and put it on his grandson. Then Froth was a great chief.

<sup>1</sup>This mantle was generally a tanned bear-skin with flower designs painted on the leather side, and decorated with porcupine-quills, it is said.

<sup>2</sup>A figurative expression for the responsibilities and insignia of the chieftaincy. The bear-skin and the eagle's feather were regarded as the emblems of a chief; these being the most noble among the mammals and birds.

## LINGUISTIQUE BOLIVIENNE.

### LA LANGUE KAYUVAVA,

Par G. DE CRÉQUI-MONTFORT ET P. RIVET.

« La nation des Cayuvavas, avant de se soumettre au christianisme, habitait, écrit d'Orbigny<sup>1</sup>, la rive occidentale du Mamoré, à une quinzaine de lieues au-dessus de son confluent avec le Guaporé ou Iténès, sur les plaines entrecoupées de marais et de bouquets de bois qui caractérisent ces terrains. Les Cayuvavas étaient disséminés en tribus sur les bords de cette grande rivière, et sur les petits affluents des plaines de l'ouest, du 12° au 13° degré de latitude sud et au 68° degré de longitude ouest de Paris. Leurs voisins étaient, au sud, les Movimas; à l'est, les Iténès; à l'ouest, les Maropas de Reyes, et, au nord, les Pacaguaras du rio Béni. Ils étaient séparés, surtout des deux dernières nations, par des déserts d'une immense étendue. Tous Chrétiens, ils sont actuellement réunis dans la mission d'Exaltación, sur la rive ouest du Mamoré, à douze lieues au-dessous de l'embouchure du rio Yacuma. Le nombre des Cayuvavas était, en 1831, de 2073 individus ». En 1693, le Père Eguiluz estimait cette population à 3000 âmes, et en 1767, les missionnaires comptaient 2000 Kayuvava à Exaltación, en outre d'une petite colonie installée à San Pedro, en pays kaničana<sup>2</sup>.

1. D'ORBIGNY (Alcide). *Voyage dans l'Amérique méridionale*, t. IV, 1<sup>re</sup> partie, Paris, 1839: *L'homme américain (de l'Amérique méridionale), considéré sous ses rapports physiologiques et moraux*, p. 305.

2. HERVÁS (Lorenzo). *Catálogo de las lenguas de las naciones conocidas, y numeración, división, y clases de estas según la diversidad de sus idiomas y dialectos*. T. I: *Lenguas y naciones americanas*. Madrid, 1800, p. 250.

Toujours d'après d'Orbigny<sup>3</sup>, la mission d'Exaltación était divisée en huit sections, dont les noms commencent tous par la syllabe *mai* qui, ainsi que nous le verrons, indique le pluriel en Kayuvava: c'étaient les *Mai-simaté*, les *Mai-diboçoké*, les *Mai-dépurupiné*, les *Mai-rouaña*, les *Mai-auké*, les *Mai-dixibobo*, les *Mai-maxuya*, les *Mai-mosoroya*.

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La langue kayuvava est déjà connue par un certain nombre de vocabulaires et quelques textes dont voici la liste complète:

1. HERVÁS (Lorenzo). *Idea dell' Universo*, Censura, t. XIX, 1786: *Aritmetica di quasi tutte le nazioni conosciute*, p. 102-103; t. XX, 1787: *Vocabolario poligloto*, p. 161-219 (Vocabulaire de 56 mots et 21 noms de nombre).

2. D'ORBIGNY, *op. cit.*, p. 80 (Vocabulaire de 23 mots).

3. FONSECA (João Severiano da). *Viagem ao redor do Brazil, 1875-1878*. 2 vol., Rio de Janeiro, 1880-1881, t. II, p. 239-240 (Vocabulaire de 65 mots).

4. HEATH (Edwin R.). *Dialects of Bolivian Indians. A philological contribution from material gathered during three years residence in the department of Beni, in Bolivia (Kansas city Review of Science, and Industry, a monthly Record of Progress in Science, mechanic Arts and Literature, vol. VI,*

3. D'ORBIGNY, *op. cit.*, p. 306.

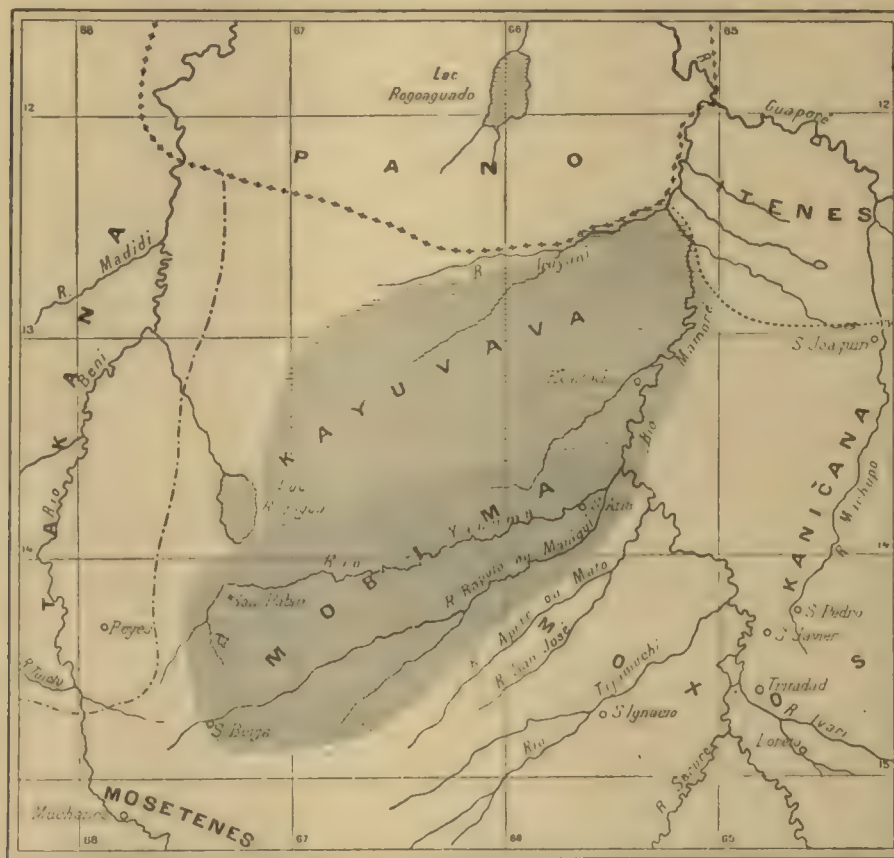


n° 12, avril 1883, p. 679-687), p. 683-687 (Vocabulaire de 39 mots).

5. CARDÚS (José). *Las misiones franciscanas entre los indios de Bolivia*. Barcelone, 1886, p. 315-316 (Liste de 48 mots et phrases).

(Liste de 85 mots et phrases; un court texte<sup>1</sup>).

A ces divers documents que nous reproduisons intégralement, parce que la plupart sont inaccessibles aux chercheurs, nous ajoutons le vocabulaire resté inédit recueilli par d'Orbigny,



Carte de la Basse-Bolivie, indiquant l'emplacement du Kayuvava.

6. TEZA (E.). *Saggi inediti di lingue americane. Appunti bibliografici (Annali delle Università Toscane, t. X, Parte prima, Scienze noologiche. Pise, 1868, p. 117-143), p. 133* (Texte eliegieux non traduit comprenant le *Pater noster*, l'*Ave Maria* et le *Credo*).

7. NORDENSKIÖLD (Erland). *Indianer och Hvita*. Stockholm, 1911, p. 231, 232, 234-239, 241

et conservé parmi les manuscrits de la Bibliothèque nationale de Paris.

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1. De petits vocabulaires se trouvent également dans les ouvrages suivants :

ADELUNG (Johann Christoph) et VATER (Johann Severin). *Mithridates oder allgemeine Sprachenkunde mit dem*

**Genre.** — Comme la plupart des langues de la région, le Kayuvava ne semble pas connaître la distinction de genre. Pour distinguer le mâle de la femelle, il juxtapose au nom de celle-ci le mot *yasi* « homme », ou au nom de celui-là le mot *torane* « femme ».

Ex.: poule, *takura*, *tákaráro*, coq, *yasi-takurako*, garçon, *mamixi*, *mümi*, jeune fille, *mami-torani* '.

Toutefois, d'après ce que nous verrons plus loin à propos de l'article, il semble qu'il existe, au moins dans ce cas particulier, une distinction entre l'homme et les êtres anthropomorphes (dieu) d'une part, les animaux et les objets, d'autre part.

*Vater unser als Sprachprobe in beynähe fünfshundert Sprachen und Mundarten.* Dritter Theil, zweyte Abtheilung, Berlin, 1813, p. 571, 576.

BALBI (Adrien). *Atlas ethnographique du Globe, ou classification des peuples anciens et modernes d'après leurs langues.* Paris, 1826, table XLI, n° 466.

ORTON (James). *The Andes and the Amazons or across the continent of South America.* 3<sup>e</sup> édit., New York, 1875, p. 473.

BRINTON (Daniel G.). *The American Race.* New York, 1891, p. 360.

Ces vocabulaires ne sont pas originaux. Ceux du *Mitridates* (23 mots) et de Balbi (26 mots) sont pris dans Hervás ; celui d'Orton (8 mots) dans d'Orbigny, bien que le voyageur écrive *kratolorane*, femme, au lieu de *kratolorane*, et *ñharaman*, soleil, au lieu de *ñaraman*. Celui de Brinton (17 mots) est extrait en partie de d'Orbigny, en partie de Heath ; les trois premiers noms de nombre sont empruntés à Adellung et Vater (*op. cit.*, p. 576) ; ils n'appartiennent pas d'ailleurs au Kayuvava mais au Sapibokona (dialecte takana). Les linguistes allemands, en les copiant eux-mêmes dans Hervás (*Aritmetica*, *op. cit.*, p. 576), ont en effet interposé les noms de nombre kayuvava et sapibokona, erreur dont Brinton ne s'est pas aperçu en les transcrivant à son tour.

1. On pourrait supposer, d'après l'exemple suivant, que la distinction du mâle et de la femelle peut être indiquée par le préfixe *i-* :

chien, *nahua*,

chienne, *i-ndhua*.

Toutefois, nous pensons que, dans ce cas, ce préfixe n'est autre que celui que nous trouvons dans un grand nombre de substantifs et dont nous expliquons plus loin le sens (p. 132).

Il est par contre certain que les adjectifs sont invariables :

*pá-riki-ha*, tu es content,

*pa-pira-hà*, tu es bénie.

**Nombre.** — Le pluriel est indiqué d'une façon très régulière par le préfixe *may-*, *mey-*, *ma-*, *me-*, *mi-*, qui correspond exactement au préfixe *mi-* de l'Itonama :

Ex.: chien, *nahua*, les chiens, *mey-náhua*,  
poule, *tákaráro*, les poules, *mey-tákaráro*,  
homme, *yasi*, peuple (les hommes),  
*me-yése*,  
saint, *santo*, les saints, *ma-santo*,  
femme, *tórène*, les femmes, *mai-torene*.

**Article.** — De même qu'en Mobima, il existe en Kayuvava une particule remplissant le rôle assez vague d'article ou d'adjectif indéfini :

*xuariye ki xetdaba.*

j'ai-tué un jaguar.

*patdara kixarese ko dabapa.*

grand j'aime le dieu.

*ču añuexi ko dabapa ?*

y a-t-il un dieu ?

*ko dabapa ara-iču kei tui yi-tdal.*

le dieu est en-haut au-ciel.

*mia-ča-e ki daka ki tdati ?*

qui la créa la terre ?

*ana ko dabapa ki daka.*

le dieu la créa.

*ča-iču-ača ko dabapa ?*

où-est le dieu ?

Comme en Mobima également, il semble y avoir deux formes, suivant que l'article est joint à un nom d'être (*ko*) ou à un nom de chose ou d'animal (*ki*).

**Pronoms.** — Voici la liste des pronoms personnels, telle qu'on peut l'établir d'après nos différentes sources d'information :



je, moi, <i>are-abi</i>	nous, <i>are-risi</i>
<i>aré-ai</i>	<i>are-rini</i>
<i>aré-ay</i>	<i>ané-re</i>
tu, toi, <i>are-a</i>	vous, <i>are-kpere</i>
<i>aré-á</i>	
<i>aré-a</i>	
il, elle, <i>are</i>	ils, elles, <i>'are-riki</i>
<i>aré</i>	

Tous ces pronoms sont formés avec le même radical, *are*, auquel sont ajoutées des désinences variables.

D'après le texte de Teza, il semble que ces désinences puissent être employées isolément à la place de la forme complète correspondante.

C'est ainsi que *rihi* a le sens de « nous » dans les phrases suivantes :

*p-ide-i-rihi*, pardonne-nous !

*vapè hir-ide-bà rihi*, comme nous pardonnons (litt.: aussi pardonnons nous).

*p-ipepe-bà-dopai rihi*, que tu [abandonnes ?] nous !

Toujours d'après notre texte, ce mot *rihi* semble pouvoir se décliner. C'est ainsi qu'à côté de la forme *rihi*, qui nous est attestée comme sujet ou régime, nous avons les formes *ihì*, *ihìhi*, qui correspondraient à : à nous, pour nous.

Le radical *are* entre aussi dans la composition des pronoms démonstratifs :

ce, cette, *are-naxi*,

ceux-là, celles-là, *ara-naxi*.

**Adjectifs possessifs.** — Seule, la 2<sup>e</sup> personne du singulier nous est fournie par notre vocabulaire. Nous y retrouvons le radical des pronoms personnels :

ton, *aré-n*.

Mais, nous avons dans nos listes un grand nombre de mots où les relations de la possession sont indiquées par préfixation.

La première personne du singulier semble indiquée soit par les préfixes *ara-*, *are-*, *era-*, soit par les préfixes *ana-*, *an-*, *a-* :

mes dents, <i>án-álsiro</i> ,	mon épouse, <i>ara-nya-tonini</i> ,
mon fils, <i>ana-či-rómi</i>	mon fils, <i>aré-či-ro-mibi</i> <sup>1</sup> ,
ma fille, <i>ana-či-rómi</i>	
ma mère, <i>an-dítey</i> ,	ma mère, <i>era-pipi</i> ,
mon nez, <i>á-buarióse</i> ,	mon mari, <i>ara-tiri</i> ,
mon pied, <i>á-šey</i> ,	mon père, <i>era-pápa</i> ,
ma main, <i>á-rui</i> ,	<i>ára-buópi</i> <sup>2</sup> .
ma maison, <i>á-nyíka</i> ,	
ma langue, <i>a-nyényé</i> .	

La deuxième personne du singulier est indiquée par les préfixes *ánapa-*, *árepá-*, *kapa-*, *apa-*, *pa-* :

tes dents,	<i>ánap-áysi</i> ,
ton fils,	<i>árepá-romibi</i> ,
ta main,	<i>ánapá-l'u</i> ,
ton idiome,	<i>kapa-raminiina</i> ,
ton nom,	<i>kapa-eme</i> ,
ton nez,	<i>pá-buarióse</i> ,
ta langue,	<i>ápá-nyé</i> ,
ton fils,	<i>apa-romibi</i> ,
ton royaume,	<i>apa-reino</i> ,
ton pied,	<i>apa-bey</i> ,
ton nom,	<i>apa-eme</i> ,
ta maison,	<i>ápá-nyíka</i> .

Signalons aussi les formes probablement erronées :

ton père, *na-mótó*, ta mère, *'da-pédi*.

1. L'interposition de la particule *či* entre le préfixe possessif et le radical *romi* nous fait supposer que ces deux mots signifient en réalité « c'est mon fils ». Cf. ce que nous disons plus loin de l'existence d'un verbe auxiliaire en Kayuvava.

2. A ce groupe appartiennent vraisemblablement les mots de notre vocabulaire :

*ira-bibiki*, flèche,  
*ira-toko*, épaule,  
*ira-pota*, *ira-pehue*, menton,  
*ira-čokobo*, front.

Ces mots nous sont, par ailleurs, donnés avec un autre préfixe :

*da-bibiki*, flèche,  
*na-bibike*, arc,  
*i-toko*, épaule,  
*da-poto*, barbe,  
*i-čoko*, front.

Le préfixe possessif de la 3<sup>e</sup> personne ne nous est attesté que par l'exemple suivant du texte de Teza :

son fils, *ahi-čo-rome*.

Quant au préfixe qui traduit « notre », Nordenskiöld nous donne pour l'exprimer *yu-* :

notre village, *y-ú-indero*, [*entarú*, village]

et le texte de Teza le préfixe très voisin *o-* :

notre nourriture, *o-an-añihi*,

notre père, *o-dobapá*, *o-dabapa*.

**Adjectifs.** — D'après d'Orbigny<sup>1</sup>, les adjectifs sont invariables.

Le plus grand nombre se terminent en *-ha*, *-há*, *-xa*, beaucoup plus rarement en *-xi*, *-he*; en outre, ils sont précédés de divers préfixes, qui peuvent être classés en deux groupes : 1<sup>o</sup> *há-*, *ira-*, 2<sup>o</sup> *pa-*, *p-*.

L'exemple suivant, qui nous est fourni par Nordenskiöld :

*há-riki-ha*, je suis content,

*pá-riki-ha*, tu es content,

corroboré par deux exemples extraits du texte de Teza :

*p-ipoho-ha*, tu es pleine,

*pa-pira-há*, tu es bénie,

prouve que ces deux classes de préfixés, qui correspondent d'ailleurs aux préfixes possessifs de la 1<sup>re</sup> et de la 2<sup>e</sup> personnes, servent à constituer des phrases nominales : moi-content, toi-content, etc.... Voici les nombreux exemples que nous en avons relevés dans nos vocabulaires :

*ira-bore*, blanc.

*pa-idao-há*, obscur,

*pa-ube-ha*, odorant,

*pa-ibokoro-há*, clair,

*pa-to-há*, rouge,

*pá-yrá-ha*, bon,

*pa-ito-há*, doux,

*pa-ira-xa*, sain.

Le suffixe *-ha* se retrouve dans les adjectifs suivants employés comme substantifs :

*ipu-xa*, voleur,

*mai-budu-há*, les pêcheurs,

*idoko-há*, créateur.

Le renforcement des adjectifs est indiqué par le préfixe *ña-* :

*ña-raparetay*, très beaucoup,

*ña-haorike*, très peu,

*ña-ñavari*, rien (*yavari*, il n'y a pas),

*ña-rama*, près (sans doute : très près).

C'est sans doute le sens qu'il faut donner au préfixe (*n*)*yá-*, *ya-*, dont notre vocabulaire nous fournit de nombreux exemples :

*ya-daçe-xa*, ivre,

*ya-puxa-be*, gras,

*ya-moe-xi*, sale,

*ya-te-xa*, (*n*)*yá-ta-ha*, rouge,

*ya-ta-xa*, (*n*)*yá-ta-ha*, noir,

*ya-raka-xa*, méchant,

*ya-kevaine-xa*, malade,

*ya-rero-xa*, propre,

*ya-pora-xa*, (*n*)*yá-bore-ha*, blanc.

Signalons enfin le préfixe *îçe-*, *çe-*, qui semble avoir le sens des préfixes français *mé-* ou *in-* :

*îçe-uné*, aveugle,

*îçe-aíta*, sourd,

*çe-heýre*, chétif,

*çe-xeire*, mauvais,

*çe-apuhi*, maigre.

**Préfixes.** — Nous groupons ici un certain nombre de préfixes, dont les uns correspondent certainement aux préfixes possessifs précédemment étudiés, mais dont les autres sont parfois

1. D'ORBIGNY, *op. cit.*, p. 305.



d'une interprétation difficile ou impossible pour l'instant,

Préfixe *i-*. Ce préfixe correspond, sans doute, à la forme substantive sans indication de possession, ainsi qu'il résulte de quelques exemples empruntés à nos textes :

*bi-kočc ye-Dios i-dabapa, i-doko-hà.*  
je-crois en-Dieu le-père, créateur.

Il est très fréquent dans nos vocabulaires, surtout dans les mots désignant les parties du corps :

*i-diaite*, bouche, *i-radike*, oreille,  
*i-yokori*, œil, *i-ribera*, jambe,  
*i-né*, langue, *i-nàhue*, bras,  
*i-bariobò*, nez, *i-rakaxe*, poitrine.

Préfixe *ir-*. Nous voyons dans ce préfixe l'équivalent du précédent, l'*r* jouant peut-être un rôle simplement euphonique, dans les mots commençant par une voyelle. Les deux exemples suivants empruntés à nos textes viennent à l'appui de cette hypothèse :

*bikočc ir-anameariri rabuddu,*  
je-crois au-pardon des-péchés,  
*ir-itekerène-tui mai-r-ua* <sup>1</sup>.  
à-la-résurrection des-morts.

Ce préfixe, le plus abondamment représenté dans nos vocabulaires, se rencontre surtout dans les mots qui désignent des plantes, des animaux ou des phénomènes naturels :

âme, *ir-icé*,  
animal, *ir-abadio*,  
année, *ir-idore-maka*,  
bambou, *ir-adžũdžũ*,  
canne-à-sucre, *ir-atutu*,  
cassique tojo, *ir-iarabo*,  
choclo, *ir-isoiki*,  
courant, *ir-ihuici*,

étoile, *ir-abuabua*,  
*ir-aguagua*,  
*ir-aubuahua*,  
jour, *ir-iarama*,  
lune, *ir-are*,  
miel, *ir-atutu*,  
montagne, *ir-uretubi*,  
moufette, *ir-ibokobe*,  
nuit, *ir-idabũ*,  
œuf, *ir-omixe*,  
paille, prairie, *ir-ixeke*,  
palmier du Guaporé, *ir-iai*,  
plaine, *ir-ihuokoe*,  
riz, *ir-autara*,  
roi des vautours, *ir-apačahua*,  
sable, *ir-ipu*,  
scorpion, *ir-ocobikidi*,  
tonnerre, *ir-idžukube*.

Préfixe *ana-*, *na-*, *ena-*, *en-*. Ce préfixe est vraisemblablement le préfixe possessif de la première personne :

*en-diači*, bouche, *na-rakaxe*, cœur,  
*aná-yokuosi*, <sup>1</sup> œil, *ena-xendžikui*, } oreille,  
*en-čáko*, } *na-ridžike*, }  
*na-ñe*, langue, *ena-xiréra*, } jambe,  
*na-huareoxo*, nez, *na-ribera*, }  
*na-čobo*, ombilic, *na-ñahua*, bras.  
*ena-xaké*, poitrine.

Préfixe *da-*, *ita-*, *it-* :

*ita-bôro*, cou, *da-čekero*, cheville,  
*da-čoro*, cou, *da-roto*, coude,  
*it-rakabe*, cœur, *da-barube*, poignet,  
*ita-tokoro*, index, *da-larna*, sang,  
*da-kiru*, ongle, *da-rakahua*, ventre.

Ainsi qu'on peut s'en rendre compte en confrontant les listes qui précèdent, ces trois préfixes peuvent alterner les uns avec les autres.

Ce n'est que dans notre vocabulaire que nous trouvons parfois des mots dépouillés de tout préfixe. Voici la liste de ces mots :

1. Dans ce mot, *mai-r-ua*, l'*r* est également euphonique, le radical de « mourir » étant *ua*.

## FORMES PRÉFIXÉES.

chicha,	<i>veiki</i> ,	<i>i-veiki</i> ,
perroquet,	<i>báro</i> ,	<i>i-báro</i> ,
lac,	<i>kuri</i> ,	<i>i-kuri</i> ,
poisson,	<i>data</i> ,	<i>i-data</i> ,
patate,	<i>köri</i> ,	<i>i-keri</i> ,
fleur,	<i>coa</i> ,	<i>i-coa</i> ,
maïs,	<i>xiki</i> ,	<i>i-xiki</i> ,
terre,	<i>datü</i> ,	<i>i-datu</i> , <i>n-däti</i> ,
arc,	<i>raupu</i> ,	<i>i-rahupui</i> ,
eau,	<i>kita</i> ,	<i>i-kitä</i> ,
feu,	<i>dore</i> ,	<i>i-döre</i> ,
pied,	<i>abei</i> ,	<i>d-axe</i> , <i>idäh-bäs</i> ; <i>en-ärxe</i> ,
femme,	<i>tórene</i> ,	<i>i-torene</i> ,
sang,	<i>torohua</i> ,	<i>da-tarua</i> ,
bouche,	<i>diača</i> ,	<i>en-diäci</i> , <i>i-diače</i> ,
oiseau,	<i>titido</i> ,	<i>i-titido</i> .

Préfixe *krata-*. Ce préfixe, assez rare, nous semble correspondre à l'adjectif numéral *karata*, un, dont il serait la forme de mot secondaire.

*kra-torane*, *krata-torana*, femme (litt. : une femme),  
*krata-mihi-torane*, fille,  
*krat-asi*, homme,  
*krata-dapa*, canot,  
*karata-irare*, mois (litt. : une lune),  
*karata-nika*, maison.

**Suffixes.** — Les suffixes paraissent être aussi variés que les préfixes. Le radical *raka* par exemple se retrouve sous les multiples formes suivantes :

<i>na-raká-xe</i> ,	} cœur, poitrine. .
<i>it-raka-be</i> ,	
<i>i-raka-bé</i> ,	
<i>ena-xaká-e</i> ,	
<i>a-raka-be</i> ,	} ventre.
<i>ena-naka-bi</i> ,	
<i>da-raka-hua</i> ,	
<i>da-raká-urúsi</i> ,	

Autant qu'il est possible de le faire avec les

documents dont nous disposons, on peut distinguer les suffixes suivants :

Suffixe *-xe*, *-be*, *-e*, *-yi* (?) :

*na-raká-xe*, *it-raka-be*, cœur,  
*i-raka-bé*, *i-raka-xe*, *ena-xaká-e*, poitrine,  
*na-raki-be*, *na-raki-yi*, os,  
*da-baru-be*, poignet.

Suffixe *-do*, *-to*, *-tu*, *-ta*, *-te*. Ce suffixe paraît spécial aux mots désignant les poils de l'homme et des animaux, et les plumes :

*da-po-to*, barbe,  
*ira-po-ta*, menton (litt. : barbe),  
*na-piru-tu*, cils,  
*na-maravo-do*, sourcils,  
*a-po-ta-kame*, *da-pe-ta-guana*, cheveux,  
*po-te*, plume.

Suffixe *-hua*, *-hue* :

*da-raka-hua*, ventre,  
*ira-pe-hue*, menton,  
*toro-hua*, *da-tar-ua*, sang.

Suffixe *-be*, *-bi* :

*a-raka-be*, *ena-naka-bi*, ventre.

Suffixe *-ra*. Ce suffixe ne nous est attesté que par l'exemple suivant :

*da-buró-ra*, cou (cf. *ita-bóro*, *da-voro*).

Suffixe *-ri* ou plutôt *-si* :

*i-yoko-ri*, *áná-yokuo-si*, œil (cf. *ni-yoko*),  
*ienä-si*, feuille (cf. *yenq*).

Suffixe *-kama*, *-kame*, *-kamei*, *-kuana*, *-guana* :

*a-bara-kama*, *na-huara-kama*, *guana-kuána*,  
*á-huara-kamei*, *na-ora-kama*, tête,  
*a-pota-kame*, *da-peta-guana*, cheveux.

Suffixe *-kubé*. Nous n'avons noté ce suffixe que dans les deux mots suivants :

*idabu-kubé*, vent,  
*iridzü-kubé*, tonnerre.



**Verbe auxiliaire.** — Le Kayuvava possède un radical, *içu*, qui indique l'existence :

*ara-içu*, *are-içu*, il est,  
*arêp-içu*, toi-qui-es,  
*ča-içu-aca ko dabapa*, où est dieu ?

Nous retrouvons le même radical dans les deux formes verbales suivantes :

*or-içu-huénhua*, je veux,  
*hie-içu-euhua*, je-ne-veux-pas,

qui doivent signifier sans doute « il y a volonté », « il n'y a pas volonté ».

**Conjugaison.** — La deuxième personne de l'impératif est indiquée, d'une façon assez générale, par la préfixation de *p-*<sup>1</sup>, qui est le pronom personnel de la 2<sup>e</sup> personne :

*p-icorokohà* ! prie !  
*p-iboloire* ! donne-moi !  
*p-idei-ribi* ! pardonne-nous !  
*p-unai* ! regarde !  
*bôre p-âdêtabi* ! donne-moi plus !  
*p-iñukuña* ! couche-toi !  
*p-itakereya-tubi* ! lève-toi !  
*p-ucêai* ! apporte !  
*p-arorokui* ! marche !

Le même préfixe se retrouve, semble-t-il, à la 2<sup>e</sup> personne du présent de l'indicatif :

*ča-p-uidi-aca* ? où vas-tu ?  
*ba-ča p-içaxée* ? que cherches-tu ?  
*ba-ča p-nauguae* ? que veux-tu ?

Il est par suite probable que les verbes suivants, qui nous sont donnés par nos informateurs comme étant à l'infinitif, sont en réalité à

1. Il y a cependant des exceptions :

*tatulipa*, appelle !  
*çuruiya*, assieds-toi !  
*oho*, *nâyhuo*, prends !  
*yaviru*, *dhuviru*, viens ici !

l'impératif, ou à l'indicatif présent (2<sup>e</sup> personne) :

<i>p-icêci</i> , rire,	<i>p-uirihi</i> , pleurer,
<i>p-uarihi</i> , tuer,	<i>p-ipatehi</i> , uriner,
<i>p-ibirihi</i> , ramer,	<i>p-aromihi</i> , accoucher,
<i>p-aki</i> , danser,	<i>p-ibitii</i> , dormir,
<i>p-anii</i> , manger,	<i>p-itahui</i> , nager,
<i>p-aidžarai</i> , parler,	<i>p-ikiti-tubi</i> , pêcher,
<i>p-aparaice</i> , payer,	<i>p-imiiçe</i> , donner.
<i>p-axerei</i> , peindre.	

L'impératif précatif est indiqué, dans nos textes religieux, par la suffixation de *-dopai* :

*tubnêa-dopai*, que soit établi !  
*adaroso-hà-dopai*, que soit adoré !  
*p-içepe-hà-dopai*, que tu abandonnes !  
*p-imibi-dopai*, que tu donnes !  
*tiko-hà-dopai*, qu'ils obéissent !

Dans ces textes également, la troisième personne du singulier du parfait est indiquée très régulièrement par le suffixe *-huipe*, exceptionnellement réduit à *-ui* :

*acoka-ui*, naquit,  
*adabehete-huipe*, souffrit,  
*ua-huipe*, mourut,  
*adabari-huipe*, fut enterré,  
*ohi-huipe*, alla,  
*içuru-huipe*, s'assit.

**Négation.** — La négation est indiquée par préfixation de *ye-* :

*pa-gibekexa*, je comprends,  
*ye-gibekét*, je ne comprends pas,  
*or-içu-huénhua*, je veux,  
*hie-içu-euhua*, je ne veux pas,  
*uxiai*, je vais,  
*ye-xabe ar-uxi*, je ne vais pas,  
*ye-bari*, *yé-peári*, il n'y a pas,  
*ye-rire*, laid.

**Interrogation.** — L'interrogation se marque par la particule *ča*, exceptionnellement *çe* ou *çu* :

*ča-īcu-ača ko dabapa* ? où est dieu ?

*ča-p-utdi-ača* ? où vas-tu ?

*ba-ča, bás-tčā-e* ? que, quoi ?

*ba-ča kapa-emé* ? comment t'appelles-tu ?

(litt. : quoi ton nom ?)

*ba-ča p-ītaxée* ? que cherches-tu ?

*ba-ča p-uanguae, bás-tčā-e* ? que veux-tu ?

*ya-če* ? que dis-tu ?

*mīa-ča-e, mīa-tčā-y, mīa-čā-y* ? qui ?

*mīa-tčā-y* ? qui [est-ce] ?

*mīa-čā-y kihuede* ? qui est là ?

*mīa-ča-e ki daka* ? qui créa ?

*ču-añuexi ko dabapa* ? y a-t-il un dieu ?

*ča-sidara* ? quand ?

**Prépositions.** — Le préfixe *yi-*, *ye-* a le sens de « dans, à, parmi » :

*ye-mai-torene*, parmi les femmes,

*ye-mai-rua*, parmi les morts,

*yi-bilimbo*, à l'enfer,

*yi-tdal*, dans le ciel,

*yi-idag*, au ciel,

*yi-ritoki*, à la droite,

*y-apa-nika*, à ta maison,

*y-arakabe*, dans le ventre,

*bikoče ye-Dios, ye-Xesu Kristo, ye-Espiritu*

*Santo*, je crois en Dieu, en Jésus-Christ, au Saint-Esprit.

Le préfixe *yo-* a le sens de « avec » (accompagnement) :

*yo-dabapa*, avec Dieu.

Enfin, le préfixe *ñe-* a le sens de « par », quoique dans un cas, la même relation soit indiquée par le préfixe *y-* :

*ñe-tasi*, par l'ordre,

*ñe-tidoko*, par l'œuvre,

*y-ira-bibiki*, par ma flèche.

**Composition.** — Les mots composés sont formés par juxtaposition des composants, mais, contrairement à ce qui se passe dans la grande

majorité des langues indiennes, il ne semble pas que le déterminant suive le déterminé :

*yača-titido*, bec (litt. : bouche-oiseau),

*pote-arabadio*, poil (litt. : plume-animal) <sup>1</sup>.

Cette observation est confirmée par la place qu'occupe le génitif dans nos textes ; il est vrai qu'il s'agit peut-être de calques de l'espagnol :

*adite ape Diosi*, mère de dieu,

*y-arakabe Virgen*, dans le ventre de la vierge,

*ñe-tidoko Dios*, par l'œuvre de Dieu,

*ñe-tasi Ponsio Pilato*, par l'ordre de Ponce-Pilate,

*yi-ritoki Diosi*, à la droite de Dieu,

*ir-anameariri rabuddu*, le pardon des péchés.

\*  
\*\*

L'étude de nos documents permet de pressentir d'autres faits grammaticaux intéressants, mais nous préférons, pour l'instant, nous en tenir aux particularités qui nous sont attestées d'une façon à peu près certaine, et attendre, pour compléter cette brève esquisse grammaticale du Kayuvava, des matériaux d'étude plus complets.

Pour la même raison, nous mentionnerons seulement que nous avons noté entre le Kayuvava et les langues de la famille Guaykuru quelques similitudes lexicographiques, dont le nombre ne nous paraît pas suffisant pour affirmer, dès maintenant, une parenté entre les deux idiomes. Le fait est toutefois à retenir, car, dans une autre langue bolivienne, encore bien mal connue, le Tuyoneiri, nous avons trouvé des concordances identiques.

Aux langues qui l'environnent, le Kayuvava ne semble pas avoir fait beaucoup d'emprunts.

1. Signalons toutefois une exception : le mot qui signifie « grande maison » d'après Nordenskiöld : *idore-nyika*, peut en effet se décomposer en *idore-inika* « feu-maison » et doit évidemment être traduit « la maison du feu ».



Nous avons donné, dans un travail antérieur <sup>1</sup>, la liste des mots communs au Mobima et au Kayuvava; voici, d'autre part, les rares ressemblances que nous avons relevées entre cet idiome et le Kaničana :

KAYUVAVA.	KANIČANA.
aujourd'hui <i>ñoxo</i>	<i>unex</i>
sain <i>pairaxa</i>	<i>ta-pereko</i>
blanc <i>ya-pora-xa</i>	<i>m-bala, hm-bàra</i>

bois	<i>pipade</i>	<i>ni-pati-buàre</i>
capricorne	<i>kara-ta</i>	<i>ne-kora-paš</i>
pied	<i>d-axe</i>	<i>eu-xatsi</i>
côtes	<i>da-taraka</i>	<i>eu-turaxa</i>
courant	<i>iri-huiči</i>	<i>iko-huis</i>
trois	<i>kurapa, kulápa</i>	<i>kalaxa-ka.</i>

De nos recherches, il résulte, en définitive, qu'il y a lieu provisoirement de maintenir la famille linguistique Kayuvava comme famille indépendante.

## KAYUVAVA <sup>2</sup>.

### I. VOCABULAIRE.

abeille	<i>kenara</i> (2)
accoucher	<i>pa-romibi</i> (2) [cf. fils]
agouti	<i>yekeke</i> (2) [cf. paca, lapin d'Amérique]
aimer :	
j'aime [Dieu]	[ <i>patdara</i> ] <i>kixarese</i> [ko <i>daba-pa</i> ] (5)
aller :	
je vais	<i>uxi-ai</i> (5) <i>úši-ai</i> (7)
tu vas	<i>dópi</i> (7)
je suis allé [ce matin]	<i>xuica</i> [oreiri] (5)
il est allé	<i>áriako</i> (7)
j'irai [demain]	<i>marax-uxi</i> [čokaču] (5)
j'irai [au ciel avec Dieu]	<i>marax-uxi</i> [tui yi <i>tdal</i> yo <i>dabapa</i> ] (5)
je ne vais pas	<i>ye xabe ar-uxi</i> (5)

va à ta maison et reviens vite !	<i>terei-ñama</i> [y-apa-nika, yau- <i>rexica iné</i> ] (5)
allons !	<i>oyere</i> (2) <i>úši-ère</i> (7)
allez, marchez	<i>terei</i> (5)
où vas-tu ?	<i>čaputdiača</i> (5)
allons-nous-en d'ici !	<i>veremá</i> (5)
âme	<i>ir-ičé</i> (1)
ami	<i>inyéka</i> (4) [cf. maison]
ananas	<i>yoro</i> (2)
animal	<i>ir-abadio</i> (1)
année	<i>ir-idoremaka</i> (1) [cf. feu]
appelle !	<i>tatulipa</i> (2)
s'appeler :	
comment t'appelles-tu ?	<i>bača kapa-emé</i> (5) [litt. : quoi ton nom ?]
apporte !	<i>puecat</i> (2)
araignée	<i>yoropo</i> (2)
arc	<i>i-rabupui</i> (2) <i>ranpu</i> (4) ; <i>na-bibiki</i> (3) [cf. flèche]
argile	<i>poné</i> (2)
s'asseoir :	
assieds-toi !	<i>čuruiya</i> (2)
aujourd'hui	<i>ñoxo</i> (2) <i>inohò</i> (6)
aveugle	<i>ičeuñé</i> (2)
avoir :	
il y a	<i>añuxi</i> (5) <i>añuhéhi</i> (7) <i>arexi</i> (2)

1. CRÉQUI-MONTFORT (G. de) et RIVET (P.). *Linguistique bolivienne. La langue Mobima* (Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris, nouvelle série, t. XI, 1914, p. 183-211), p. 194-195.

2. Nous désignons par 1 le Kayuvava d'Hervás, par 2 le Kayuvava de d'Orbigny, par 3 le Kayuvava de Fonseca, par 4 le Kayuvava de Heath, par 5 le Kayuvava de Cardús, par 6 le Kayuvava de Teza, par 7 le Kayuvava de Nordenskiöld.

Pour notre notation phonétique, cf. CRÉQUI-MONTFORT (G. de) et RIVET (P.). *Linguistique bolivienne. Le groupe Otuké* (Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris, nouvelle série, t. IX, 1912, p. 317-337), p. 318.

3. Vraisemblablement faute d'impression pour : *raupu*.

il n'y a pas	yebari (5) yavari (2) yéari, yépedri (7) [cf. non]	cerf guazu pucu	idarche (2) (n)dārā <sup>e</sup> (7) ( <i>Cervus paludosus</i> )
y a-t-il [un Dieu]?	ču añuexi [ko dabapa] (5)	cerf guazu ti ( <i>Cervus campestris</i> )	idoho (2) ido (7)
bambou (grand)	ir-adžüdzü (2)	cerf guazu bira	čoče (2) ( <i>Cervus simplicornis</i> )
banane	ikoko (2) ikuúngo (7)	cervelle	i-natütü (2)
barbe	da-poto (2)	ceux-là, celles-là	aranaxi (2)
en bas	yahü (1)	chaleur	baiboko (3)
beaucoup	tadeta (2)	chanter	paitoñoi (2)
superlatif de beau-	ñaraparetay (2)	chat	bariekeke (2)
coup		chauve-souris	ičeča (2)
beau-frère	šaiti (2)	chemin	i-nanaka (1)
bec	yača titido (2) [cf. bouche, oiseau]	chemise d'écorce	i-moro (2)
blanc	ya-pora-xa (2) ira-bore (1) (n)yá-bore-ha (7)	chenille	naiñu (2)
blatte	bibi (2)	chercher :	
bleu	yurusi (2) (n)yórosi (7)	que cherches-tu ?	bača pičaxée (5)
bois	narázi (3)	chétif, misérable	čehyre (7) [cf. mauvais]
bois, broussailles	bispode (3)	cheveux	a-potakame (1) da-petagna- na (2)
bois, forêt	pipade (2) pipoda (7) iněranare (1)		tátob (4) ndatah <sup>1</sup> (3)
bois à brûler	ibisi (2)	cheville	da-čekero (2)
bon	pá-yrá-ha (7) [cf. joli]	chicha	iveiki (2) veiki (5)
bouche	en-diáči (4) i-diače (3) diáča (2) iyačae (1)	chien	nabhua (2-7)
bouilloire	torenduto (4)	chienne	i-nabhua (7)
bouton de fleur	araiša (3)	les chiens	mey-nabhua (7)
bras	nanyau (4) na-náma (3) na- ñabhua (2) i-nabhue (1)	ciel	idah (1) idahü (2)
brun	(n)yá-la-ha (7) [cf. noir, rouge]	[Dieu est] au ciel	[ko dabapa araiču kei tui] yi- tdal (5)
cabiai	yoanan (2)	[j'irai] au ciel [avec Dieu]	[maraxuxi tui] yi-tdal [yo dabapa] (5)
calebasse en arbre	kočopi (2)	[qui créa] le ciel	[miačae ki daka] i tda [anai- pa ki tdati] (5)
canne à sucre	ir-atutu (2) [cf. bambou, miel] iázukar (7) [esp. : azúcar, sucre]	cigale	takiñere (2)
canot	krata-dapa (2)	cils	na-pirutu (2)
capricorne ( <i>Ce- rambyx</i> )	karata (2)	cire	kenara (2) [cf. abeille]
ce, cette	arenaxi (2)	citrouille	ikimi (2)
cendre	čošoko (3)		

1. Fonseca donne pour *ndatah* le sens de « tête » et pour *na-orakama*, le sens de « cheveux ». L'inversion est évidente. Aussi avons-nous cru pouvoir la supprimer.



clair	<i>pa-ibokoro-hà</i> (1)	Dieu le créa	<i>ana ko dabapa ki daka</i> (5)
coati roux ( <i>Nasua</i> )	<i>kapuya</i> (2)	crocodile	<i>ñatè</i> (2)
cobaye	<i>ir-udžiu</i> (2)	cuir	<i>isabedáva</i> (3) [cf. écorce]
cœur	<i>it-rakabe</i> (2) <i>na-rakáxe</i> (4) [cf. ventre]	cuisse	<i>i-daxe</i> (2)
comment :		danser	<i>paki</i> (2)
comment t'appel- les-tu ?	<i>bača kapa-emé</i> (5) [litt. : quoi ton-nom ?]	dauphin des ri- vières	<i>potohi</i> (2)
comprendre :		demain	<i>čeakačo</i> (2)
je comprends ton idiome	<i>pagibekexa kapa-ramiñiña</i> (5)	[j'irai] demain	[ <i>maraxuxi</i> ] <i>čouakaču</i> (5)
je ne comprends pas ton idiome	<i>yegibeké kapa-ramiñiña</i> (5)	dent	<i>id-áhi</i> (3) <i>aiče</i> (1)
content :		dents incisives	<i>d-axi</i> (2)
je suis content	<i>bá-riki-ha</i> (7)	mes dents incisi- ves	<i>án-atširo</i> (7)
tues content (heu- reux)	<i>pá-riki-ha</i> (7)	tes dents incisives	<i>ánap-áysi</i> (7)
copris ou bousier	<i>koročodapixi</i> (2)	dents molaires	<i>dadiodie</i> (2)
corbeille	<i>sučra</i> (3)	diable	<i>mahinaxe</i> (2)
corde	<i>ena-šakána</i> (4)	didelphe	<i>čučohe</i> (2)
cornes de cerf	<i>ica-derehe</i> (2)	dieu	<i>mai-mona</i> (1)
corps	<i>huabe</i> (1)		<i>i-dahapa</i> (2)
côtes (os)	<i>da-taraka</i> (2)	y a-t-il un Dieu ?	<i>ču anuexi ko dabapa</i> (5)
coton	<i>yuxuru</i> (2)	où est Dieu ?	<i>čai čuaca ko dabapa</i> (5)
cou	<i>da-buróra</i> (4) <i>ita-boro</i> (3) <i>da-voro</i> (2)	Dieu est au ciel	<i>ko dabapa araču kei tui yi- tdal</i> (5)
se coucher :		Dieu le créa	<i>ana ko dabapa ki daka</i> (5)
couche-toi !	<i>piñukuña</i> (2)	j'aime Dieu	<i>patdara kixarese ko dabapa</i> (5)
coude	<i>da-roto</i> (2)	j'irai au ciel avec Dieu	<i>maraxuxi tui yi tđal yo da- bapa</i> (5)
couguar ( <i>Felis con- color</i> )	<i>tapu</i> (2)	dire :	
courant des riviè- res	<i>ir-ihuči</i> (2)	que dis-tu ?	<i>yače</i> (5)
courir	<i>p-iverehe</i> (2)	doigt	<i>en-dádra</i> (4) [cf. main] <i>asibiri</i> (1)
court	<i>mačaxakama</i> (2)		<i>iarue-tárusi</i> (3) [cf. main]
couteau	<i>andatuáre</i> (4)	indicateur	<i>itatokoro</i> (2)
[je veux] un cou- teau	[ <i>xuaguaxa</i> ] <i>ratdaure</i> (5)	médus	<i>yeupare</i> (2)
crabe d'eau douce	<i>koro</i> (2)	auriculaire	<i>piáčo</i> (2)
crapaud	<i>bočo</i> (2)	pouce	<i>en-dádra</i> (4) [cf. doigt, main] <i>imurire</i> (2)
créer :		doigt des pieds	<i>sisibadaxe</i> (2)
qui créa le ciel et la terre ?	<i>miačae ki daka i tđal anaipa</i> <i>ki tđati</i> (5)	donner	<i>pimiče</i> (2)
		donne-moi !	<i>piboloire</i> (2)
		donne-moi plus !	<i>bóre pádětábi</i> (7)

dormir	<i>pibitii</i> (2)	mon fils	<i>ana-čirómi</i> (4) <i>áre-čirómihi</i> (7)
doux	<i>pa-ito-hà</i> (1)	ton fils	<i>árepá-romihi</i> (7)
drap, étoffe	<i>iodža</i> (3)	flèche	<i>ira-bibiki</i> (2) <i>da-bibiki</i> (4)
eau	<i>ikità</i> (1) <i>ikita</i> (2) <i>kita</i> (3-5) <i>kita</i> (7)	[j'ai tué un jaguar] avec la flèche	<i>žerá-bi</i> (3) <i>[xuariye ki xetdaba] y-ira-bibiki</i> (5)
éclair	<i>icarara</i> (1)	fleur	<i>čóa</i> (3) <i>icoa</i> (2)
écorce	<i>išahedáva</i> (3) [cf. cuir]	fleuve	<i>kita</i> (3) [cf. eau]
écureuil	<i>tütü</i> (2)	force	<i>isidžixixa</i> (2)
enfant	<i>mami-torani</i> (4) [cf. garçon, femme]	fourmi	<i>piči</i> (3) <i>išoodo</i> (2)
enfant mâle	<i>nanú</i> (3) <i>mamixiini</i> (2)	fourmilier tama-noir ( <i>Myrmecophaga jubata</i> )	<i>pataño</i> (2)
enfant femelle	<i>maváona</i> (3) <i>krata-mihi-torane</i> (2)	fourmilier taman-dua	<i>moto</i> (2)
épaule	<i>i-toko</i> (1) <i>ira-toko</i> (2)	fourmilière	<i>čoodo</i> (2) [cf. fourmi]
épine	<i>yauxa</i> (2)	frère	<i>vadapuhue</i> (2)
épouse :		froid	<i>ridžiui</i> (3)
mon épouse	<i>ara-nyatonüni</i> (4)	front	<i>i-čoko</i> (1) <i>ira-čokobo</i> (2)
étoile	<i>ir-aguagua</i> (1) <i>ir-aubuahua</i> (2) <i>rauahua</i> (5) <i>ir-abúa-hua</i> (7)	fruit	<i>na-rána</i> (4) [cf. face] <i>ipa</i> (2) <i>anáhim</i> (3)
être :		fumée	<i>namo</i> (3)
où est Dieu ?	<i>čai čuaca ko dabapa</i> (5)	garçon	<i>mümi</i> (4) <i>maixim</i> (2)
Dieu est dans le ciel	<i>ko dabapa araču kei tui yit-dal</i> (5)	genou	<i>da-čokodžo</i> (2)
face	<i>i-rahunna</i> (1) <i>i-rahuna</i> (2) <i>na-ránna</i> (4) [cf. front]	glouton taïra	<i>tapa</i> (2)
femme	<i>itorene</i> (1) <i>tórene</i> (7) <i>krata-torane</i> (2) <i>tenani</i> (4)	graine	<i>varie</i> (2) [cf. noyau]
femme mariée	<i>torana</i> , <i>krata-torana</i> (3)	grand	<i>patara</i> (2)
fer	<i>ñekararebe</i> (2)	grand'mère	<i>itata</i> (2)
fesse	<i>inedare</i> (2)	grand-père	<i>ivava</i> (2)
feu	<i>idore</i> (1-2) <i>idori</i> (3) <i>dore</i> (5) <i>idóre</i> (7)	gras	<i>ya-puxa-be</i> (2)
feuille	<i>yenq</i> (2) <i>iénasi</i> (3)	grenouille	<i>kurara</i> (2)
filer	<i>čakünui</i> (2)	grillon	<i>teré-teré</i> (2)
filles (opposé à garçon)	<i>krata-mihi-torane</i> (2) <i>mami-torani</i> (4) [cf. garçon, femme]	guêpe à miel	<i>miño</i> (2)
filles (opposé à fils)	<i>čirómixi</i> (2)	guerrier	<i>načümi</i> (4)
ma fille	<i>ana-čirómi</i> (4)	haricots	<i>ipete</i> (2)
fil	<i>čirómixi</i> (2)	en haut	<i>tui</i> (1)
		herbe pour les bestiaux	<i>r-išoko</i> (3) [cf. paille, prairie]
		hier :	



[mon père est mort] hier	<i>rarirue</i> [hua ka papa] (5)	langue	<i>i-ne</i> (1) <i>na-yi</i> (4) <i>na-ne</i> (2) <i>nauhe</i> <sup>1</sup> (3)
homme	<i>xadsi</i> (1) <i>krat-asi</i> (2) <i>idasi</i> (7) <i>yasi</i> (6) <i>me-yése</i> (4) [cf. peuple]	ma langue	<i>a-nyényé</i> (7)
	<i>idkô</i> (3)	ta langue	<i>apá-nyé</i> (7)
<i>Hydromys</i>	<i>varéré</i> (2)	lapin d'Amérique	<i>yekeke</i> (2) [cf. paca, agouti]
idiome :		lentes de pou	<i>tokuke</i> (2)
[je comprends] ton idiome	[ <i>pagibekexa</i> ] <i>kapa-raminiña</i> (5)	se lever :	
[je ne comprends pas] ton idiome	[ <i>yegibekéé</i> ] <i>kapa-raminiña</i> (5)	lève-toi !	<i>pitakereya tubi</i> (2) [cf. en haut]
iguane	<i>huiri-huiri</i> (2)	lézard	<i>iboro</i> (2)
il, elle	<i>are</i> (2) <i>aré</i> (5)	libellule	<i>mamavaro</i> (2)
ils, elles	<i>are-riki</i> (2-5)	loin	<i>ir-abuxa</i> (2)
indiens Kayuva-	<i>mi-kayuvabá</i> (7)	long	<i>dareaama</i> (2)
va		loup rouge ( <i>Canis jubatus</i> )	<i>davo</i> (2)
intestin	<i>na-kono</i> (2)	loutre (grande)	<i>katada</i> (2)
iule	<i>čameroro</i> (2) [cf. scolopendre]	loutre (petite)	<i>čara-katada</i> (2)
ivre	<i>ya-dačé-xa</i> (2)	lune	<i>ir-are</i> (1-5) <i>ir-aré</i> (2) <i>ir-äre</i> <sup>2</sup> (3) <i>ir-äre</i> <sup>3</sup> (7)
jaguar ( <i>Felis onça</i> )	<i>yedava</i> (2) <i>yetdaba</i> (5) <i>yedá-hua</i> (7)	maigre	<i>čeapuhi</i> (2)
[j'ai tué] un jaguar [avec la flèche]	[ <i>xuariye</i> ] <i>ki xetdaba</i> [ <i>y-irahibiki</i> ] (5)	main	<i>a-rue</i> (1) <i>da-ru</i> (2-3) <i>en-dádra</i> (4) [cf. doigt]
jambe	<i>i-ribera</i> (1) <i>i-rabara</i> (2) <i>na-ribera</i> (3) <i>ena-xiréra</i> (4)	ma main	<i>á-ruu</i> (7)
jaune	<i>daruta</i> (2) <i>dárute</i> (7)	ta main	<i>anapá-lu</i> (7) (1 roulé)
je, moi	<i>areahi</i> (2) <i>arélii</i> (5) <i>aréay</i> (7)	maïs	<i>ixiki</i> (2) <i>xiki</i> (5) <i>biki</i> (7)
c'est moi	<i>ánététro</i> (7)	maïs vert ( <i>choclo</i> )	<i>ir-isoiki</i> (2) [cf. herbe, paille, prairie]
jeune	<i>mami-basi</i> (2) [cf. garçon, homme]	maison	<i>karata-nika</i> (2) <i>i-nika</i> (1)
joli	<i>ira-xa</i> (2) [cf. bon]	ma maison	<i>d-nyika</i> (7)
joue	<i>i-ribuxá</i> (2) [cf. visage]	ta maison	<i>ápa-nyika</i> (7)
jour	<i>ir-iarama</i> (1-6) <i>ir-iarama</i> (2)	[va] à ta maison [etreviens vite!]	[ <i>tereñnama</i> ] <i>y-upa-nika</i> , [ <i>yau-rexiča ine</i> ] (5)
lac	<i>ikuri</i> (1) <i>kuri</i> (2) <i>kúri</i> (7)	grande maison	<i>idore-nyika</i> (7) [cf. feu]
lac Rojo aguado	<i>yátčaba</i> (7)	petite maison	<i>múderi-nyika</i> (7)
laid	<i>yerire</i> (2)	malade	<i>ya-kevaine-xa</i> (2)
laine	<i>irana</i> (2)	manger	<i>panii</i> (2)
lampyre ou hélater	<i>džape</i> (2)	manioc	<i>daduxu</i> (2) <i>dábuhu</i> (7)

1. Vraisemblablement erreur d'impression pour *nanhe* (transcription portugaise) = *nañe*.

2. Fonseca donne : *iräre* pour « langue » et *nauhe* pour « lune ». Il y a eu évidemment inversion entre ces 2 mots qui se suivent dans son vocabulaire.

3. Le premier *r* est nasal.

marais	<i>nākedoxe</i> (2)		<i>na-hauvéo</i> (4)
marcher :			<i>na-orandza</i> (3)
marche !	<i>parorokui</i> (2)	mon nez	<i>ā-huariōse</i> (7)
mari	<i>krāt-asi</i> (3) [cf. homme]	ton nez	<i>pā-huariōse</i> (7)
mon mari	<i>ara-tiri</i> (4)	noir	<i>ya-ta-xa</i> (2) ( <i>n</i> ) <i>yā-ta-ha</i> (7) [cf. rouge, brun]
matin :			<i>iñeranare</i> (1) [cf. bois]
je suis allé ce	<i>xuiča oreiri</i> (5)	non	<i>yobe</i> (2)
matin			<i>yebari</i> (5) [cf. il n'y a pas]
mauvais	<i>čexeire</i> (2) [cf. chétif]	nourriture	<i>rabururue</i> (5)
méchant	<i>ya-raka-xa</i> (2)	nous	<i>are-risi</i> (2) <i>are-rixi</i> (5)
mentir	<i>abuxa</i> (2)		<i>anère</i> (7)
menton	<i>ira-pota</i> (3) <i>ira-pehue</i> (2)	nous tous	<i>kuōšādere</i> (7)
mère	<i>i-dile</i> (1)	noyau	<i>variē</i> (3) [cf. graine]
	<i>apipi</i> (2)	nuit	<i>ir-idahū</i> (2)
ma mère	<i>era-pipi</i> (4)		<i>xarao</i> (1)
	<i>an-dtēy</i> (7)	obscur	<i>pa-idao-hā</i> (1)
ta mère	<i>da-pédi</i> (7)	odorant	<i>pa-tube-ha</i> (1)
mesquin	<i>ibuiča</i> (2)	œil	<i>i-yokori</i> (1) <i>ni-yoko</i> (2) <i>áná-</i> <i>yokuosi</i> (7)
miel	<i>ir-atutu</i> (2) [cf. canne à sucre]		<i>en-čáko</i> (4) [cf. front]
mois	<i>karata-irare</i> (1)		<i>na-rinčoh</i> (3)
mollusques :		œuf	<i>ir-omixe</i> (2)
mulette longue	<i>mayarivi</i> (2)	oiseau	<i>misimi</i> (3)
mulette épaisse	<i>iraro</i> (2)		<i>titido</i> (2) <i>ititido</i> (1)
anodonte	<i>paxave</i> (2)	roi des vautours	<i>ir-apačahua</i> (2)
hélices et ampul- lares	<i>ibočo</i> (2)	( <i>Sarcoramphus</i> <i>papa</i> )	
montagne	<i>ir-uretuhi</i> (2)	pérénoptère uru- bu ( <i>Catharthes</i> <i>urubu</i> )	<i>bado</i> (2)
	<i>tindare</i> (3)		
mouche	<i>naniče</i> (3)	pérénoptère aura ( <i>Catharthes au-</i> <i>ra</i> )	<i>dakebe bado</i> (2)
	<i>ikarahue</i> (2)		
mouche marehui	<i>meko</i> (2)	caracara (grand)	<i>čara</i> (2)
moufette ( <i>Meph-</i> <i>lis</i> )	<i>ir-ibokohe</i> (2)	( <i>Polyborus vul-</i> <i>garis</i> )	
mourir :		caracara (petit)	<i>tiye</i> (2)
mon père est mort	<i>rarirue hua ka papa</i> (5)	( <i>Polyborus chi-</i> <i>machima</i> )	
hier		aigle ( <i>Morphnus</i> <i>urubitinga</i> )	<i>kerekere</i> (2)
moustique	<i>nanūču</i> (2)		
musique	<i>maño tonopa</i> (2)		
nager	<i>pitahui</i> (2)		
narines	<i>vareoxe</i> (2)		
neveu, nièce	<i>ñibikuče</i> (2)		
nez	<i>i-bariobò</i> (1) <i>na-huareoxo</i> (2)		



chouette ourau-	momorokoto (2)	arara ( <i>Macrocer-</i>	araba (3)
courca		cus)	
duc ñacurutu ( <i>Bu-</i>	kurubupu (2)	ara jaune	borača (2)
bo magellanicus)		perroquet amazo-	ibaro (2)
effraie ( <i>Strix per-</i>	tabo (2)	ne	
lata)		perroquet	báro (3)
petit duc ( <i>Scops</i>	vadži (2)	perroquet sey	kurečče (2)
choliba)		perruche ( <i>Psitta-</i>	čoxi (2) šúsi (3)
très petite chouet-	totoxo (2)	cula)	
te		ara à collier	koni (2)
tangara bleu	natubu (2)	todier ( <i>Todus</i> )	mavisi (2)
tyran bienteveo	dakiririti (2)	hocco à bec rouge	yoti (2)
( <i>Tyrannus sul-</i>		( <i>Crax</i> sp.)	
furatus)		hocco à crête	pičo (2)
fournier ( <i>Furna-</i>	tütü (2)	( <i>Crax</i> sp.)	
rius rufus)		faisan à cravate	kodo (2)
hirondelle	dapičorodo (2)	faisan noir	čaxi (2)
engoulevent ( <i>Ca-</i>	bokora (2)	faisan hucloco	yorokodabo (2)
primulgu)		coq	yasi-takurako (2)
moineau cardinal	pičakuri (2)	poule	takura (2) tákaráro (7)
grand cassique	bokorodo (2)	les poules	mey-tákaráro (7)
cassique tojo	ir-iarabo (2)	perdrix	boyokoko (2)
cassique matico	potokimi (2)	faisan catinguera	kaña (2)
troupiale chopi	toti (2)	pigeon	čuku (2)
( <i>Icterus</i> sp.)		tourterelle yeruti	yexo (2)
oiseau-mouche	tututu (2)	tourterelle pecui	čorovo (2)
martin-pêcheur	parasasa (2)	autruche	doxe (2)
( <i>Alcedo</i> sp.)		vanneau armé	ineka (2)
pic en général	čexoxanare (2)	courlan	korahuq (2)
coucou ( <i>Cuculus</i> )	džadokoko (2)	grand héron cou-	huahukare (2)
couroucou ( <i>Tro-</i>	isoha (2)	leur de plomb	
gon)		héron roux	soko (2)
ani des savanes	utubi (2)	aigrette	vake (2)
( <i>Crotophaga</i>		cigogne	huačebuhu (2)
ani)		jabiru ( <i>Ciconia</i>	vabo (2)
toucan toco	yarapa (2)	mycteria)	
( <i>Rhamphastos</i>		tantale ( <i>Tantalus</i> )	čodoče (2)
toco)		spatule ( <i>Platalea</i> )	bebèbè (2)
aracari superbe	piñiki (2)	ibis de Cayenne	} čačaka (2)
( <i>Pteroglossus</i> )		ibis bronzé	
ara rouge ( <i>Macro-</i>	tava (2)	grand ibis	
cercus macao)		bécassine	
		jacana ( <i>Parra</i> )	xেকে (2)

kamichi huppé	<i>dokaha</i> (2)	palmier petit épi- neux	<i>uhuare</i> (2)
( <i>Palamedea</i> )			
poule d'eau	<i>korokoro</i> (2)	papillon	<i>žanžáro</i> (3)
râle géant	<i>sirikoha</i> (2)		<i>yaruyaru</i> (2)
grèbe ( <i>Podiceps</i> )	<i>popo</i> (2)	paresseux tridac- tyle	<i>huayore</i> (2)
mouette	<i>davrikila</i> (2)		
cormoran nigaud	<i>vayuyu</i> (2)	parler	<i>paidžarai</i> (2)
haninga ( <i>Plotus</i> <i>anhinga</i> )	<i>torayuyu</i> (2)	patate douce	<i>ikeri</i> (2) <i>kōri</i> (7)
canard musqué	<i>yabača</i> (2)	payer	<i>paparaice</i> (2)
petit canard	<i>visisi</i> (2)	payé	<i>paparai</i> (2)
ombilic	<i>na-čoho</i> (2)	peau	<i>da-isi</i> (2)
oncle	<i>tete</i> (2)	pécari	<i>yukuku</i> (2)
ongles	<i>do-kira</i> (4) <i>da-kiru</i> (2) <i>mašou hōusi</i> (3)	pêcher	<i>pikili tuhi</i> (2)
oreille	<i>i-radike</i> (2) <i>a-ridyikei</i> (7) <i>na-ridžike</i> (3) <i>ena-xengi-</i> <i>kui</i> [probablement : <i>ena-</i> <i>xendžikui</i> ] (4)	peigne	<i>rapapáda</i> (3)
os	<i>na-rakibe</i> (2) <i>na-rakiyi</i> (4)	peindre	<i>paxerei</i> (2)
où :		pénis	<i>na-niána</i> (3)
où vas-tu ?	<i>čaputidiača</i> (5)	père	<i>i-dabapà</i> (1) <i>apapa</i> (2)
où est Dieu ?	<i>čai čuača ko dabapa</i> (5)	mon père	<i>era-pápa</i> (4) <i>dra-huópi</i> (7) (r nasal)
oui	<i>axa</i> (2) <i>xal</i> (5)	ton père	<i>namótó</i> (7)
paca	<i>yekeke</i> (2) [cf. agouti, lapin d'Amérique]	mon père [est mort hier]	[ <i>rarirue hua</i> ] <i>ka papa</i> (5)
paille	<i>ir-ixeke</i> (2) [cf. prairie, herbe]	petit	<i>motriye</i> (2)
paille de maïs	<i>yeki</i> (2)	peu	<i>rikenaxi</i> (2)
palmier totai	<i>padaku</i> (2)	très peu	<i>ñahaorike</i> (2)
palmier motacu	<i>huari-ketè</i> (2)	peuple	<i>me-yése</i> (4) [cf. homme]
( <i>Attalea Hum-</i> <i>boldtiana</i> )		pied	<i>abei</i> (1) <i>d-axe</i> (2) <i>en-árxe</i> (4) <i>idáb-hás</i> (3)
palmier carundai	<i>ketè</i> (2)	mon pied	<i>ášey</i> (7)
palmier chonta	<i>papaho</i> (2)	ton pied	<i>áp-ahéy</i> (7)
palmier cusi ( <i>At-</i> <i>talea spectabilis</i> )	<i>murereketeu</i> (2)	pierre	<i>iyaroha</i> (1) <i>yaroho</i> (2) <i>iarógo</i> (3) <i>ñáloho</i> (7)
palmier royal	<i>sosiki</i> (2)	piment	<i>kadabu</i> (2)
palmier marayahu	<i>yadadeu</i> (2)	plaine	<i>ir-ihuókoe</i> (7)
( <i>Bactrix mara-</i> <i>ja</i> )		plante du pied	<i>d-axe</i> (2) [cf. pied]
palmier du Gua-	<i>ir-iai</i> (2)	pleurer	<i>puihihi</i> (2)
poré		pleuvoir	<i>mairibokidabo</i> (2)
		il pleut	<i>itboe kitlabó</i> (5)
		pluie	<i>idabu</i> (1)
		plumes	<i>pote</i> (2)
		plus :	
		donne-moi plus!	<i>bóre pádétahi</i> (7)
		poignet	<i>da-baruhe</i> (2)



poil	<i>pote arabadio</i> (2) [cf. plume, animal]	queue (du chien)	<i>yényén-náhua</i> (7)
poisson	<i>idáta</i> (3) <i>idata</i> (1) <i>data</i> (2)	qui ?	
[je désire] du poisson	[ <i>atdaica</i> ] <i>dakta</i> (5)	qui [est-ce] ?	<i>miatcáy</i> (7)
raie armée des rivières	<i>bikidi</i> (2)	qui est là ?	<i>mia édy kibuede</i> (7)
dorade	<i>iroha</i> (2)	qui créa le ciel et la terre ?	<i>miacae ki daka i tdaí anaipa ki tdati</i> (5)
bagre armé	<i>korokoro</i> (2)	rainette	<i>dabuku</i> (2)
sábalo	<i>coboko</i> (2)	rame	<i>ira-biri</i> (2)
bagre surubí ( <i>Platyistoma</i> sp.)	<i>yutapa</i> (2)	ramer	<i>pibiribi</i> (2)
palometa	<i>dadžure</i> (2)	rat	<i>namono</i> (2)
anguille ou syn-branche	<i>puñeu</i> (2)	regarde !	<i>punai</i> (2)
bagre	<i>čaka</i> (2)	renard	<i>ivexa</i> (2)
pacu ( <i>Prochilodus</i> , <i>Myletes</i> sp.)	<i>barikidi</i> (2)	revenir :	
poitrine	<i>i-rakabé</i> (1) <i>i-rakaxe</i> (2) <i>ena-xaké</i> (4) <i>na-máme</i> (3) [cf. sein] <i>huarinahua</i> (2)	va à ta maison et reviens vite !	<i>tereinama yapanika, yaure-xica ine</i> (5)
porc-épic		rien	<i>ñanavari</i> (2)
se porter :		rire	<i>pičeti</i> (2)
comment te portes-tu ?	<i>pa-ira-xá</i> (2) <i>ba-ira-xa</i> (5)	rivière	<i>mananbaniki</i> (2)
je me porte bien	<i>pairaxái</i> (2) <i>pairaxai</i> (5) [cf. sain, bon, joli]	rio Iténès ou Guaporé	<i>itenes</i> (2)
pot	<i>riraboto</i> (3)	rio Mamoré	<i>marambareki</i> (2)
pou de tête	<i>dapečéce</i> (2)		<i>idaráma</i> (7)
pourri	<i>oripono</i> (2)	rio Itonama	<i>vačere</i> (2)
prairie	<i>iri-xeke</i> (2) [cf. paille, herbe]	rio Blanco	<i>ya-bore-xa</i> (2) [cf. blanc]
prendre :		riz	<i>ir-autara</i> (2)
prends !	<i>oho</i> (2) <i>náyhuo</i> (7)	rose (adject.)	<i>bébébe</i> (7)
près	<i>ñarama</i> (2)	roseau en éventail	<i>yumaré</i> (2)
propre	<i>ya-rero-xa</i> (2)	rosée	<i>ibarakoho</i> (2)
puce pénétrante	<i>kočepa</i> (2)	rouge	<i>pa-to-há</i> (1) <i>ya-te-xa</i> (2) ( <i>n</i> ) <i>yá-ta-ha</i> (7) [cf. noir, brun]
punaise	<i>yaxixabibi</i> (2)	sable	<i>ir-ipu</i> (2)
quand ?	<i>časidara</i> (2)		<i>idathi</i> (3) [cf. terre]
que ?		sain	<i>pa-ira-xa</i> (2) [cf. bon, joli et se porter]
que dis-tu ?	<i>yačé</i> (5)	sâle	<i>ya-moe-xi</i> (2)
que cherches-tu ?	<i>bača pičaxé</i> (5)	sang	<i>torohua</i> (2) <i>da-tarua</i> (4)
que veux-tu ?	<i>bača puanguae</i> (5) <i>bástéde</i> (7)	sauterelle	<i>čacača</i> (2)
		scolopendre	<i>čameroro</i> (2) [cf. iule]
		scorpion	<i>ir-očobikidi</i> (2)
		sein de femme	<i>ana-mámi</i> (4) [cf. poitrine]
			<i>torane</i> (2) [cf. femme]

sel	<i>čopara</i> (2) <i>čopála</i> (7)		<i>dati</i> (5) <i>ndáti</i> (7) [cf. sable]
serpents :		[qui créa le ciel et]	[ <i>miačae ki daka i tđal anai-pa</i> ] <i>ki tđati</i> (5)
orvet et amphis- bène	<i>čukuhu</i> (2)	la terre ?	
boa	<i>yoari</i> (2)	tête	<i>a-barakama</i> (1) <i>na-buara-kama</i> (2) <i>gu-anakuána</i> (4) <i>d-huarakámei</i> (7) <i>na-orakama</i> (3)
couleuvre	<i>yataxaeñi</i> (2)		
crotale	<i>sisisi</i> (2)		
singes :			
atèle coaita ( <i>Ate- les paniscus</i> )	<i>yoara</i> (2)	tique, garrapata	<i>pečeče</i> (2) -
alouate rouge	<i>yatexa, maxañi</i> (2)	tisser	<i>iratiki</i> (2)
( <i>Stentor</i> )		ton	<i>arén</i> (7)
alouate noir ( <i>Sten- tor</i> )	<i>maxañi, ñataxa</i> (2)	tonnerre	<i>ir-idžükube</i> (2)
		tortue d'eau douce	<i>čubada</i> (2)
		tortue de terre	<i>bada</i> (2)
callitriche	<i>ñoko</i> (2)	tous :	
callitriche lion	<i>isuixa</i> (2)	nous tous	<i>kudešá-ěre</i> (7)
maquis nocturne	<i>džüdžü</i> (2)	vous tous	<i>kuóěšá-pere</i> (7)
sœur	<i>amabo</i> (2)	triste	<i>imixairakabe</i> (2)
soif	<i>araxexa</i> (2)	tu, toi	<i>area</i> (2) <i>aređ</i> (5) <i>área</i> (7)
soleil	<i>iyaramđ</i> (1) <i>ñaraman</i> (2) <i>ñaramán</i> (3) <i>yarama</i> (5) [cf. jour] <i>ímdka</i> (7)	c'est toi	<i>arén čáy</i> <sup>1</sup> (7)
		tuer	<i>puaribi</i> (2)
		j'ai tué [un jaguar avec la flèche]	<i>xuariye</i> [ <i>ki xetdaba y-ira-bibiki</i> ] (5)
sot	<i>čakuiče</i> (2)	uriner	<i>pipatehi</i> (2)
sourcils	<i>na-maravodo</i> (2)	vase de terre	<i>buku</i> (2)
sourd	<i>ičeaíta</i> (2)	veine	<i>nakuoomoñe</i> (2)
spectre (insecte)	<i>vaba</i> (2)	venir :	
tabac	<i>yúpa</i> (4) <i>yupa</i> (2) <i>yúpá</i> (7)	viens !	<i>yaviru</i> (2)
talon	<i>tokororo-daxe</i> (2)	viens ici !	<i>áhuiru</i> (7)
tante	<i>mamui</i> (2)	vent	<i>idabukuhe</i> (2) <i>idabuku</i> (1)
taon	<i>pakorava</i> (2)	ventre	<i>arakabe</i> (1) <i>da-rakahua</i> (2) <i>da-rakáurúsi</i> (3) <i>ena-na-kabi</i> (4)
tapir	<i>bata</i> (2) <i>bahata</i> (3) <i>mbáete</i> (7)		
tatou géant ( <i>Dasy- pus gigas</i> )	<i>bayaka</i> (2)	ver à viande	<i>ñañüčevaka</i> (2)
tatou peba	<i>dapade</i> (2)	vers :	
tatou encoubert	<i>toro-dapade</i> (2)	lombrics et asca- rides	<i>čukuhu</i> (2)
( <i>Dasytus sex- cinctus</i> )			
ténébrion	<i>tutuama</i> (2)	vert	<i>diveverea</i> (2)
termite	<i>čorapada</i> (2)	vessie	<i>dikipata</i> (2)
termitière	<i>čarača</i> (2)	vieux	<i>iratakasi</i> (2)
terre	<i>idatu</i> (1) <i>datü</i> (2) <i>idáthi</i> (3)		<i>dáobe</i> (3)

1. Cette phrase doit être interrogative [cf. p. 138].



village	<i>entarú</i> (4)
notre village	<i>yú-índero</i> (7)
visage	<i>i-ribužo</i> (3) [cf. joue]
vite :	
va à ta maison et reviens vite!	<i>tereĩnama yapanika, yaure-xiça iĩe</i> (5)
vivre :	
nous vivons là	<i>mi-varyé</i> (7) [litt. : les habitants]
voleur	<i>ipuxa</i> (2)
vouloir :	
je veux	<i>orĩchueuhua</i> (2)
je ne veux pas	<i>hieĩchueuhua</i> (2)
je veux [un cou-teau]	<i>xuaguaxa [ratlaure]</i> (5)
je désire [du poison]	<i>atdaĩça [dakta]</i> (5)
que veux-tu ?	[ <i>baça</i> ] <i>p-uauague</i> (5) <i>bástéac</i> (7)
vous	<i>arekpere</i> (5)
vous tous	<i>kuwésápere</i> (7)
vulve	<i>da-bibe</i> (3)
un	<i>karata</i> (1-2-6) <i>karáta</i> (7)
deux	<i>mitia</i> (1) <i>mitiba</i> (2) <i>mitia</i> (7)
trois	<i>kurapa</i> (1-2-6) <i>kulápa</i> (7)
quatre	<i>çada</i> (2) <i>çadda</i> (1) <i>çada</i> (7)
cinq	<i>maidarũ</i> (1) <i>maidaru</i> (2) <i>méndau</i> (7)
six	<i>karata-rirobo</i> (1-2) <i>karáta-irubu</i> (7)
sept	<i>mitia-rirobo</i> (1-2) <i>mit-iairubu</i> (7)
huit	<i>kurapa-rirobo</i> (1-2) <i>kulápa-irubu</i> (7)
neuf	<i>çadara-rirobo</i> (2) <i>çadda-rirobo</i> (1) <i>çada-irubu</i> (7)
dix	<i>bururuçe</i> (1-2) <i>búrúruté</i> (7)
onze	<i>bururuçe-karato-rogikné</i> (1)
douze	<i>bururuçe-mitia-rogikné</i> (1)
dix-neuf	<i>bururuçe-çada-rirobo-rosgné</i> (1)
vingt	<i>mitiba-bururuçe</i> (2) <i>mitia-buruçe</i> (1)

vingt-un	<i>mitia-bururuçe-karata-rogikné</i> (1)
vingt-deux	<i>mitia-bururuçe-mitia-rogikné</i> (1)
trente	<i>kurapa-bururuçe</i> (1-2)
trente-un	<i>kurapa-bururuçe-karata-ro-gikné</i> (1)
quarante	<i>çada-bururuçe</i> (2) <i>çadda-bururuçe</i> (1)
cinquante	<i>maidaru-bururuçe</i> (2)
soixante	<i>karata-rirobo-bururuçe</i> (2)
soixante-dix	<i>mitia-rirobo-bururuçe</i> (2)
quatre-vingts	<i>kurapa-rirobo-bururuçe</i> (2)
quatre-vingt-dix	<i>çadara-rirobo-bururuçe</i> (2)
cent	<i>bururuçe-buruçe</i> (1)
mille	<i>bururuçe-penē-bururuçe</i> (1)

## II. TEXTES.

## Pater Noster.

*O-dobapà arép-içu tui yi-idag,*  
 Notre-Père toi-qui-es en-haut dans-le-ciel,  
*adaroso-hà-dopai apa-eme; tubuça-dopai yere*  
 adoré-soit-que ton-nom ; établi-soit-que [ici]  
*apa-reino; tiko-hà-dopai apè mai-varie*  
 ton-royaume; obéissent-que [toi] les-habitants  
*yahũ, yape mai-varie tui yi-idag.*  
 en-bas, aussi les-habitants en-haut dans-le-ciel.  
*P-imibi-dopai çibi o-anañibi*  
 Tu-donnes-que à-nous notre-nourriture  
*iñobò; ireherehè [ire herehè] atirañi*  
 aujourd'hui; mal  
*p-idci-rihi, yapè hir-ide-hà rihi;*  
 pardonne-nous, aussi nous-pardonnons nous;  
*p-ipepe-hà-dopai rihi [rihi] yi-ireherehe*  
 tu-abandonnes-que nous dans-le-mal  
*yachèha* <sup>1</sup>. Amen.  
 [ne-pas]. Amen.

1. Sur la 2<sup>e</sup> copie, on lit clairement ce mot; sur la première, il y a doute pour *yae*. (Note de Teza.)

**Ave Maria.**

*Ave Maria p-ipoho-ha ò grasia, dre-içu ama*  
Salut Marie tu-es-pleine de grâce, il-est

*ye-pa-yaba o-dabapa; p-apira-hà*  
[dans-ton-?] notre-Père; tu-es-aimée

*ye-mai-torene, yape na are-koča-ui*  
parmi-les-femmes, aussi [celui] qui-naquit

*ye-pa-yaba apa-romibi Xesusu. Sankta Maria,*  
[dans-ton-?] ton-fils Jésus. Sainte Marie,

*adite ape Diosi, p-ivoroko-hà ičihi*  
mère [toi] de-Dieu, prie pour-nous

*mai-budu-hà, iñobò, mai-yeipeča čihi*  
pêcheurs, aujourd'hui, pour-nous

*rakahè. Amen.*

méchants. Amen.

**Credo.**

*Hikoče ye Dios i-dabapa čebe rukaha atibeke*  
Je-crois en Dieu Père

*i-doko-hà dag, ykareheča idatu. Hikoče ye Xesu*  
créateur ciel, terre. Je-crois en Jésus

*Kristo o-dabapa, karata è abičo-rome; areča*  
Christ notre-Père; un son-fils; qui

*ikuddue yasi; y-arakabe virgen Santa*  
[se-fit] homme; dans-ventre Vierge Sainte

*Maria ñe tidoko Dios Espiritu Santo ačoka-ui;*  
Marie par l'œuvre Dieu Esprit Saint naquit;

*adahehepe-hui-pe ñe tasi Ponsio Pilato;*  
souffrit par l'ordre de-Ponce Pilate;

*ua-hui-pe; adabari-hui-pe; oh-hui-pe po*  
mourut; fut-enterré; alla [en-bas]

*yi-bilimbo tapeariki mo aya Santo Pay ni*  
à-l'enfer [où] Saints Pères

*tiboatae; itekereñe-tui ye-mai-rua,*  
se-leva [ressuscita] parmi-les-morts,

*kurapa iriarama ome ua; oh-hui-pe*  
trois jours [après] mort; alla

*tui yi-idag; i-čuru-hui-pe yi-ritoki*  
en-haut au-ciel; s'assit à-la-droite

*Diosi a-bope čebe rukaha atibeke. Hikoče*  
de-Dieu père Je-crois

*ye Espiritu Sankto. Hikoče santa iglesia*  
dans Esprit Saint. Je-crois sainte église

*katholika. Hikoče komunioniki ma-santo.*  
catholique. Je-crois communion des-saints.

*Hikoče ir-anameariri rabuddu. Hikoče*  
Je-crois pardon péché. Je-crois

*ir-itekereñe-tui mai-rua. Hikoče*  
levée [résurrection] des-morts. Je-crois

*čehesi ua iñe. Amen.*

vie-éternelle. Amen.

**Chanson.**

*Úsière yú-indero anère kuošáère*

Allons notre-village nous nous-tous

*mi-kayuvabá anère mi-kayuvabá kuošáère anère*

Kayuvava nous Kayuvava nous-tous nous

les-habitants<sup>1</sup>.

*mi-varyé.*

1. Nordenskiöld traduit *mi-varyé*, nous vivons là. Notre traduction s'accorde mieux avec le texte du *Pater Noster*.



## HAS TLINGIT A GENETIC RELATION TO ATHAPASCAN?

By PLINY EARLE GODDARD

THE question of the possible connection of Tlingit and Athapaskan presented itself to Professor Franz Boas, when, during his work on the Northwest coast, the morphological similarities were observed by him<sup>1</sup>. At that time the requisite knowledge of both Athapaskan and Tlingit was lacking for a final determination of the question of genetic relationship.

When some years later Dr. John R. Swanton was engaged in field-work on the Northwest coast, he secured Tlingit linguistic material<sup>2</sup> from which a grammatical sketch was prepared for the *Handbook of American Languages*<sup>3</sup>. The recording of this Tlingit material lacked the phonetic accuracy necessary for a basis of comparison, and the meanings of the stems were not determined with sufficient exactness. Dr. Swanton was aware of the general resemblance of Haida, Tlingit, and Athapaskan, but realized the futility of making a prolonged and detailed comparison based on limited and faulty material.

Dr. E. Sapir read a paper at the Philadelphia meeting of the American Anthropological Association in 1914, on the Na-dene, a name he chose for a linguistic group composed of Haida, Tlingit, and all the Athapaskan languages<sup>4</sup>. Dr. Sapir's contention was that these three

hitherto considered independent stocks were genetically related. The material used for Tlingit was that embodied in Dr. Swanton's two contributions mentioned above. He drew upon the various sources of Athapaskan material, restoring in many instances hypothetical parent-forms with which to make his comparison. The paper, which appeared in the "*American Antropologist*", was called preliminary; but the final results of the study have not yet appeared in print.

It was only in the winter of 1914-15 that an opportunity presented itself for a satisfactory examination of Tlingit. Mr. Louis Shotridge, a Tlingit Indian, spent some weeks in New York City, during which time Professor Boas secured rather full material, chiefly in the form of grammatical notes and lists of words. Particular attention was given by Professor Boas and his students to an exact classification and representation of the sounds of Tlingit. With the preparation and publication of this material<sup>5</sup>, an opportunity for a profitable comparative study from the side of Tlingit was presented for the first time.

During the years in which a satisfactory knowledge of Tlingit has been awaited, various Athapaskan languages have been studied, and bodies of texts and grammatical sketches have been published. The first of these dealing with Hupa contains some regrettable deficiencies in phonetic exactness. There are still large and important groups of Athapaskan dialects as yet unstudied or unavailable, due to delay in

1. The relationship of Haida and Tlingit was suggested and discussed in an article, "Classification of the Languages of the North Pacific Coast" (*Memoirs of the International Congress of Anthropology* [Chicago, 1893], 339-346).

2. The texts were published in BBae 39 (1909).

3. BBae 40 (pt 1): 159-204.

4. The Na-dene Languages, a Preliminary Report (AA 17 [1915]: 534-558).

5. Franz Boas, Grammatical Notes on the Language of the Tlingit Indians (U. Penn. 8 [1917]: 1-179).

the preparation and publication of collected material. The Wailaki and Tolowa in north-western California will, when published, present very important linguistic material. The Yukon dialects are practically unknown, with the exception of Ten'a<sup>1</sup>. While, without this at present unavailable Athapaskan material, the final word on the subject of a genetic relationship between Tlingit and Athapaskan cannot be said, some useful comments and comparisons may be made. These indicate rather clearly what may be anticipated as the final decision on the subject.

In some respects the material to be compared presents unusual opportunities. Both Tlingit and the Athapaskan languages have a rather large number of monosyllabic nouns, and the larger number of these are apparently simple and primary. The phonetic changes possible are therefore simplified and reduced in number; for the action of word-accent, both of stress and pitch, are eliminated. Phonetic changes should therefore proceed with unusual regularity. Simple nouns like these present great advantages also in the matter of stable and easily-determined meanings. In the case of Athapaskan *ca* SUN, we have a memory association tying a simple phonetic group with a definite single object. In most other instances there is opportunity for varying ranges of application. The word *t'u* WATER may come to be applied to LAKE and OCEAN; but, aside from an expansion or contraction of application, a change of meaning in the majority of such simple words, so complete as to make an original identity of form and meaning in the parent language untraceable in the descendants, is not likely to happen. The known history of Indo-European languages shows that certain classes of words — such as numerals, body-parts, and terms of relationship — are particularly stable.

1. J. W. Chapinann, *Ten'a Texts and Tales* (Paes 6, [1914]: 1-230).

What appears to have happened in the Athapaskan languages is that monosyllabic, non-descriptive nouns have been gradually replaced by longer, descriptive terms. A sufficient number, however, of these simple nouns remain in the various languages to furnish a fair basis of comparison. For Tlingit, Professor Boas has furnished upward of three hundred simple nouns. When the Athapaskan nouns of identical or closely related meanings are placed beside these Tlingit nouns in parallel columns, only a few words are sufficiently alike to attract attention<sup>2</sup>. With the Tlingit words arranged alphabetically, phonetic sound-shifts between Tlingit and Athapaskan, if present, should appear at once. No such shifts are found after careful study.

There are two relationship terms similar in form and of identical or allied meaning. In Tlingit, MOTHER-IN-LAW, is *tcân*, and in Beaver, *tcon*. Tlingit *'at'*, FATHER'S SISTER; and *-at* in the Athapaskan dialects of Northwestern California, where the meaning is ELDER SISTER or COUSIN. This term, in these dialects, is also applied to FATHER'S SISTER. Were it not for this anomaly in classification, the meanings of the words would not in the least coincide. A connection is possible if it be assumed that in Athapaskan the term for FATHER'S SISTER came to be applied to ELDER SISTER. If the change was from ELDER SISTER to include FATHER'S SISTER, the connection in meaning disappears.

A connection might be assumed between Tlingit *wan* EDGE, and Ten'a *-vwon* EDGE or BORDER, if a parallel of *w=vw* could be found. The Athapaskan sound which appears with a queer alternation in various dialects as *b* and *m*, becomes *vw*, a bilabial spirant, in Ten'a. Without other correspondences, nothing can be made of this single instance.

Perhaps the most striking correspondence

2. See below, p. 271.



in the nouns is the word for CRANE, — *duł* in Tlingit, and *deł* in Kato, and found fairly frequently in other Athapascan dialects. A relation between Tlingit *u* and Athapascan *ε* or *ι* is all that is lacking. Since the word is almost an isolated case of phonetic correspondence of nouns of identical meaning, as will appear below, it seems more logical to consider the word one that Tlingit has borrowed from a neighboring Athapascan dialect.

Almost equally exact is the agreement of Tlingit *t'aw* FEATHER, and *t'a'* which, in Athapascan frequently translated FEATHER, is everywhere restricted to the larger stiff feathers of the wings and tail. The more exact rendering, then, would be PLUME. I am told there is a corresponding restriction in meaning in Tlingit.

In only one instance is there an indication of several nouns with the same phonetic correspondences. Tlingit *šaq'* and Athapascan *ts'in* mean BONE; Tlingit *šax* means HAT and Chipewyan *tc'a* DANCE-HAT; and Tlingit *šix'* and Jicarilla *ts'ai* mean DISH. In these cases there is agreement only between the initial consonants, the other sounds varying. A dance-hat is probably something quite different from simply a hat. The case is too weak to be convincing, and, unsupported as it is, carries very little weight. Two other fair agreements appear in the list, — Tlingit *can* OLD PERSON, and Beaver *con* OLD AGE; Tlingit *ci* SONG, and Chipewyan *cen* SONG.

Out of over three hundred monosyllabic nouns gathered by Professor Boas, most of which have clear-cut meanings, one hundred and fifteen have been matched with Athapascan words of identical or closely-related meanings. Some of the unmatched Tlingit nouns have meanings too general or too specialized to be matched satisfactorily with Athapascan forms. In many instances the Athapascan nouns of corresponding meanings are dissyllabic and have descriptive meanings, and are therefore

not comparable with the monosyllabic, non-descriptive nouns of Tlingit. This tendency to replace the simple nouns with longer descriptive terms is very pronounced in Athapascan. The unmatched Tlingit nouns, then, do not weaken the case for genetic relation. However, five fairly satisfactory agreements out of one hundred and fifteen which have been matched in meaning do not present an impressive proportion.

In addition to these, Sapir lists the following:

ATHAPASCAN	TLINGIT
-ye, xe grease	ex grease
-wo tooth	ux tooth
-k/a arrow	g/a point
-onaye elder brother	hunx man's older brother
t'ex night	t'a't night
tok' fish	tl'u'k! cohoes
mēs cheek	wac cheek
no place of retreat, island	nu fort

Of these *xe* GRESSE is unfamiliar to me in Athapascan; and Tlingit *e'x* (Boas 'əx) is given the meaning FISH-OIL. The Athapascan word for TOOTH is -yo, or -wo; Boas gives for Tlingit 'ux. Sapir gives *q/a* as meaning POINT, and compares it with Athapascan *k/a* ARROW. Swanton's texts and Boas' wordlist give the meaning POINT OF LAND. The connection in meaning would appear far-fetched. The Athapascan word *k/a* does not refer to the point of the arrow, but to the shaft, since the separable pointed end, either of stone or wood, has a different name. Boas has *t'uk'* COHOE-SALMON, which leaves only the vowel *u* to carry the phonetic similarity; for glottalized *t'* and *k'* are very distinct from *t* and *k* without glottalization. In Athapascan, *no* does not mean a PLACE OF RETREAT, it means an ISLAND.

Dr. Sapir has assumed that the primitive Na-

dene language had the form *av*, the elements always ending in a vowel, and that final consonants result from suffixes. There is evidence, as Sapir states, that Athapaskan verb-stems have final consonants representing disappearing suffixes; but no good evidence is known for concluding that nouns also have been given their final consonants by this method. To be sure, the ignoring of all final consonants adds much to the ease with which equivalent forms can be found.

In the case of the verbs, Professor Boas has segregated about three hundred and fifty stems, to the greater number of which he has assigned meanings. The opportunity for comparison is not nearly so favorable in the case of verbs as in that of nouns. Phonetically, the verbal stem is part of a complex, subject to accent variations and to assimilation. In the case of Athapaskan verbal stems, the presence of a series of reduced suffixes is to be suspected. These suffixes may appear as the final consonants of the apparently monosyllabic stems. The meaning of a monosyllabic noun appears without analysis, while the meaning of a verbal stem can be determined only by the examination of several verbs containing it. Often even then the meaning is elusive, and difficult of precise statement. It happens, therefore, that the matching of Professor Boas' list of Tlingit verb stems with Athapaskan stems of equivalent meanings is a difficult matter. It has been attempted only where the meanings of the Tlingit stems have been rather definitely given. While the complete verbs in Tlingit usually can be rendered in an Athapaskan dialect by verbs of fairly equivalent meaning, it does not follow that the stems are comparable, for other elements than the stem in each case help to make up the verb.

It has been possible to match one hundred and twenty-four of the Tlingit stems with Athapaskan stems of similar meaning<sup>1</sup>. In a fair

1. See below, p. 275.

number of these instances, the agreement in meaning is satisfactory. Of these one hundred and twenty-four compared forms, only five show sufficient phonetic similarity to require comment.

Tlingit *'a* TO SIT agrees in form with *-ai*, *-a*, an Athapaskan stem used almost exclusively of the position of single inanimate objects. If the Tlingit meaning could be shown to be a derived one, the correspondence might be cited as evidence of common origin.

Tlingit stem *na* TO DRINK, and Athapaskan *-nan* with the same meaning, are irreproachable, since the final *n* of Athapaskan is explainable as a suffix.

Tlingit *t'd*, *t'd*, *t'en*, mean TO SLEEP. Athapaskan *t'e*, *t'u*, also has that for a secondary meaning. Its primary meaning relates to the position or movement of anything animate. The concept of SLEEPING, itself seems often to be connected with dreaming, the subjective view of sleep, while a reclining position is the objective view. The Tlingit verb-stem is also a noun meaning SLEEP, and comparable with Athapaskan *bat*. In primary meaning, then, the two stems are widely separated.

Following in alphabetical order is Tlingit *t'an* TO CARRY A SOLID ELONGATED OBJECT. There is an Athapaskan stem *t'an*, relating to the position or movement of a long object, such as a pole. The particular Tlingit verbs given are not comparable with the Athapaskan, but there seems to be a fair agreement in the meaning and the phonetic form of this stem.

One of the Tlingit stems, meaning TO SHOOT WITH A BOW AND ARROW, is *t'uk*. Navajo has a stem *t'o*, which also means TO SHOOT WITH A BOW. Beaver has a stem *t'ok*, *t'o* TO SHOOT, but employed of shooting with a gun.

Tlingit has a stem *set'* TO TEAR, and Athapaskan one, *tc'el* with a similar meaning.

Dr. Sapir cites additional correspondences: such as Athapaskan *-ca*, *-cal*, TO CATCH WITH A



HOOK; and Tlingit *cat*, TO TAKE, TO PICK UP, TO SEIZE. The difference in meaning should be sufficiently apparent without comment.

The pronouns show but one resemblance sufficient to warrant comment. Tlingit has a third person singular form *du*. Certain of the northern Athapascan dialects have a reflexive third person possessive pronominal prefix *de*. Here, again, is a possible borrowing, which has been responsible for the limited distribution of the form in Athapascan.

Among the numerals, Tlingit has *lax'* ONE, with which Athapascan Kato *ta* ONE, is comparable.

Professor Boas has succeeded beyond expectation in isolating and defining the etymological parts of the verbs. The adverbial prefixes are of the same general sort as are found in Athapascan, but among these there are no correspondences of note. Professor Boas lists as an incorporated noun *q'u* SPACE, used in such expressions as *q'udi'ak'* IT IS WET (weather, soil). Compare with this Kato *kowansal* IT WAS HOT.

Tlingit has a set of classifiers seemingly entirely lacking in Athapascan verbs which classify the subject or object solely by the limited application of the stem.

Morphologically, Tlingit is very similar to Athapascan. The nouns in both stocks seem to have been originally monosyllabic. To these primary nouns certain suffixes to form diminutives and augmentatives, etc., were added. The verbs are similar in structure, having elements of the same character which take the same general order. First are adverbial elements of direction and position, and pronoun objects. The stems are toward the end, and are preceded by the subject pronouns. In Athapascan there are modal elements, some of which precede the subject, and others follow. Tlingit has modal prefixes preceding the subject, but with classi-

fiers following it. Both Tlingit and Athapascan have suffixes for customary action, etc.

The most striking resemblance is the fact that each has a modification of the stem itself, which affects in Tlingit the quality and pitch of the vowel, and in Athapascan the quality of the vowel and modifies the final consonant. These modifications of the stems are connected in both instances with differences in mode and tense.

With this striking likeness in morphology, one would expect lexical similarity leading to the definite conclusion that the languages were originally one, or sprang from the same source. The comparisons made of the lexical content, however, do not justify this conclusion. The similarities are few, forming but a slight percentage of the whole. They might all be attributed to accident were there not at hand a more acceptable solution. The few nouns that are common are probably due to borrowing. It would be a remarkable thing if fully the number noted had not been borrowed in the course of the generations that Tlingit and Athapascan peoples have been neighbors.

The large majority of Tlingit monosyllabic nouns, stems, and other elements making up the verbs, the pronouns, post-positions, and adverbs, are totally different from any known Athapascan words or elements having a similar meaning. Until some satisfactory explanations can be given for this mass of apparently unrelated material, a common genetic origin cannot be admitted. Were a genetic relationship to be assumed, one of three possible explanations must be accepted:

1. That changes in the forms of the words and in their meanings have been so great and so general, that resemblances have disappeared without leaving discoverable phonetic shifts.

2. That the original parent language from which Tlingit and Athapascan have sprung had such a complete double set of names for com-

mon objects, that it was possible for Tlingit to be supplied with one set, and all the many Athapascan languages with the other, totally different set.

3. That the Tlingit have a creative genius for language-formation which, since they separated from the Athapascan peoples, has led them to replace all the older forms with newly-created ones.

It must be conceded that the linguistic universe might have been so ordered that any one or all of these three things might have happened. In particular, there seems to be no evident reason why words should not be created constantly in any language. However, modern linguistic study is based on a belief in phonetic laws which produce uniform results under identical conditions. The one recognized method of establishing genetic relationship is to point out the uniform changes which in the course of time have caused the separation of a uniform linguistic area into dialects and related languages. This method of establishing genetic relationship has failed in several instances to produce a definite conviction that relationship really exists. Critics are urged to accept the results on the plea that the particular problems are too difficult to be solved by this method. The question then presents itself whether we shall retain the old definition of a linguistic stock as a group of languages whose genetic

relationship has been established by showing that they have diverged as a result of uniform phonetic change, or whether we shall form a new definition. A linguistic stock, such as the proposed Na-dene, consists of a group of languages called Athapascan which have become divergent as a result of phonetic change, and of two other languages which contain a few words and elements resembling similar ones in the first group.

For one, I contend that the present definition should be kept. "Athapascan" is an exceedingly useful designation of a definite group. If the name "Na-dene" is to be established, may we not have also a new generic term to be applied to such groups of a linguistic stock plus others?

When once we have concluded that Tlingit and Athapascan are either unrelated, or so remotely related as to have left no clearly perceptible evidence of the relationship, a new and interesting problem will present itself. When two peoples either linguistically unrelated or very remotely related come into prolonged contact, to what extent do their languages become assimilated, phonetically, morphologically, and lexically?

That the various correspondences pointed out in this paper and by Dr. Sapir are the result of such acculturating influence, I have little doubt.

## COMPARATIVE VOCABULARY <sup>1</sup>

### NOUNS

#### TLINGIT.

1. 'á a lake
2. 'át' father's sister
3. 'ás tree
4. 'án town

#### ATHAPASCAN

- mañk* lake H  
*at* older sister, father's sister K  
*k'ñ* tree H  
*kai* village Ten'a.

1. The abbreviations used in the vocabularies to indicate the dialect from which the examples are taken are

the following: B, Beaver; CC, Chasta Costa; Chip, Chipewyan; H, Hupa; K, Kato; Nav, Navajo; T, Tolowa.



5.	'tq' beach	dasr beach Ten'a
6.	'u' place	-dñ place at which (suffix) H
7.	'lc father	-t'a father H
8.	'lrc' rock	tse stone H
9.	'ik' brother	k'ul (younger) brother H
10.	'xt' shaman	-yn to practise shamanism Ten'a
11.	'ix tooth	-wo' tooth K
12.	ya face	-nñ face H
13.	yát' offspring	-yactc young K
14.	yzn hunger	don' famine B
15.	yák' canoe	tc'i canoe K
16.	yxy border, edge	{ -man border, edge H -vwon border, edge Ten'a
17.	yet fat	k'wa' fat K
18.	yek' spirit	-dje mind H
19.	yl place underneath	-uyt under K
20.	yil' son	{ -iltc son (man speaking) K -yac son (woman speaking) K
21.	yis spear	{ 6un0 spear Chip tut spears Ten'a
22.	yñw stomach	bu' stomach K
23.	wxc cheek	-m' face ' B
24.	wzn edge	{ -man border, edge H -vwon border, edge Ten'a
25.	wzq' eye	-na eye H
26.	wn food	{ k' food B tc'añ food K
27.	hñl' dung	tc'ani faeces K
28.	hit' house	{ ye house K kñ' house B mzn house T
29.	hin water	t'o water K
30.	hñx elder brother (said by male)	onñ older brother K
31.	da weasel	main weasel K
32.	dñ trail	t'in trail H
33.	dñ moon	ca, sun, moon
34.	duk' skin	{ sts skin H 3x0 skin Chip
35.	duq cottonwood-tree	t'is cottonwood Apache
36.	diit crane	det crane K
37.	(t'a) sleep	but sleep B

1. A separate simple word for CHEEK is generally lacking in Athapaskan languages.

38.	<i>t'ay</i> fat	<i>k'wa'</i> fat K
39.	<i>t'at'</i> night	{ <i>t'e'</i> night K
40.	<i>t'an</i> navel	{ <i>t'eδ</i> night Chip
41.	<i>t'an</i> sea-lion	<i>-ts'e'k'e</i> navel K
42.	<i>t'ay'</i> heart	<i>tyuts</i> sea-lion K
43.	<i>t'e</i> stone	<i>-tci'</i> heart K
44.	( <i>t'ix'</i> ) rope	<i>tse</i> stone H
45.	<i>t'fl</i> shoe	{ <i>ʔot</i> rope H
46.	<i>t'i</i> mind	{ <i>bət</i> rope K
47.	<i>t'oq'</i> anus	<i>-k'e</i> moccasin Chip
48.	<i>ʔa</i> king-salmon	<i>niye</i> mind Chip
49.	<i>ʔaw</i> feather	<i>-sl'e'</i> anus K
50.	<i>ʔty</i> elbow	{ <i>k'ga</i> dried king-salmon Ten'a
51.	<i>ʔuk'</i> cradle	{ <i>ges</i> black salmon
52.	( <i>sa</i> ) name	{ <i>t'a'</i> feather K
53.	<i>st</i> neck	{ <i>-t'aγ</i> to fly
54.	<i>si</i> daughter	<i>-tciic</i> elbows H
55.	<i>sit'</i> spruce	<i>ts'al</i> cradle K
56.	<i>sik'</i> strap, belt, cord	<i>-xi'</i> name Chip.
57.	<i>su</i> rain	<i>-k'os</i> neck B
58.	<i>sɔ</i> clay	<i>-tse</i> daughter H
59.	<i>səq'</i> bone	<i>xai</i> spruce T
60.	<i>saxu</i> hat	{ <i>ɔad</i> belt Chip
61.	( <i>səq</i> ) smoke	{ <i>sis</i> belt Jic
62.	<i>sik'</i> black bear	{ <i>tca'</i> rain Chip
63.	<i>six'</i> dish	{ <i>ticañ</i> rain T
64.	<i>siku'</i> rib	{ <i>tɛts</i> clay
65.	<i>dʒas</i> skin	{ <i>bis</i> adobe
66.	<i>tsusk'u</i> owl	<i>ts'añ</i> bone K
67.	<i>tsutsku'</i> bird	<i>tc'a</i> dance-hat Chip
68.	<i>cə</i> head	<i>tut</i> smoke H
69.	<i>cən</i> old person	<i>sats</i> bear H
		{ <i>ɔ'ai</i> dish Chip
		{ <i>tca'</i> dish B
		{ <i>-ts'ai</i> dish Jic
		<i>tcoñge'</i> ribs B
		<i>suts</i> skin bark H
		<i>bo'</i> owl Apache
		{ <i>tcwə</i> birds B
		{ <i>tc'ac</i> bird CC
		<i>-si'</i> head K
		<i>con</i> old age B



70.	<i>cát</i> spoon	{ <i>tus</i> spoon Chip
		{ <i>sas</i> spoon T
71.	<i>cat</i> salmon-trap	<i>es</i> fish trap H
72.	<i>cé</i> blood	<i>dal</i> blood Chip
73.	<i>cèt</i> horn	<i>-de'</i> horn K
74.	( <i>ci</i> ) song	<i>-cen'</i> song Chip
75.	<i>djln</i> hand	<i>-la'</i> hand K
76.	<i>tcân</i> mother-in-law	{ <i>-ts'ɥ</i> mother-in-law Chip
		{ <i>-tcon</i> mother-in-law B
77.	<i>tcat</i> cache	<i>tso</i> caches Ten'a
78.	<i>gáx<sup>u</sup></i> duck	<i>tcé</i> duck Chip
79.	<i>gùs</i> cloud	<i>k'os</i> cloud B
80.	<i>gúk<sup>u</sup></i> ear	<i>-le'ge'</i> ear K
81.	<i>gwét</i> bag, pouch	<i>ɛiθ</i> sack Chip
82.	<i>k'ak'i'</i> ashes	<i>tez</i> ashes Chip
83.	<i>k'el</i> dog	<i>tñ</i> dog H
84.	<i>k'-olk'</i> mud	<i>djañ</i> mud K
85.	<i>gxn</i> fire-wood	{ <i>tcute</i> fire-wood K (?)
		{ <i>tcwute</i> fire-wood H
86.	<i>gè</i> place between folds of something	<i>-t'a</i> blanket fold K
87.	<i>q'ol'</i> stomach	<i>-bu'</i> stomach, belly Chip
88.	<i>q'wal'</i> pot	{ <i>elo</i> pot Ten'a
		{ <i>isa</i> pot Apache
89.	( <i>q'wal'</i> ) down, feathers	<i>-θ'aθe</i> feathers, downy Chip
90.	<i>xixtè</i> frog	<i>tcw'al</i> frog H
		{ <i>tc'aile</i> frog Chip
91.	<i>xùdzì</i> burnt wood, coals	<i>t'es</i> coal Chip
92.	<i>x'at'</i> island	<i>nu, nuwé</i> island Chip
93.	<i>x'ús</i> club	<i>xat</i> club Chip
94.	( <i>xa</i> ) war	<i>man</i> war-party H
95.	<i>xàw</i> hair	{ <i>-ga'</i> hair K
		{ <i>-ɣa'</i> hair B
96.	<i>xet</i> chest	<i>-ko</i> breast Chip
97.	<i>xiy</i> pack	<i>xait</i> load H
98.	<i>xox<sup>u</sup></i> husband	<i>-xañ</i> husband H
99.	<i>x'a</i> mouth	{ <i>-da'</i> mouth K
		{ <i>-sa</i> opening of the mouth H
100.	<i>x'an</i> fire	<i>kwoñ</i> fire K
101.	<i>x'ús</i> foot	<i>-kwe'</i> foot K
102.	<i>tax<sup>u</sup></i> famine	<i>don'</i> famine B
103.	<i>teq'</i> red ochre	<i>cic</i> ochre K
104.	<i>tù</i> nose	{ <i>ntsɿ</i> nose Chip
		{ <i>nwoɸ'</i> nose B

105. <i>ʔew</i> sand	<i>sai</i> sand K
106. <i>ʔút</i> tongue	- <i>tso</i> tongue Nav
107. <i>ʔukʷ</i> coho-salmon	<i>tokʷ</i> salmon H
108. <i>La</i> mother	- <i>nan</i> mother K
109. <i>Lákʷ</i> sister	- <i>ʔeciʷ</i> sister K
110. <i>ʔét</i> snow	<i>yas</i> snow K
111. <i>ʔiy</i> meat	- <i>tsū</i> meat H
112. <i>Lʔakʷ</i> dress	<i>kya</i> dress H
113. <i>Lʔeqʷ</i> finger	- <i>laʷ</i> finger K
114. <i>Lʔet</i> mentula	- <i>laiʷ</i> mentula K
115. <i>Lʔitʷ</i> tail	- <i>iceʷ</i> tail Chip

## VERBS

TLINGIT	ATHAPASCAN
<i>ʔá, ʔá, ʔén</i> to sit (sing.)	- <i>ai, -a</i> to have position (of round objects) Chip
<i>ʔát, ʔát, ʔát, ʔa</i> to walk in company	- <i>det</i> to walk (pl.) Chip
<i>ʔát</i> cold	- <i>ʔaŋ, -ʔé</i> to be cold K
	- <i>kʷas</i> cold Nav
	- <i>dli, -dli</i> to be cold
<i>ʔákʷ, ʔákʷ, ʔákʷ</i> to interlock	- <i>ʔon, ʔu</i> to tie, to knot Chip
	- <i>ʔon, ʔoi</i> to weave baskets H
<i>ʔax, ʔax, ʔax</i> to carry a textile	- <i>kʷos</i> to carry a flexible object H
<i>ʔax, ʔax, ʔax</i> to hear	- <i>xt</i> to move flat, flexible objects H
<i>ʔekʷ</i> bad	- <i>tsʷéʔ, tsʷéʔ</i> to hear K
	- <i>iceʷ</i> to be bad K
	- <i>icʷé, -icʷokʷ</i> to be ill tempered, to be angry Chip
<i>ʔekʷ</i> to whistle	- <i>yic</i> to whistle K
<i>ʔin</i> to pick up; to carry in a vessel	- <i>sot (-yot)</i> to whistle Jic
<i>ʔin</i> to kill many	- <i>kʷan, -kʷa</i> to move a vessel containing liquid K
<i>ixʷ</i> to shout, to call, to invite	- <i>gan, -gat</i> to kill (pl. object) K
<i>ʔú, ʔú, ʔén</i> to dwell	- <i>zet, -zel</i> to shout Chip
<i>ʔú, ʔú, ʔén</i> to buy	<i>ʔai</i> to speak as a chief Jic
<i>ʔús, ʔús, ʔús</i> to wash	- <i>et, -etʷ</i> to stay at a place Chip
	- <i>xait, -xai</i> to buy H
<i>ʔukʷ, ʔukʷ, ʔukʷ</i> to boil	- <i>de</i> to wash Chip
	- <i>gis</i> to wash Nav
	- <i>bej</i> to boil Nav
<i>ʔux, ʔux, ʔux</i> to blow	- <i>ʔoc</i> to boil Jic
	- <i>medj</i> to boil H
	- <i>yot, -yol</i> to blow (with the breath) H



<i>yà, yá, yàn</i> to pack	<i>-yin, -yet</i> to carry on the back Chip
<i>yai'</i> long	<i>-nes</i> long H
<i>yás</i> to step	<i>-tal, -tzi</i> to step H
<i>yáq'</i> to pull	<i>-los</i> to drag, to pull along H
<i>yèx, yéx, yéx</i> to whittle	<i>-was</i> to shave off, to whittle H
<i>yít', yit', yút'</i> to pull	<i>-yos</i> to draw out of narrow space, to stretch H
<i>yítc, yitc</i> to fly	<i>-l'aγ, -l'a'</i> to fly K
<i>yúku', yúku', yuku'</i> to shake	<i>-wat, -wa</i> to shake H
<i>wás, wás, wás</i> to inquire	<i>-xzi, -xzi'</i> to ask a question H
<i>wát', wát, wát'</i> to break	<i>-k'yas</i> to break H
<i>wús</i> tough, hard	<i>-tats</i> to be strong K
<i>wús, wús, wús</i> to ask, to inquire	<i>-xzi, -xzi'</i> to inquire H
<i>wuq'</i> wide	<i>-t'el, t'at'</i> to be wide, to be flat K
<i>hát', hát'</i> to drive (animals)	<i>-yot, -yot'</i> to drive, to chase K
<i>huk'</i> full	<i>-a</i> to be full Chip
<i>hú, hú, hén</i> to wade, to swim	<i>-bax'</i> to be full K
<i>huk</i> to shout	<i>-kot</i> walking in water (wolf) Chip
<i>das</i> to catch in snare	<i>-tcat, -tcat</i> to shout K
<i>dát, heavy</i>	<i>-zet, -ziz'</i> to shout Chip
<i>dex'</i> ashamed	<i>-li'</i> to snare K
<i>dét</i> to watch	<i>-das</i> to be heavy H
<i>dúx'u</i> to tie a knot	<i>-yan, -yax'</i> to be ashamed K
<i>dut'</i> to fly	<i>-yan, -yax'</i> to watch, to spy upon H
<i>t'a</i> to boil in water	<i>-pon</i> to tie, to knot Chip
<i>t'a, t'a, t'en</i> to sleep (sing.)	<i>-yets</i> to tie H
<i>t'aw</i> to steal	<i>-l'aγ, -l'a'</i> to fly K
<i>t'an, t'an, t'an</i> to carry a solid, elongated object	<i>-medj</i> to boil H
<i>t'áq'</i> to hit with the point of a long thing.	<i>-t'e, -t'en</i> to lie down (sing only) H
<i>t'w'</i> to twist	<i>-i'</i> to steal Chip
<i>t'in, t'in, t'in'</i> to see	<i>-t'an, -t'an, t'uw</i> to handle or move a long object H
<i>t'uw</i> to count	<i>-get, got</i> to spear B
<i>t'ut, t'ut, t'ot</i> to drill	<i>-duts, -dus</i> to twist K
<i>t'a, t'a, t'en</i> hot	<i>-un'</i> to look, to see K
	<i>-t'ey</i> to teach H
	<i>-t'ak</i> to count H
	<i>-nit</i> to drill Nav
	<i>-do</i> to heat Nav
	<i>-do</i> to be hot Apache
	<i>-sel, -sel'</i> to be warm H

1. See also *gèn, gén, gèn*.

<i>t'ax'</i> to bite	- <i>guts</i> to bite K
<i>t'èx</i> to fish with hook	- <i>ca'</i> to catch with a hook K
<i>t'ex'</i> to pound	- <i>gaxj</i> , - <i>gaxc</i> to fish B
<i>t'i</i> , <i>t'it</i> , <i>t'it'</i> to find	- <i>hwal</i> , - <i>hwat</i> to fish for with a hook H
<i>t'uk'u'</i> , <i>t'uk'u'</i> , <i>t'uk'u'</i> to shoot an arrow	- <i>tset'</i> , - <i>tsd'</i> to pound H
<i>sà</i> , <i>sá</i> , <i>sén</i> to name ; to breathe	- <i>tsan</i> , - <i>tsan'</i> to find H
<i>šis</i> , <i>šis</i> , <i>šis</i> to sail ; smoke rises	- <i>t'o</i> to shoot with arrow Nav
<i>set'</i> , <i>set'</i> , <i>set'</i> to tear	- <i>t'ok</i> , - <i>t'o</i> to shoot (with a gun) B
<i>šú</i> to sew with cedar-withes	- <i>t'as</i> to shoot (with bow and arrow) Chip
<i>šuw</i> , <i>šuw</i> , <i>šuw</i> to chop	- <i>ye'</i> , - <i>yi'</i> to be named Chip
<i>tsàq'</i> <i>tsàq'</i> , <i>tsàq'</i> to push with the point of a long thing	- <i>kit</i> to hang, to spread, to settle (fog or smoke) H
<i>tsèx</i> , <i>tséx</i> , <i>tséx</i> to kick	- <i>tc'ut'</i> , - <i>tc'ul</i> , - <i>tc'el</i> to tear, to rend Chip
<i>tsis</i> , <i>tsis</i> , <i>tsis</i> to dive, to swim under water	- <i>dq</i> to sew Chip
<i>tsin</i> alive, strong	- <i>tθet</i> , - <i>tθit</i> , - <i>θel</i> to strike, to chop Chip
<i>càt'</i> , <i>càt'</i> , <i>càt'</i> to take	- <i>tse</i> , <i>tsi</i> , <i>tsi'</i> to push (long object ?) Chip
<i>cæn</i> old	' <i>ets</i> to kick B
<i>cu</i> to hunt	- <i>t'al</i> to kick H
<i>cúwq</i> , <i>cúwq</i> , <i>cúwq</i> to laugh	- <i>lu</i> , - <i>le</i> to dive, to swim under water H
<i>djàq'</i> , <i>djàq'</i> , <i>djàq'</i> to kill (sing. object)	- <i>na</i> , - <i>nai</i> to be alive Chip
<i>dji</i> to think	- <i>ku</i> to catch with the hands H
<i>djun</i> to dream	- <i>tcu</i> to seize Chip
<i>djux</i> , <i>djux</i> , <i>djux</i> to roll a ring or hoop	<i>sq</i> old age Nav
<i>tcún</i> to wound	- <i>je</i> to hunt game Nav
<i>tcúku'</i> , <i>tcúku'</i> , <i>tcúku'</i> to rub a skin in order to soften it	- <i>ze</i> , - <i>ze'</i> to hunt Chip
<i>na</i> to drink	- <i>dlo</i> - <i>dlok'</i> to laugh Chip
<i>ná</i> , <i>ná</i> , <i>nán</i> to do, to work	- <i>zu'</i> to kill (sing. object) Chip
<i>nxt'</i> to shake	- <i>zan</i> , - <i>zan</i> , - <i>zan</i> , - <i>zan</i> to think Chip
<i>naxj'</i> , <i>naxj'</i> , <i>naxj'</i> to stand (pl.)	- <i>lal</i> , - <i>tal</i> to dream to sleep Chip
<i>ni</i> , <i>ni</i> , <i>nin</i> to carry several things	- <i>bas</i> to roll a hoop Jic
<i>nút'</i> to swallow	- <i>xts</i> to shoot, to wound B
	- <i>gis</i> to rub a skin Jic
	- <i>nzn</i> to drink K
	- <i>ñ</i> to do K
	- <i>wat</i> to shake (intrans.) H
	- <i>ya</i> to stand on one's feet (pl. only) H
	- <i>la</i> , - <i>lai</i> , - <i>let</i> relating to the position or movement of two or three objects Chip
	- <i>kat</i> to swallow K
	- <i>dak'</i> to swallow B



*nik'*, *nik'*, *uk'* to tell

*nix'* to smell

*gxs'* a long thing moves straight ahead

*gac* to cohabit

*gan*, *gan* to burn

*ge*, *gen* large

*gu'* to move

*gut'*, *gut'*, *gut'*, *gu* to go (sing.)

*gwds*, *gwds*, *gwds* fog

*ke*, *ken* to track

*kit*, *ken* to know

*k'ug'*, *k'ug'*, *k'ug'* to bubble

*kwatc* to swallow

*k'xst* sharp-pointed

*k'uts* to break (a strap)

*gax*, *gax*, *gax* to cry

*gat* to split

*git'*, *git'* dark

*gen*, *gen*, *gen* to look

*geq'* to throw

*q'a*, *q'a*, *q'en* to sew

*q'a* to say

*q'e*, *q'e*, *q'in* to sit (pl.)

*q'il'* to suspect

*q'ux* to travel by canoe

*q'ag'*, *q'ag'*, *q'ag'* to swim (fish)

*q'al'* to cut fish lengthwise

*q'es* to urinate

*xac*, *xac*, *xac* to cut

*xit'*, *xit'*, *xit'* to sweep

*x'ku'* dry

*x'ds* to scrape, to slice

*xa*, *xa*, *xen* to eat

*-lik* to relate H

*-nak* to relate K

*-ni*, *-ne*, *-n* to speak K

*-tcen*, *-tcic*, to smell K

*-k'ats*, *-k'as*, *-k'at* relating to the movement of long objects H

*-get* to have intercourse B

*-ka* to burn Chip

*-tai* large Chip

*-ke* to fall Chip

*-jo* to be happy Apache

*-kit* to hang, to settle (of fog) H

*-k'e*, *-k'ai* to follow track, to trail Chip

*-tsit* to know H

*-yoc* to ferment Jic

*-dak* to swallow B

*-t'a* sharp-pointed Chip

*-t'at*, *-t'al* to break (string or line) Chip

*-k'yas* to break H

*-tsak'* to cry Chip

*-k'ul*, *k'it* to split H

*-gep*, *-get*, *-gal* relating to the passing K of the night, dark K

*-geis*, *-gac*, *-ge'* to look, to see H

*-del*, *-dit* to throw H Chip

*-da* to sew Chip

*-nak* to relate K

*-da* to sit (sing.)

*-k'e* to sit (du.) B

*-ts'a*, *-ts'i* to sit (pl.)

*-yan*, *yan* to observe with suspicion H

*-k'i* to travel by canoe Chip

*-la*, *-le* to swim (fish) H

*-at*, *-at* to slit open H

*-lats* to urinate K

*-t'ats*, *t'as* to cut K

*co* to sweep Nav

*-tcwoig* to sweep H

*-tsai*, *sai* to be dry K

*-gats*, *-gas* to scrape K

*-yan'*, *-yil'*, *-tan* to eat K

1. See also *t'in*, *t'in*, *t'in*, above.

2. See *nik'*, *nik'*, *nik'*, above.

<i>xa</i> to paddle	- <i>k'i</i> to paddle Chip
<i>xé, xé, xen</i> to camp over night	- <i>wet</i> , - <i>wel</i> , - <i>wit</i> the passing of the night H
<i>xet</i> to whip, to club	{ - <i>xat</i> , - <i>xat</i> to strike repeatedly, to beat a drum B
	{ - <i>sil</i> , - <i>sat</i> , - <i>tsal</i> to strike repeatedly K
<i>xut</i> to drop, to chop, to pull	- <i>gal</i> , - <i>gal</i> , - <i>gat</i> to drop, to beat K
<i>xüx<sup>u</sup>, xüx<sup>u</sup>, xüx<sup>u</sup></i> to call	- <i>icat</i> , - <i>icat</i> to shout K
<i>Län, Län</i> deep (water, snow)	- <i>sat</i> deep (water) K
<i>la</i> to feed	- <i>icat</i> to feed K
<i>Läq', Läq', Läq'</i> to overcome, to win	{ - <i>na</i> to win in a contest Chip
<i>L'ak<sup>u</sup></i> scared	{ - <i>deγ</i> , - <i>de'</i> to win K
<i>L'ak'</i> wet	- <i>git</i> , - <i>gac</i> to be afraid K
	{ - <i>cal</i> to be wet B
	{ - <i>icäl</i> , - <i>icäl</i> to be wet or damp K
<i>L'it', L'it', L'it'</i> cast off, to abandon	{ - <i>le</i> to leave to quit B
<i>L'il</i> to defecate	{ - <i>ican</i> , - <i>icic</i> to leave one K
<i>ta</i> complete; deep	- <i>ican</i> to defecate K
<i>Pëx, Pëx, Pëx</i> to dance	- <i>sat</i> deep H
	- <i>ye</i> to dance H



## THE HOKAN AND COAHUILTECAN LANGUAGES

By E. SAPIR

In the general simplification of American Indian linguistic stocks which is at last being seriously undertaken by various investigators, two recently published articles are of particular interest. These are Kroeber's *Serian, Tequistlatecan, and Hokan*.<sup>1</sup> and Swanton's *Linguistic Position of the Tribes of Southern Texas and North-eastern Mexico*.<sup>2</sup> The former adds to the Hokan stock recently determined by Dixon and Kroeber (Shasta-Achomawi, Chimariño, Karok, Pomo, Yana, Yuman, Esselen; possibly also Chumash and Salinan), the Seri language of western Sonora and the Tequistlatecan or Chontal language of Oaxaca; the latter gives good evidence to show that a number of languages spoken along the Texas coast and back into the interior from it (Coahuilteco, Cotoname, Comecrudo; Karankawa; Tonkawa; and Atakapa), which have, according to Powell's scheme, been classified into four distinct linguistic stocks, are best considered as genetically related. The full evidence for the validity of the Hokan stock has not yet been made public, but we have been promised it by Dixon and Kroeber. A comparative Hokan vocabulary insofar as it affects Yana has been kindly put into my hands by Dr. Kroeber; this, together with such descriptive or comparative grammatical and lexical Hokan material as has been published and such further comparative evidence serving to link Yana with Hokan as I

have been able to gather from time to time, leaves small doubt in my mind of the correctness of the theory.<sup>3</sup>

In going through Swanton's comparative vocabularies, I was soon struck by a number of startling Hokan echoes. My interest having been actively aroused, I looked into the matter more carefully. The following comparative vocabulary of over a hundred stems and elements is the result. When we consider that only a very limited number of comparable terms were available for any two of the languages concerned, this result seems astonishing. It is difficult for me to suggest any alternative to the hypothesis of a common origin of the Hokan and Coahuiltecan languages. True, I have little morphologic evidence at hand, but the study of the problem thus newly opened up is confessedly in its infancy. As it is, the very imperfect sketch of Tonkawa given by Gatschet suggests a considerable number of Hokan-Tonkawa parallels in morphological elements.

In order not to complicate our problem, I have not listed in the table such Chumash and Salinan terms as seemed likely to be connected with Hokan words. These have been referred to in the notes to the vocabularies. A few Chumash-Coahuiltecan terms are noted at the end.

Kroeber's, Dixon's, Barrett's, and Swanton's

1. University of California Publications in *American Archaeology and Ethnology*, vol. 11, no 4, pp. 279-290, 1915.

2. *American Anthropologist*, N. S., vol. 17, pp. 17-40, 1915.

3. Since this was written, there has appeared E. Sapir's *The Position of Yana in the Hokan Stock* (University of California Publications in *American Archaeology and Ethnology*, vol. 13, pp. 1-34, 1917).

4. I here use the term Coahuiltecan to include Coahuilteco, Comecrudo, Cotoname, Karankawa, Tonkawa, and Atakapa.

orthographies have been preserved, except that Swanton's *i* (i of English *it*), *é* (e of English *met*), and *a* (u of English *but*) have been respectively changed to *ι*, *ε* and *α*; Kroeber's and Barrett's *G'*, *g'* (voiced velar spirant) have been changed to *γ*.

The vocabularies have been derived from the following sources :

1. Chontal material obtained from vocabulary quoted in A. L. Kroeber, *Serian, Tequislaltecan, and Hokan*. A few forms I owe to manuscript material loaned by Dr. P. Radin.

2. Seri material obtained from vocabularies quoted in J. N. B. Hewitt, *Comparative Lexicology*, pp. 299-344 of W. J. McGee, *The Seri Indians*, 17th Annual Report Bureau of American Ethnology, part I, 1898.

3. Yuman dialects quoted are : Diegueño (Dieg.), Mohave (Moh.), Tonto, Kutchán (or Yuma), Cocopa (Coc.), Tulkepaya (Tul.), Santa Catalina (de los Yumas) (S. Cat.), H'taäm, Maricopa (Mar.), Walapai (Wal.), Kiliwi, and Cochimi. Most of this material is taken from Yuman vocabularies quoted in J. N. B. Hewitt, *ibid.*; and in Albert S. Gatschet, *Der Yuma-Sprachstamm nach den neuesten handschriftlichen Quellen dargestellt*, *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, vol. 9, pp. 365-418, 1877. (K) after Mohave and Diegueño forms indicates that they are quoted from A. L. Kroeber, *Phonetic Elements of the Mohave Language*, University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, vol. 10, n° 3, pp. 45-96, 1911; and A. L. Kroeber and J. P. Harrington, *Phonetic Elements of the Diegueño Language*, *ibid.*, vol. 11, n° 2, pp. 177-188, 1914.

4. Esselen material obtained from A. L. Kroeber, *Esselen*, pp. 49-68 of *The Languages of the Coast of California south of San Francisco*, *ibid.*, vol. 2, n° 2.

5. Seven dialects of Pomo are recognized by

Barrett : Northern (N.), Central (C.), Southern (S.), Southwestern (S. W.), Southeastern (S. E.), Eastern (E.), and Northeastern (N. E.). All forms whose dialect is expressly given are from S. A. Barrett, vocabularies given (pp. 56-58) in *The Ethno-geography of the Pomo and neighboring Indians*, *ibid.*, vol. 6, n° 1, 1908. Pomo forms not specified as to dialect are from Kroeber's Eastern Pomo material in *The Languages of the Coast of California north of San Francisco*, vol. 9, n° 3, 1911, pp. 320-347.

6. Yana material obtained from my own manuscripts.. Central Yana forms are given except where S. indicates that Southern Yana (Yahi) is meant.

7. Chimariko material obtained from R. B. Dixon, *The Chimariko Indians and Language*, *ibid.*, vol. 5, n° 5, pp. 293-380, 1910.

8. Karok material obtained from A. L. Kroeber, Karok sketch (pp. 427-435) in *The Languages of the Coast of California north of San Francisco*. Further material obtained from Mr. E. W. Gifford's Karok manuscripts is indicated (G.).

9. Shastan consists principally of three languages : Shasta (S.), Achomawi or Pit River (Ach.), and Atsugewi or Hat Creek (Ats.). Forms given are obtained from R. B. Dixon, *The Shasta-Achomawi : a new Linguistic Stock, with four new Dialects*, *American Anthropologist*, N. S., vol. 7, pp. 213-217, 1905; also his comparative Chimariko-Shastan table given on pp. 337 and 338 of *The Chimariko Indians and Language*. A few Achomawi words marked (S) are taken from a manuscript vocabulary I obtained in 1907 while engaged in Yana work for the University of California. Certain Achomawi and Shasta forms were also obtained from Mr. E. W. Gifford's manuscripts; they are indicated (G.).

10. All undesigned Tonkawa words and



all Karankawa, Atakapa, Coahuilteco, Comecrudo, and Cotoname words are taken from Swanton's article cited above. Tonkawa words

followed by (G) are taken from A. S. Gatschet, *Die Sprache der Tonkawas*, *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, vol. 9, 1877, pp. 64-73.

## COMPARATIVE VOCABULARY OF HOKAN AND COAHUILTECAN<sup>1</sup> LANGUAGES

1. Chontal — 2. Seri — 3. Yuman — 4. Esselen — 5. Pomo — 6. Yana — 7. Chimariko — 8. Karok — 9. Shastan — 10. Tonkawa — 11. Comecrudo — 12. Cotoname — 13. Coahuilteco — 14. Karankawa — 15. Atakapa.

### I. — PRONOUNS.

- |                                    |  |
|------------------------------------|--|
| 1. I, me, my <sup>1</sup>          | 3. Dieg. <i>nya</i> I; 4. <i>eni</i> ,<br><i>enc</i> I, <i>nic</i> -my; 7. <i>nont</i> I; 8.<br><i>na</i> , <i>ni</i> -I, <i>na</i> -me, <i>nani</i> -my;<br>11. <i>na</i> I; 13. <i>na</i> -I; 14. <i>náyi</i> I  |
| 2. I                               | 5. <i>ba</i> ; 10. <i>-ba</i> <sup>2</sup> (G)   |
| 3. me, my <sup>3</sup>             | 1. <i>ka-</i> , <i>ki-</i> I (incorporat-<br>ed); 5. N, C, <i>ke</i> my; 10.<br><i>ka</i> me   |
| 4. thou, thee,<br>thy <sup>4</sup> | 1. <i>ima</i> thou; 2. <i>me</i> thou;<br>3. Dieg. <i>ma</i> thou, Moh. <i>mā-</i><br><i>nya</i> thou (K); 4. <i>nemi</i> , <i>name</i><br>thou, <i>nemic-</i> , <i>mic-</i> thy; 5. N,<br>C, E, SW, SE <i>ma</i> thou, N<br><i>mi</i> thy, E <i>mi</i> thee; 6. <i>-nu-</i> |

5. that<sup>5</sup>

*ma* thou, *-wā'-ma* I-thee;  
7. *mā-mut* thou, *m(i)-*, *-mi*  
thou, thy; 8. *im* thou, *mi-*  
thy; 9. *mai* thou, Ach. *mi-*  
thou, *mis*-thy (S), Ats. *mi-*  
thou; 13. *ma*-thou

2. *itam* he, that; 5. C *tē-*  
*ya* those people (*-ya* plural  
suffix); 6. (*a*)*dai-(ri)*, *da*  
that; 8. *ta*-adverbial par-  
ticle, "probably indefinite  
or imperfect time"; 10. *tel*,  
*ta-ka*, *wa-ta-c* that, this; 13.  
*ta* that, the; 14. *tal*-that, he

### II. — PERSONAL NOUNS.

6. aunt                      5. C *mamā-tsak*, SW *mū-*

1. Cf. also Chumash (Santa Ynez, S. Yn.) *noi* I; (Santa Barbara, S. Bar.) and (Santa Cruz, S. Cruz) *noo* « I »; (San Buenaventura, S. Buen.) *no* « I »; (San Luis Obispo, S.L.O.) is not available for comparison. Chumash material obtained from A. L. Kroeber, *Chumash*, pp. 31-43 of *The Languages of the Coast of California south of San Francisco*; and Chumash comparative vocabularies in A. L. Kroeber, *The Chumash and Costanoan Languages*, University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, vol. 9, no 2, pp. 237-271, 1910.

2. E. g. *xaxa-ba* I WAS, *xaxa-ba-ha* I WAS NOT.

3. Cf. also Salinan *ke* I. Salinan material obtained from pp. 43-47 of Kroeber's *Languages of the Coast of California south of San Francisco*; forms marked (M) are from manuscript material of Dr. J. A. Mason. Cf. further Chumash *k-* « I; my ».

4. Cf. also Salinan *mo* THOU, *t'-m-* THY (*t'-* is article).

*tsen* father's sister; 6. *mu'xdi*  
paternal aunt, S *mu'sdi*; 7.  
*mala-la(-i)* (my) maternal  
aunt; 8. *mūdji-ts* father's sis-  
ter, *mitca-waci* father's sis-  
ter after death of father  
(G); 9. Ach. *hamut* father's  
sister (G); 13. *mitcal* aunt.

5. Cf. also Chumash (S. Bar.) *ite* THIS; (S. Cruz) *tuyu* THIS. Identical in origin with this Hokan-Coahuiltecan demonstrative stem *\*ta* may well be Chumash *t-* found prefixed in absolute forms of certain noun stems (e. g. S.L.O. *t-axa*: S. Yn., S. Bar., S. Buen. *ax* « bow »; S.L.O. *t-awa*: S. Yn., S. Bar. *awai* MOON). Cf. also article-like noun prefix *t'-* of Salinan (e. g. *t'-ām* HOUSE; *t'-ulet* TEETH).

- |                 |  |                     |   |
|-----------------|--|---------------------|---|
| 7. aunt         | 5. E <i>cex-a</i> mother's sister; 10. <i>wacek</i> aunt   |                     | ' <i>i</i> si man, male; 7. <i>itri</i> , <i>itci</i> ;<br>9. <i>sic</i> ; 15. <i>icak</i>  |
| 8. brother      | 5. C <i>kī-de</i> , SW ( <i>u</i> )-kin older brother, <i>Cekū</i> , SW <i>kun</i> younger brother; 10. <i>hena</i> brother; 11. <i>kanosa</i> brother                           | 13. mother          | 4. <i>atsia</i> ; 5. C <i>tce-de</i> , S - <i>tcen</i> , SE- <i>cek</i> ; 7. <i>cido-i</i> , <i>silo-i</i> ;<br>10. <i>issa</i>                     |
| 9. father       | 5. N, NE - <i>mee</i> , S - <i>men</i> , SE- <i>mek</i> ; 11. <i>mam</i> , <i>mawis</i> ;<br>13. <i>mama</i>   | 14. mother          | 3. Tonto <i>ti-ti</i> , Moh. <i>bin-taik</i> , Dieg. <i>taill</i> , Kutchán <i>talle</i> , Cochimi, <i>ka-tai</i> ; 13. <i>tai</i> ; 15. <i>teñ</i> |
| 10. grandmother | 5. N-mi- <i>ka</i> , C <i>ka-tse</i> , S- <i>ka-tsen</i> , SE-mā- <i>xa</i> mother's mother; 10. <i>ekak</i> , <i>ekac</i> grandmother; 13. <i>kis</i> , <i>kāka</i> grandmother | 15. mother          | 5. E <i>nixa</i> ; 6. <i>ni'na</i> ; 9. S. <i>ani</i> (G); Ach. - <i>ani</i> (G); 13. S. F. Solano <sup>6</sup> <i>naha</i>                         |
| 11. man         | 5. E <i>xak</i> ; 10. <i>haakon</i> man, male; 13. <i>xagū</i> man, male   | 16. sister          | 5. S <i>annan</i> younger brother, younger sister; 10. <i>ula</i> sister; 15. <i>bilet</i> sister   |
| 12. man'        | 1. <i>acans</i> "person"; 5. N <i>tca</i> "person, SW <i>atca</i> , C <i>tcate</i> , S <i>atcai</i> "man"; 6.  | 17. woman, to marry | 4. <i>ta-</i> woman; 5. E <i>da</i> woman, NE <i>dake</i> ; 10. <i>ta-e</i> to marry; 13. <i>tāyagū</i> man marries, wife                           |

## III. — BODY-PART NOUNS.

- |                   |  |               |   |
|-------------------|--|---------------|---|
| 18. arm, hand     | 2. <i>inol</i> 3. <sup>2</sup> —; 5. N, C, S <i>tana</i> hand, SE <i>atan</i> ; 6. <i>dal-</i> hand; 7. <i>h-itanpu</i> <sup>3</sup> , <i>h-itanpu</i> arm, <i>h-itra</i> , <i>h-ita</i> , <i>h-itca</i> hand, - <i>teni</i> hand; 9. Ach. <i>il'i</i> hand (< * <i>itali</i> ) (S); 10. <i>hitian</i> |               | <i>nemayo</i> , Cochimi <i>yamai</i> ; 10. <i>nāyoman</i> ; 11. <i>knēm</i> ; 12. <i>kēnām</i> ; 14. <i>kanín</i>           |
| 19. belly'        | 5. N <i>koi</i> , E <i>xo</i> ; 12. <i>kox</i> ;<br>15. <i>kom</i>   | 22. foot, leg | 1. <i>imits</i> <sup>8</sup> ; 3. Moh. <i>ime</i> leg, foot (K); 5. <sup>9</sup> —; 7. <sup>10</sup> —; 11. <i>emí</i> foot |
| 20. breast        | 3. Dieg. <i>itchikh</i> , i. e. <i>itcix</i> breast; 6. <i>tc'i'</i> <i>kli</i> female breast; 9. Ach. <i>i'tcīl</i> female breast (S), S <i>itsik</i> milk, Ats. <i>atciska</i> milk; 10. <i>yateax</i> breast; 15. <i>itsk</i> breast  | 23. heart     | 7. <i>h-usā'an-tcēi</i> ; 10. <i>ya-tsanān</i> ; 13. <i>xasāl</i>   |
| 21. female breast | 3. H'taām <i>nyemal</i> , Kiliwi   |               | 5. Cf. also Chumash (S.L.O) <i>tuyu</i> , (S. Yn.) <i>tuq</i> MOTHER.   |

1. Cf. also Chumash (S. Yn.) *isūyix* HUSBAND.2. Moh. *isalya* HAND, Dieg. *eseē* are probably not connected with these words but are rather comparable to S. Pomo *ica*, *ican* ARM, S. W. *ica*, N., C. *ca*, S. E. *xal*.3. *-pu* of Chimariko *itan-pu* is perhaps to be compared with Chumash *pu* ARM, HAND.4. Cf. also Chumash (S. Buen.) *qōp* BELLY.

6. San Francisco Solano is an isolated, apparently Coahuiltecan, dialect of which Swanton publishes a brief vocabulary.

7. Cf. also Chumash (S. Yn., S. Bar.) *t-em* LEG, FOOT, possibly also (S. Cruz) *n-ime-l* LEG, FOOT with *n-* prefix (cf. note 17).8. Chontal *-ts* is suffixed, as further evidenced by *amats* EARTH (cf. Chimariko *ama* EARTH) and *icmats* EAR (cf. Chimariko *-icam* EAR).9. Here probably belongs also Pomo *mi-* instrumental prefix « with the foot ».10. Perhaps Chimariko *mi-tci-* instrumental prefix WITH THE FOOT belongs here.11. Cf. perhaps also Chumash (S. Yn.) *usūi* CHEST, HEART; this is more likely, however, to be cognate to Chim. *h-usi* BREAST.



- |                |   |                   |  |
|----------------|---|-------------------|--|
| 24. hair       | 3. Tonto <i>yamia</i> skin, hide; 6. <i>mi'-wi</i> , -mi hide; 7. <i>b-ima</i> hair; 11. <i>emol</i> skin, hair on body   | 28. nose          | H'ta'im <i>epok</i> ; 10. <i>hepei(a)</i> (G) 2. <i>tūf</i> , <i>bif</i> ; 3. Moh. <i>ihū</i> (K), Dieg. <i>*-exu</i> (K); 4. <i>h-oci-s</i> ; 7. <i>h-oxu</i> ; 8. <i>yufi</i> ; 9. Ach. <i>yammi</i> (S); 11. <i>yax</i> ; 12. <i>ya'x</i> , <i>yax</i> <sup>6</sup> |
| 25. mouth, lip | 3. Kiliwi <i>abha-a</i> , i.e. <i>axaa</i> , Cochimi <i>ha</i> , <i>jaa</i> , i. e. <i>xaa</i> mouth; 5. N, C, <i>ha</i> , S, SW <i>aha</i> , E <i>xatsida</i> , SE <i>xasto</i> , NE <i>ha-mo</i> mouth; 10. <i>kala</i> mouth (G); 11. <i>xal</i> lip | 29. tooth         | 3. Tonto <i>yo</i> , Moh. <i>lāḡ</i> , Dieg. <i>Eyau</i> , Kiliwi <i>e-au</i> , i. e. <i>iyau</i> ; 5. E <i>yaḡ</i> ; 11. <i>iy</i> ; 14. <i>é</i>   |
| 26. nail       | 5. N, S, SW <i>hetc</i> , C <i>etc</i> , NE <i>hetca</i> ; 10. <i>yo-tcan</i> (G)   | 30. sexual organs | 3. Tonto <i>minyeta</i> penis; 11. <i>melkuai</i> female sexual organs; 13. <i>malāux</i> male sexual organs   |
| 27. neck       | 3. Wal. <i>ipuk</i> , Dieg. <i>ipuk</i> ,   |                   |  |

## IV. — ANIMALS.

- |                       |  |            |  |
|-----------------------|--|------------|--|
| 31. crow <sup>1</sup> | 3. Moh. <i>aqaga</i> raven (K); 5. N, C, E, S, SW <i>kaai</i> ; 6. <i>gā'gi</i> ; 10. <i>kal</i> | 34. fish   | 5. N, C, E, NE <i>ca</i> , S, SW <i>aca</i> ; 10. <i>esva-lan</i> (G)                              |
| 32. dog               | 3. Coc. <i>cowwaick</i> , i. e. <i>ka(u)waik</i> ; 10. <i>ekwan</i> ; 12. <i>kowá-u</i>          | 35. goose  | 3. Moh. <i>niago-e</i> ; 5. SW <i>lala</i> ; 6. <i>lā'lagi</i> ; 7. <i>lālo</i> ; 14. <i>la-ak</i> |
| 33. deer              | 7. <i>ā'a</i> ; 10. <i>ao</i>  | 36. rabbit | 3. Dieg. <i>khilkhdo</i> , i. e. <i>xil-xáo</i> ; 11. <i>kiexuén</i> ; 12. <i>kiāxhem</i>          |

## V. — OBJECTS.

- |                      |   |                        |   |
|----------------------|---|------------------------|---|
| 37. arrow            | 6. <i>sa'wa</i> ; 7. <i>sa'a</i> ; 10. <i>caxai</i> <sup>2</sup>  | 40. fire               | 3. Tul. <i>ohó</i> ; 5. N <i>bō</i> , S, SE <i>xō</i> , S, SW, NE <i>ōhō</i> ; 14. <i>hūmhe</i> |
| 38. bow <sup>3</sup> | 7. <i>xāpunen</i> ; 9. S <i>xau</i> ; 10. <i>nixa-u</i> ; 11. <i>xai</i> ; 14. <i>gai</i>   | 41. house <sup>7</sup> | 3. Moh. <i>ava</i> (K); 4. <i>iwa-</i>  |
| 39. day <sup>4</sup> | 2. <i>sax</i> sun, <i>isax</i> moon; 4. <i>asi</i> , <i>aci</i> sun, <i>asatsa</i> day; 7. <i>asi</i> ; 9. S <i>atcaii</i> , Ats. <i>as-siyi</i> ; 10. <i>etc-nan</i> (G) |                        |   |

1. Cf. also Salinan *chāk!* (M).

2. Resembles Karok *cak* ARROWPOINT, Achomawi *sat* (< \**sak*; cf. no 20) ARROWPOINT, but comparison with Yana *baqa*, *xaga* FLINT, ARROWPOINT and E. Pomo *vaya* ARROWPOINT, FLINT (in *xaya-xabe* ARROWPOINT-STONE, OBSIDIAN, *masan-xaya* TERRIBLE-FLINT, METAL) makes it clear that these forms go back to \**xaga* (for Hokan *x*, *h* > Karok and Shastan *c*, *s*, cf. further Mohave *aba*, Yana *ba-xa*, Pomo *xa* WATER: Karok *isa*, Achomawi *ac*).

3. Cf. also Chumash (S. L. O) *t-axa*, (S. Yn., S. Bar., S. Buen.) *ax* bow.

4. Cf. probably also Chumash *al-aca*, *al-ica*, *icau* SUN. See note 27.

5. Cf. probably also Chumash (S. Bar., S. Buen.) *n-oXc* NOSE, (S. Yn.) *n-oX* NOSE; for *n-* cf. (S. Cruz) *n-ime-l* (note 12).

6. It seems likely that Hokan-Coahuiltecan \**yaxu* is to be assumed for NOSE. *ya-* (*ya-*), labialized in Karok to *yu-*, is found intact in Conecrudo, Cotonaime, Achomawi, and Karok; it is monophthongized to *i-*, *e-* in Seri and Yuman; this front vowel is further rounded to *o-* in Chimariko and Esselen because of following *-xu*; *x* has become labialized to *f*, because of originally following *u*, in Karok and Seri. *x* has become *c*, *s* in Esselen, as regularly (cf. *asa-nax* WATER < Hokan \**axa*). Seri variant orthographies *i* and *aa* may point to some such sound as *ū*, labialized form of *i*. Achomawi *yammi* may be assimilated from older \**yax-mi*.

7. Cf. possibly also Chumash *p-awa-yic* 'house'.

	no; 6. <i>wa'-wi</i> ; 7. <i>āwa</i> ; 11. <i>wamāk</i>	50. sun	2. <i>tahj</i> i. e. <i>tāx</i> ; 5. NE <i>-daka</i> ; 10. <i>taxac</i> , <i>tagac</i> sun, day
42. house	5. N, C <i>tca</i> , S <i>atca</i> , SE <i>tsa</i> , NE <i>ta</i> ; 13. <i>txam</i> house, to dwell	51. stone	3. Tonto <i>vui</i> , Moh. <i>avi</i> , Dieg. <i>E wi</i> ; 11. <i>woyekuél</i> ; 15. <i>wai</i>
43. moccasins	3. Tonto <i>nayo</i> , <i>nanu</i> ; 7. ( <i>pa</i> )- <i>nna</i> (snow)shoes <sup>1</sup> ; 15. <i>na-u</i>	52. thunder	5. N <i>makila</i> , C <i>makela</i> , SW <i>makala</i> , NE <i>tī-mamka</i> ; 11. ( <i>pa</i> )- <i>mak</i> , ( <i>pa</i> )- <i>mok</i>
44. moon	3. Cochimi <i>kon-ga</i> , <i>gamma</i> , <i>ganeh-majen</i> ; 11. <i>kan</i>	53. thunder	5. E <i>kali-matōtō</i> <sup>6</sup> ; 10. <i>metan</i> to lighten (G); 11. ( <i>pa</i> )- <i>metōt</i> lightning
45. mountain	3. Dieg. <i>umatetē</i> , H'taām <i>motar</i> ; 13. Maratino <sup>2</sup> <i>matomau</i> to the mountain	54. water <sup>7</sup>	1. <i>aha</i> ; 2. <i>ax</i> ; 3. Moh. <i>aba</i> (K); 4. <i>asa-nax</i> ; 5. NE, SE <i>xa</i> , C, NE <i>ka</i> , S, SW <i>aka</i> ; 6. <i>ha-</i> , S <i>xa-</i> ; 7. <i>ā'ka</i> , <i>aka</i> ; 8. <i>as</i> , <i>isa</i> ; 9. Ach. <i>ac</i> (S), S <i>atsa</i> ; 10. <i>ax</i> water, <i>xana</i> to drink; 11. <i>ax</i> ; 12. <i>ax</i> ; 15. <i>ak</i> , <i>ka</i> , <i>kan</i>
46. river	6. <i>dā-</i> water lies, <i>dā-ha</i> river; 15. <i>ta-i</i> river	55. wood	1. <i>eke</i> ; 2. <i>ehe</i> ; 3. Kiliwi <i>khaipak</i> , i. e. <i>xaipak</i> ; 5. N, C <i>hai</i> , E, SE <i>xai</i> , S, SW <i>ahai</i> ; 11. <i>xai</i> , tree, wood
47. sky <sup>3</sup>	1. <i>emaa</i> ; 2. <i>amime</i> ; 3. Moh. <i>ammayā</i> , Dieg. <i>ammai</i> ; 4. <i>imita</i> ; 6. <i>'a'p'sa</i> ; 11. <i>apel</i>		
48. sky	3. S. Cat. <i>akwarra</i> ; 13. <i>uxuāl</i> heaven		
49. sun <sup>4</sup>	3. Moh. <i>anyā</i> (K); 5. E <i>la</i> , S <i>alaca</i> moon, SW <i>kalaca</i> moon; 7. <i>alla</i> , <i>ala</i> sun; 11. <i>al</i> sun; 13. <i>ānuā</i> month		

## VI. — ADJECTIVES.

56. black	2. <i>ko'-polt</i> <sup>5</sup> i. e. <i>-pot</i> ; 6. <i>p'al-</i> ; 14. <i>pal</i>
-----------	--

1. It is barely possible that Chimariko *panna* is to be analyzed as *p'a-* SNOW, *-nna* FOOTWEAR. *p'a-* would then be cognate with Yana *p'a-dju* "snow", *p'ā-* "snow lies spread out"; Tonto *paka* SNOW. This *pa-* would only accidentally resemble Chimariko *pa*, *ipa* MOCCASIN. SNOW in Chimariko is ordinarily *hipāi*, *hipue*; cf. Chumash (S. Buen.) *poi* SNOW.

2. Maratino is an isolated, apparently Coahuiltecan, dialect of which Swanton publishes a brief vocabulary.

3. Cf. also Chumash (S. Yn., S. Bar.) *al-apa* SKY, (S. Buen.) *hal-acpai*; possibly also Salinan *l-ēm* SKY.

4. Cf. perhaps also Chumash (S. Yn.) *alaca* SUN, (S. Bar.) *alica* SUN. However (S. Buen.) *icau* SUN (cf. perhaps Esselen *asi*, *aci* SUN; Chimariko *asi* DAY; Ats: *as-siyi* DAY) suggests that these forms are to be understood as *a-l-aca*, *a-l-ica* (for prefixed *a-l-*, *l-*, cf. Chumash *a-l-apa* SKY, *a-l-apaya* ABOVE: Salinan *l-ēm* SKY, *l-ēmō* ABOVE:

57. cold	3. Mar. <i>h'tchurk</i> , i. e. <i>xtcuq</i> , Moh. <i>hatcu-urk</i> , i. e. <i>hatcuuq</i> , Kiliwi <i>abbichak</i> , i. e. <i>axtcak</i> ; 6. <i>hātslit'</i> -to be cold; 7. <i>xatsa</i> ; 9. Ach. <i>actcla-</i> (S); 10. <i>hatsex</i>
58. large	1. <i>kweka</i> ; 2. <i>ka-kolch</i> , i. e. <i>-kot</i> ; 10. <i>kwalō</i> great; 15. <i>kome</i> great

Chontal *emaa*, Seri *ami-me*, Mohave *ammayā*, Esselen *imi-ta*, Yana *'ap'-sa* SKY). More likely to be related is (S. Cruz) *t-anum* SUN.

5. *ko-* is (color-)adjectival prefix.

6. *kali* denotes SKY.

7. Cf. also Salinan *t-ca'* "water" (M) (*t-* prefixed article; *-ca'* < *\*xa'*).



59. old 1. *akwe* old man; 3. Moh. *kwora-* old (man), Cochimi *acusó*, i. e. *akuso*; 10. *kuca* old, ancient
60. red 2. *ko-massolt*<sup>1</sup>, i. e. *-massot* brown, *móssolt*<sup>2</sup>, i. e. *mossot* yellow<sup>2</sup>; 7. *masomas* red salmon; 11. *(pa)-msól* red; 12. *msá-ε* red
61. round 5. SW *pololo*; 6. *p'il'd'lu* round basket cap; 10. *pilil*, *ko-pol*; 11. *pa-wa-pél*
62. small<sup>3</sup> 3. Tonto *kotye*; 4. *oxus-k*, *ukus-ki*, *uküs* small, infant;
5. N *kawí* infant, C-*ka* son, daughter, *ka-* boy, girl infant, *küts* small, E *kawí* boy, *küs* infant, *kate* small, SW *kawí* small; 10. *ca-xun* small, *wi-xun* girl; 12. *kuwó-sam* small, young; 14. *kwān*, *kwān* small, young; 15. *kun* girl
63. white 3. Moh. *nya-masam*, S. Cat. *imicápa*, Kiliwi *ume-sap*; 10. *maslak*; 12. *mesó-i*
64. white<sup>6</sup> 1. *-fuka*; 2. *kó-'po*<sup>1</sup>; 11. *-pok*, *-puk*; 14. *peka*

## VII. — NUMERALS.

65. one<sup>1</sup> 4. *pek*; 6. *bai-*; 10. *pax*, *paxaatak* alone, only
66. two 1. *oko*; 2. *(ka)xku-(m)*; 3. Moh. *havi-k*, Dieg. *xawo-k*; 4. *xulax*; 5. N *kō*, C, SW *ko*, S *akō*, E *xōto*, SE *xōs*, NE *koon*; 6. *u'-*. Sux-; 7. *xoku*; 8. *axak*; 9. S, *xōkwa*, Ach. *bak!* (S); Ats. *hoki*; 10. *aketai*; 13. *axlē*
67. three 4. *xulap*; 5. *xōxat*; 14. *kaxayi*

## VIII. — VERBS.

68. to blow 5. *pu-cen*, *pu-l'am* to take breath, *pu-cul* to blow, *u-ya* to whistle, E *pu-xamk* to whistle; 6. *p'ō-*, *p'u-* to blow; 7. *-xu-* *-xuc-*<sup>5</sup> to blow, *-xu-* to whistle; 10. *poxo* to blow; 11. *(pa)-pót* to blow, *(pa)pu-sa-mai* to whistle
69. to burn 7. *-maa-*; 10. *ma-i*; 11. *(pa)-makua*
70. to come 3. Kutchán *kirik*, Dieg. *kiyu*; 6. *-k'i-*; 7. *-k-* hither; 13. *kal*; 14. *ka's*, *kas*
71. to cry 6. *-wā-*, *-wa-*; 7. *-wo*; 9. Ach. *-wo-*; 13. *wāyo*; 14. *oiviya*
72. to cry 3. *?*; 5. *maxar*; 6. *?*; 10. *maka*; 12. *pa-ma*

1. *ko-* is (color-) adjectival prefix.

2. It is barely possible that two phonetically similar but etymologically distinct stems are here involved. Almost certainly cognate with Seri *móssol* is Chimariko reduplicated *-mamsu-* of *himamsut* GREEN, BLUE, YELLOW.

3. With Hokan-Coahuiltecan *\*k'u-* SMALL, INFANT is perhaps also cognate Chumash *gu-*, *ku-* of (S. Buen.) *gunup* CHILD (S. Cruz) *kutco* CHILD.

4. Cf. also Chumash (S. Yn., S. Bar.) *paka*, (S. Buen.) *paket* ONE.

5. Hokan *p'u-* seems regular to have developed to *xu* in Chimariko. Other examples are: Chimariko *-xū-* TO

SWIM: Yana *p'ū-* TO SWIM; Chimariko *-xu-* FAT (adj.): Yana *p'ui-* TO BE FAT. Where Dixon writes *pu*, probably *bu* (with intermediate *b*) or *plu* is to be understood.

6. Cf. also Chumash (S. Cruz) reduplicated *pupu* WHITE.

7. It does not seem impossible, if not very probable, that Yana *mi-* TO CRY, WAIL, Tonto *mi* TO CRY, YELL, SIGH are also cognate.

73. to cry 5. SE *xakit*, SW *katca*, NE *katcet*; 12. *xakue* to weep
74. to cut 5. *xa* to cut, to cut off; 10. *kaetca*; 11. *kawī*
75. to die, to be dead 1. *maa-* to kill; 3. Dieg. *meley*; 4. <sup>1</sup>; 5. <sup>37</sup>; 6. *mal-* to get hurt, (moccasin) has holes, (basket) is torn; 11. *pa-plaii* (from \**-mlai*); 14. *mal* dead
76. to do 5. *hu*; 7. *-xai-* to make; 13. *hawai*, *hōi* to do, to make; 14. *ká-hawan*
77. to drink 5. C, N *kōtcim*, E *xōxūn*, S *hōkōi*; 10. (*ben*)*uk*-(*no*); 12. *xuáxe*; 13. *ouxo*; 14. *akwetén*; 15. *ka-u*
78. to eat <sup>2</sup> 3. Coc. *ahma*, Tonto *ma*; 4. *ama*; 5. N *maamaa*; 6. *mō-*, (*ma-*); 7. *-amā-*; 8. *av* (< *am*); 9. Ach. *-am-*, Ats. *-ammi*; 12. *habáme*, *xaxáme*; 13. *ham*
79. to eat 5. C *kawan*, SE *kawa'-maaka*; 10. *ya-xa* (G), *yax*; 11. (*pa*)-*kai* to eat, (*pa*)-*kakui* to masticate
80. to fall 1. *mej*; 7. *-man-*, *-mo-*; 11. *mel*; 14. *amoak*; 15. *mak*
81. to forget 7. *-xomē-*; 13. *xām*
82. to give <sup>3</sup> 4. *iuk*; 7. *-hak-* (?); 10. *ax*
83. to go 5. *wa*, *ual* to go, to walk; 7. *-wam-*, *-owa-*; 8. *var(am)*; 10. *wana* they go; 12. *a-wōyo* go over there!; 14.
84. to go out 6. *-dam-* (to go) out of house; 7. *-tap* out of; 9. Ach. *-da* out of, Ats. *-ta* out of; 15. *ta* to come out
85. to hear 5. *cok*; 13. *tcakwēi*
86. to kill 5. C *kūm*; 7. *-ko-*; 12. *wátxu-ka*; 14. *abūk*
87. to laugh 5. SE *ke*; 10. *xaxaya*; 14. *káita*; 15. *hayu*
88. to like 5. NE *kamantū*; 6. *klun-*; 11. *kuail* to love; 13. *karwa* to love; 14. *ka* to love
89. to be pregnant 6. *yōhai-* <sup>4</sup>; 13. *sabui(u)*
90. to run 3. Kutchán *conó*, i. e. *konó*, Dieg. *ganau*; 4. *canca*; 5. E *kak*, S *katan*, SE *xawaka*; 10. *xana* to go away; 14. *xankáye* to run, to hasten
91. to say 5. *ba-* to tell, to preach; 6. *ba-* to call; 7. *-pa-*, *-patci-*; 10. *hepa*; 14. *pátsim*
92. to scratch 7. *-xolgo-*; 10. *xwacaka*
93. to see 5. *ma-bi*, *ma-yap* to face, to look, *mag.a* to look for; 6. *minin-*, *mi-*, *mē-* to look; 7. *-mam-* to see; 8. *mah-* to see; 9. Ach. *-ūma-*, Ats. *-ima-* to see; 11. *imáx*, *mahe*; 13. *mas*
94. to see 5. N *tcadin*, S *tcadū*; 10. *atce* (G); 14. *tca*
95. to shoot 7. *-pū-*; 15. *pots*
96. to sit 7. *-pat-* (plural subject); 11. (*pa*)-*nel-páu*; 12. *páwe*
97. to sleep 1. *cmái*; 2. *sim*; 3.

1. Here belong perhaps also Esselen *moho* HE DIED; Pomo *mudal* TO DIE, DEAD. Pomo *mudal* is, however, better compared with Yana *murul-* to lie, metaphorically "to lie dead".

2. Cf. also Chumash (S. Buen.) *umu* TO EAT; Sal. *amō'* (M).

3. Cf. also Chumash (S. Yn.) *ikc*, (S. Bar. *xiks*) TO GIVE.

4. Yana *y* corresponds to Chimariko-Karok *s, c* in certain words, e. g. Yana *'tya* TRAIL: Chimariko *bissa*; Yana *wē'yu* HORN: Chimariko *wec-*, Karok *wēcu-ra*; Yana *-ya* FEMALE: Chimariko *-sa* (e. g. *tcu-mako-sa* MOTHER-IN-LAW: *tcu-maku* FATHER-IN-LAW).



- Moh. *isma*; 4. *atsini-si*; 5. N, E, S, SW, *sīma*, C *sūma*, NE *āma*; 6. *samsi-*<sup>1</sup>, S, *tc'amsi-*; 9. Ats. *itsmi* (K), S. *itsmas* (K); 11. (n)*emēt*; 13. *tsamōxuām*; 14. *im*
98. to speak 5. *ga-nuk*; 6. *ga-*<sup>2</sup>; 7. *-kō-*, *-gō-* to talk; 13. *kā* to say, to speak; 15. *ko-i* to say, to speak
99. to tear 5.<sup>10</sup>; 7. *-tra-* to tear; 14. *tāhama* to break, to tear
100. to touch 6. *din-* to touch, to put out one's hand to; 10. *ta-an* to handle, to touch

## IX. — ADVERBS.

101. alone 7. *pola*; 11. *paluema* alone, only
102. near 3. Tonto *ipe*, Moh. *hipanik*, Mar. *hepanik*; 14. *pa-huail*; 15. *ipal*
103. no, not<sup>3</sup> 5. E *kūyi*; 6. *k'u-*; 7. *-xū-*, *x-*, *-gu*; 13. *ox*, *oxua* not; 14. *kom. kwō-om* no, not
104. no, not<sup>4</sup> 3. Wal. *ōpa* no; 7. *pātc-* *gun*, *pācut* 'no; 8. *pu* not, *-pux* -less; 10. *-pe-*, *-ba-*, *-bo* (G)<sup>11</sup>
105. now 5. *co*; 10. *huc*; 14. *acāhāk*
106. quickly 7. *wel-mu*, *welē-ni*; 14. *ewē-e*, *ewē* quick, quickly
107. south 3. Moh. *kāveik* (K); 11. *kiāu*
108. where? 7. *qō-malu*<sup>12</sup>; 10. *ala*; 13. *anu*, *ani*

## X. — GRAMMATICAL ELEMENTS

109. derivative 4. *-nax*, *-nex*, *-no*<sup>5</sup>; 6. *-na*<sup>6</sup>; noun suffix 7. *-ar*<sup>7</sup>; 8. *-an*, *-ar*<sup>8</sup>; 10. *-on*, *-an*<sup>9</sup> (G)
110. derivative 4. *-s*<sup>13</sup>; 8. *-c*<sup>14</sup>; 10. *-c*, noun suffix *-s*<sup>15</sup> (G)

1. Simpler form of stem, *sam-*, implied in plur. *sādim-* (alongside of *sādim-si-*), with infix *-di-*.

2. Occurs only in compounds, e. g. *ga-yā-* TO TALK; *ga-'lā-* TO CRY; *ga-wītē'ui-* TO TELL A LIE; *ga-rī-* TO TALK N. YANA; *ga-t'ā-* TO TALK C. YANA; and many others.

3. Cf. also Salinan *ku* (M).

4. Cf. also Chumash (S. Yn.) *puo* NO.

5. Esselen *-nax*, *-nex* in, e. g., *asa-nax* WATER, *pagu-nax* BOW, *kutus-nax* MOUTH; *-no* in, e. g., *iwa-no* HOUSE.

6. Yana (N. and C. dialects) *-na* is regularly suffixed, in male forms, to all monosyllabic noun stems and to all nouns ending in long vowel, diphthong, or consonant; it is assimilated to *-la* after preceding *-l-*. E. g. *ba-na* WATER, *dēmau-na* PINE MARTEN, *klu-rul-la* CRANE.

7. E. g. *tcimar* MAN, *puntsar* WOMAN, *kosar* CRANE. Forms like *tsabokor* MOLE, *tagnir* WILDCAT, and *himetasur* MORNING suggest that only *-r* is suffixed, preceding *a*, *i*, *o*, and *u* being stem vowels. This *-r* varies in orthography with *-l*, e. g. *sāpxel* SPOON, variant *punsal-i* MY WIFE.

Forms like *pxicira* SKUNK and *ta'ira* GROUND SQUIRREL suggest that *-r*, *-l* is abbreviated from *-ra*.

8. Karok *-an*, *-ar* makes nouns of agent and instrument, e. g. *kivip-an* "runner", *auc-ar* THINKER.

9. E. g. *kanoc-an* MEXICAN from *kanoc* MEXICO, *be-yate-on* SPYGLASS from *atce* TO SEE, *ye-kox-on* BOOT from *kaxa* TO GO, *ye-tsox-an* TENT from *tsox* CLOTH, CANVAS. These nouns are evidently instrumental in force, like their Karok parallels.

10. Perhaps also Pomo *dak* "to split".

11. E. g. *tca-pe-no* NOT TO BE, *yaxa-bō* HE DOES NOT EAT, *naxa-ba-ba* I WAS NOT.

12. *qō-* is found also in other interrogatives, e. g. *qō-mas* WHO? *qō-si* WHERE?

13. E. g. *ehēpa-s* RABBIT-SKIN ROBE, *boci-s* NOSE, *opopabo-s* SEAL, *matcka-s* COYOTE, *tcaphi-s* BIRDS, *xeku-s* PANTHER.

14. In *kēmī-c* EVIL THING, MONSTER from *kēm* BAD.

15. E. g. *taga-c*, *taxa-c* SUN, *naci-c* TERRAPIN, *aucca-c* BUFFALO, *apinco-s* HOUSE-FLY. In Esselen, Karok, and Tonkawa *-c*, *-s* seems to forms chiefly animate, e. g. animal, nouns.

111. diminutive suffix 7. *-lla*<sup>1</sup>; 10. *-lo*, *-la-n*, *-lo-n*, *-li-n*<sup>2</sup> (G)  
 112. adjective suffix 3. *-k*<sup>3</sup>; 4. *-k*, *-ki*<sup>4</sup>; 5. *-k*<sup>5</sup>; 10. *-k*<sup>6</sup> (G)  
 113. locative case 5. *-ka-te* at, to, by, near<sup>7</sup>;  
 suffix 8. *-ak* in, at<sup>8</sup>; 10. *-ak*<sup>9</sup> (G)  
 114. instrumental 8. *-m-uk* with, *-ku-s* on case suffix account of; 10. *-ok*<sup>10</sup> (G)

## SUPPLEMENTARY CHUMASH-COAHUILTECAN VOCABULARY

115. (S. Bar.) *akcewe*, (S. Tonk. *acwi* belly (cf. *eneq* woman),  
 Yn.) *akcu* belly (S. Buen.) *pakü-*  
 116. (S. Bar.) *xoni* mother Tonk. *xai* mother  
 ther *was* old man  
 117. (S. Bar.) *pako-wac* Tonk. *ewac* fa-  
 old man, *eneXe-* ther; Atak. *wa-*  
*wac* old woman *ci* old, ancient  
 118. (S. Yn.) *ilikün*, (S. Tonk. *yila* to sit  
 Bar.) *leken*, (S. Buen.) *hilikö* to sit

Some of these comparisons are doubtful at best and a number of them will, on maturer knowledge, have to be discarded. A certain amount of groping in the dark cannot well be avoided in the pioneer stage of such an attempt as this. Careful scrutiny of the comparative vocabulary brings out a very considerable number of cognate series that it would be difficult to explain away on the score of accident (e. g. n<sup>os</sup> 14, 20, 22, 28, 40, 50, 52, 53, 54, 55, 57, 60, 61, 64, 72, 93, 98, 103). A large number of the cognates are widespread Hokan stems (e. g. n<sup>os</sup> 41, 54, 55, 68, 78). Such a double correspondence as S. W. Pomo *maka-la* THUNDER : Comecrudo

(*pa*)*mak* THUNDER, E. Pomo *-matötö* (with final reduplication) THUNDER : Comecrudo (*pa*)*metöt* (with final reduplication) LIGHTNING does not smack of accident.

An important feature of both Hokan and Coahuiltecan languages is the alternation of stems with initial vowels with forms of the stem without the vowel<sup>11</sup>, e. g. Chontal *aha*, Seri *ax*, Mohave *aha*, S. Pomo *aka*, Esselen *asa-*, Karok *as-*, Achomawi *ac*, Shasta *atsa*, Tonkawa *ax*, Atakapa *ak*, Comecrudo *ax*, Cotoname *ax* WATER : N. E. Pomo *xa-*, Yana *ha-*, Tonkawa

5. E. g. E. Pomo *kilikili-k* WHITE, *këdakëda-k* RED, *törötörö-k* STRIPED.

6. E. g. *maki-k* YELLOW, *maslu-k*, *maslo-k* WHITE, *gala-k* MORE. *-k* occurs also as noun suffix, e. g. *kalo-k* "mustache" (cf. *kala* MOUTH), *oyu-k* POCKET. Such substantivized adjectives as *maki-k* GOLD (from YELLOW) and *maslo-k* CATTLE (from WHITE) suggest that nouns in *-k* may be primarily adjectives.

7 Cf. probably also *-k* in *-ima-k* IN COMPANY WITH (with Pomo *-ima-* cf. Esselen *-ma-nu* TOGETHER WITH, Yana verbal suffix *-ma-* TOGETHER WITH).

8. Locative *-ka-*, *-k* probably also compounded with other elements in *-k-cu* IN, *-ava-ka-m* ON, OVER, *-os-ka-m* BEFORE, *-vasi-ka-m* "behind", *-xa-ka-n* "in company with", *-curu-k* UNDER.

9. E. g. *yetsoxan-ak* TENT-IN.

10. E. g. *hetcool-ok* BY MEANS OF WHAT? *xanan-oke* ON ACCOUNT OF POISON.

11. See Sapir, *The Position of Yana in the Hokan Stock*, pp. 28-32.

1. E. g. *itri-lla* BOY (cf. *itri* MAN), *tumtite-lla* SWALLOW, *tcisumu-lla* ORPHAN. *-lla* is quite likely assimilated from *-r-la* (*-r* as in 89 a), e. g. *puntsä-lla* (read *puntsa-*) GIRL < \**puntsa-r-la* (*puntsa-r* WOMAN).

2. These elements are not specifically termed diminutive by Gatschet, but some of his examples suggest that they are. E. g. *enopxa-lo* MOSQUITO, *apinki-llin* GREEN FLY, RED FLY, *esva-lan* FISH, *naxtcon-se-lon* MATCH (literally perhaps LITTLE FIRE-MAKER, cf. *naxtcon* FIRE). *-n* probably as in 106.

3. E. g. Mar. *mil-k*, Moh. *hwäi-nyel-k*, Kutchän *nyul-k*, Kiliwi *nye-g* BLACK (contrast Kutchän *nyil*, H'taäm *nyil*); Mar. *ahot-k*, Moh. *axot-k*, Kutchän *ahot-k* GOOD; Mar. *pîn-k*, Moh. *hai-pîn-k*, Kutchän *epil-k* WARM, HOT (contrast Kutchän *kü-pil*, Kiliwi *pal*).

4. E. g. *oxus-k*, *uküs-ki* SMALL, *putu-ki* LARGE, *sale-ki* GOOD, *ala-ki* BLACK.



*xa-na* TO DRINK, Atakapa *ka*; Atsugewi *-ima-*, Achomawi *-(n)ima-*, Comecrudo *imáx* TO SEE: Pomo *ma-*, Yana *mi-*, Chimariko *-mam-*, Karok *mah-*, Coahuilteco *mas*, Comecrudo *máhe*. Even the dialects of a single group vary on this point, as could be abundantly illustrated from Pomo and Yuman.

Statistics based on the comparative vocabulary are of little significance at present, owing to the fact that most of the languages are but sparsely represented, some far more sparsely than others. Thus, the fact that Pomo, Chimariko, Yuman, and Yana offer the greatest number of cognates to the Coahuiltecan languages, while Chumash, Esselen, Shastan, Seri, Karok, and Chontal offer the least loses nearly all its significance when we remember that there was less material available for comparison in the latter group than in the former. In proportion to the amount of material to choose from, indeed, Esselen, Karok, Seri, and Chontal seem to offer more similarity to the Coahuiltecan languages than Yana, which, in manuscript form, is by far the best known to the writer of all the languages compared<sup>1</sup>. The relatively small number of Yana-Coahuiltecan cognates found is probably the only significant point that could at present be made on statistical evidence. It is doubtless closely related to the fact, abundantly proven by other evidence, that of all Hokan languages Yana is the most specialised and therefore the least typical. Turning to the

1. This I consider a most encouraging fact. If the resemblances here discussed were entirely explainable as due to accident, the Yana-Coahuiltecan parallels should have been several times as numerous as for any other pair, whereas, as a matter of fact, there are only a trifle over half as many Yana-Coahuiltecan parallels as Pomo-Coahuiltecan ones.

Coahuiltecan languages, we find that the order of degree of similarity to Hokan is Tonkawa, Comecrudo, Coahuilteco (including one example each from San Francisco Solano and Maratino), Karankawa, Atakapa, and Cotoname, the number of Tonkawa-Hokan cognates being somewhat greater than of Pomo-Coahuiltecan. This, if significant at all, is as it should be, for Tonkawa is an interior language and, geographically speaking, relatively nearest the Hokan languages of California.

A glance at Powell's linguistic map, so far from creating dismay at the hazardous nature of our attempt, rather serves to render it intelligible. True, there is an enormous distance separating Tonkawa and Yuman, or Coahuilteco and Seri. But is it an accident that practically the whole of the vast stretch of country separating the Coahuiltecan from the Yuman tribes is taken up by the Southern Athapascans (Lipan, various Apache tribes, and Navaho)? That these last are intrusive in this area has always been felt probable by both ethnologist and linguist. The relationship of Athapaskan to Haida and Tlingit, which I have demonstrated in another paper<sup>2</sup>, raises this feeling to a certainty. I venture to put forward the hypothesis that the Hokan-speaking and Coahuiltecan-speaking tribes formed at one time a geographical continuum and that at least one of the factors in their disruption was the intrusion of Athapaskan-speaking tribes from the north. An earlier intrusion of Uto-Aztecan (more particularly Sonoran-Shoshonean) tribes from the south may eventually also have to be taken account of.

2. *The Na-dene Languages, a Preliminary Report*, American Anthropologist, n. s., vol. 17, pp. 534-558, 1915.

## A NOTE ON THE FIRST PERSON PLURAL IN CHIMARIKO

By E. SAPIR

I know of few irrevocable facts in the domain of American linguistics that are quite so regrettable as our scanty knowledge of Chimariko. What attention I have been able to give the Hoka problem has tended to convince me that in Chimariko we possess, or possessed, one of the most archaic languages of the whole group, perhaps the one language in California which came nearest a faithful representation of the theoretical Hoka prototype. As it is, we must make shift to get on with such material as has been spared us and be doubly thankful for the fragmentary data that Dixon was able to secure in 1906 from the one or two aged or half-witted survivors of the tribe<sup>1</sup>. The present note will serve to illustrate how unexpected and far-reaching may be the threads that bind Chimariko to geographically remote languages in California.

The first personal pronominal affix for Chimariko verbs always, or nearly always, shows clearly related forms for singular and plural. This will be evident from the following<sup>2</sup>:

"*tc-*, first person singular. Prefixed or suffixed as subject of intransitive verbs, with adjectival stems. Prefixed as object of transitive verbs.

*tca-*, *tco-*, first person plural. Prefixed or suffixed as subject of intransitive verbs, with adjectival stems. This suffix<sup>3</sup> is distinguished from singular *tc-* by change of vowel. If the singular has *a* as connecting vowel, the plural

has *o*, and vice-versa. Prefixed as object of transitive verbs.

*i-*, *y-*, first person singular. Prefixed or suffixed as subject of intransitive verbs, with verbal stems. Prefixed as subject of transitive verbs.

*ya-*; *we-*, *w-*, first person plural. Prefixed or suffixed as subject of intransitive verbs, with verbal stems. Prefixed (*va-*) as subject of transitive verbs."

Further on Dixon remarks<sup>4</sup>:

"It will be seen that two wholly different forms are given in both singular and plural for the first person. In the use of the one or the other of these, there is a fairly clear distinction in use. The first type, *tc*, is never employed with verbal stems indicating action or movement, but with those, on the contrary, which indicate a state or condition. On the other hand, whereas the second form, *i*, *y*, is invariably used with the former class of verbal stems, it is also employed with the latter, but is then always suffixed. In most cases, there is no confusion between the two forms, i. e., if the first person singular is *i* or *y*, the first person plural is *ya*. A few instances appear, however, in which this does not hold, and we have *i* in the singular, and *tc* or *ts* in the plural. In a limited number of cases also, either form may apparently be used, as *qe'-i-xanan*, *qe'-tce-xanan* I SHALL DIE, *i-saxni*, *tca-saxni* I COUGH [perhaps better understood as stem *asax-*, with *i* displacing *a-* of stem; *tc-* prefixed: *tc-asax-ni*. Cf. *tc-a'-wi'n* I FEAR and other singulars in *tc-a-*]. A phonetic basis is to some extent observable,

1. Roland B. Dixon, *The Chimariko Indians and Language* (University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, vol. 5, pp. 293-380, 1910).

2. Dixon, *op. cit.*, p. 318.

3. Read doubtless "affix".

4. *Op. cit.*, pp. 325, 326.



in that *tc* or *ts* is never a prefix when the verbal stem begins with a vowel. [This seems doubtful.] As between *i* and *y*, it appears that the latter is always used before stems beginning with a vowel except *i*, whereas *i* is employed before stems beginning with *i* or with consonants. [There seems, however, to be some evidence to show that *i*- may displace the initial stem vowel, just as *u* of *tcu*- MY displaces the initial vowel of the noun stem, e. g. *m-isam* THY EAR, *h-isam* HIS EAR, but *tcu-sam* MY EAR.] The first persons singular and plural are distinguished from each other, where the form *tc* is used, only by a change of connecting vowel already pointed out. [Dixon's "connecting vowel", in the verb as in the noun, as is shown by general Hokan comparative evidence, is in all probability either the initial vowel of the stem or a prefixed vowel inhering in the pronominal or other prefixed element.]

"The pronominal elements as given, are, when used as prefixes, attached to the verb by means of connecting vowels. These... often show some relation to the vowel of the verbal stem, but this is noticeable chiefly in the case of *o* and *u* stems. The first person singular and plural are distinguished from each other only by the change in this connecting vowel. As a rule, the first person singular is *tcu*- or *tcu*-, whereas the plural is *tca*-. In one or two instances, however, this seems to be reversed."

Forms with combined prefixed pronominal subject and object involving the first person are given by Dixon as follows :

*i*-: I-THEE, I-HIM, I-YE  
*ya*-: WE-THEE, WE-HIM, WE-YE, WE-THEM;  
       HE-US  
*tcu*-, *tca*-: HE-ME, THEY-ME  
*tca*-: HE-US, THEY-US

The material contained in Dixon's paper is hardly sufficient to enable us to unravel all the

details of first person pronominal usage. Much remains uncertain or obscure. It is fairly clear that a number of phonetic laws are operative that Dixon has not succeeded in disentangling; it is also possible that certain phonetic niceties not explicitly taken into account, particularly vocalic quantity, may be significant. Thus, it is observable that verb stems in *a*- with preceding first personal *y*- show a *ye*- in the first person singular, *ya*- in the first person plural; e. g., from *-ama*- TO EAT : *y-ema* I EAT, *ya-ma* LET US EAT. Apparently, in the singular the *a*- of the stem has been palatalized to *e* by the preceding *y*-; in the plural the *ya*- of the pronominal prefix has displaced the *a*- of the stem, or the two *a*- vowels have contracted to a single vowel that ordinarily resists palatalization. It seems more likely that the *a*- of *ya*- and *tca*- regularly displace initial stem vowels. The simplest statement of the facts that it seems possible to formulate is as follows :

	Sing.	Plur.
Subjective (i. e. subject of active verb)	<i>y</i> - (before vowels) <i>i</i> - (before consonants)	{ <i>ya</i> -
Objective (i. e. subject of static verb and object of transitive verb)	<i>-t</i> <i>tcu</i> - (before consonants) <i>tc</i> - (before vowels); <i>-tcu</i> , <i>-tc</i> -	{ <i>-ya</i> <i>tca</i> -; <i>-tca</i>

The vowels of *tcu*- (singular) and of *ya*- and *tca*- (plural) are probably inherent vowels of the prefixes that normally displace initial stem vowels; *tca*- for *tcu*- and *tcu*- for *tca*- are probably secondary phonetic developments due to assimilation, contraction, or elision. The first person plural, then, is formed from the corresponding singular by adding an *a*- to the *y*- or *tc*- of the singular or by displacing the vowel of the singular *tcu*- by an *a*-. In other words, the really essential element of the affixed first person plural of Chimariko is *a*-.

The truth of this is confirmed by certain first person plural forms in *a*- (without preceding *y*- or *tc*-) that are not explicitly discussed

by Dixon but are scattered about in his texts. The verb *-uwam-*, *-owam-* TO GO (*-wam-* appears also as *-wum-*, *-waum-*) regularly appears with "connecting vowel" *-u-*, *-o-*, e. g. :

- y-owa'm-xa-nan* I'LL GO (p. 349, l. 11)  
*y-uwaum-xa'-nan* I SHALL GO (349.5)  
*y-uwa'u'm-ia* I GO (349.2)  
*m-owa'm-xa-nan* YOU SHALL GO (349.14)  
*h-owa'm-da* HE WENT (349.1)  
*n-u'wam* GO! (349.8; *n-* is second person singular imperative)  
*n-u'wa'um* GO BACK! (351.1)  
*nu'-g-u'wa'm-na* "DON'T GO!" (350.18)

With these forms contrast the following first person plurals :

- a'-wam* LET'S GO (351.9; 343.4)  
*a'-wa'm* GO (359.5)  
*a-wa'm* LET'S GO (351.18)  
*a-wu'm* LET'S GO (341.6)  
*a-wa'm-an* WE'LL GO (351.16)  
*na'icidut a'-wam* WE GO (349.9)  
*xoko-lɛ'-ice a-wa'm-xa-nan* TWO-OF-US WILL-GO 350.17; 351.3)  
*xotai'-re-ice a-wa'm-xa-nan* (WE) -THREE WILL-GO (350.15)

Obviously *a-* is here a pronominal element, displacing, as do *ya-* and *tca-*, the initial vowel of the stem. The verb *-uwam-* probably contains a suffixed, perhaps local, *-m-*, as shown by other derivatives of *-uwa-*, e. g. :

- n-u'a-hta* GO (359.6)  
*m-u'a-dok-ni* YOU COME BACK (360.2)

In such verbs also the first person plural is characterized by an *a-* displacing the *u-* of the stem, e. g. :

- a-wa-kda-xa'n* LET'S GO AROUND (341.10; 11)

Finally, the negative of the first person plu-

ral, ordinarily *ya-x-*, *tca-x-*, is for the verb *-uwa-* (*m-*) apparently *a-x-*, e. g. :

- a-x-am-gu-tcai'-da-nan* (WE) DON'T WANT TO GO (350.14)

On the basis of Chimariko alone one might surmise that the original form for the first person plural pronominal prefix (perhaps only for the "subjective" series) was *a-* and that the *ya-* (and perhaps also *tca-*) forms arose under the influence of the singular. An original Hokan paradigm for the first person pronominal prefixes :

Sing. *i-*

Plur. *a-*

is, indeed, preserved in Salinan<sup>1</sup>. The contrast of sing. *i-* (which generally appears in Salinan as *e-*; for Salinan  $e < i$  cf. Antoniaño *epa'l* TONGUE, Migueleño *ipal* < Hokan \**ipali*, Chimariko *ipen*, Achomawi *ip'li*) : plur. *a-* appears in the independent personal pronoun (Antoniaño *he'k' I*, *ha'k' WE*; Migueleño *k'e' I*, *k'a' WE*); in the prefixed subjective elements (*e-* I, *a-* WE); and in the locative pronominal series (*-k'e* TO ME, *-k'a* TO US). The possessive pronominal prefixes are all but analogous. The first person singular is characterized by the absence of a prefix except, in the case of stems with initial vowel, for the prefixed article-like element *t-*, which is not properly a possessive pronominal element; the corresponding plural has *t-a-*, the article-like *t-* plus the properly pronominal *-a-*, or (before vowels) *t-a-t-*, in which *t-* seems to be used pleonastically. The only pronominal series in Salinan not characterized by a distinctive *a-* in the first person plural is the objective, suffixed to the verb (*-ak* ME; *-t'ak* US); here the plural is derived from the singular by means of the common Salinan

1. See J. A. Mason, *The Language of the Salinan Indians* (University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, vol. 14, pp. 1-154, 1918).



pluralizing element *-t-* (cf. also *-ka* THEE : *-t'kam* YOU ; *-o*, *-ko* HIM : *-ot*, *-kot* THEM).

It is the series of subjective pronominal prefixes that most closely corresponds to the Chimariko "subjective" series. This is true for all persons, as indicated in the following comparative table :

	Chimariko	Salinan
Sing. 1	<i>y-</i> , <i>i-</i>	<i>e-</i>
2	<i>m-</i>	<i>m-</i>
3	<i>h-</i>	—
Plur. 1	<i>a-</i> ; <i>ya-</i>	<i>a-</i>
2	<i>q-</i>	<i>k-</i> (subject of 2nd per. plur. imperative <sup>1</sup> )
3	<i>h-</i>	—

1. Treated by Mason (p. 41) as a modal (imperative) prefix of the plural, but evidently pronominal, as shown by the parallel use of pronominal *m-* in the imperative of the singular, by the analogy of the Salinan possessive form *t-k-*, *t-uk-*, *t-ko-* YOUR, and by the comparison of other Hokan dialects (besides Chimariko *q-*, *go-*, *qe-* we have also Yana *-ga* YE). Cf. also Washo *ge-*, imperative prefix; this is likely to be the old second person plural prefix, generalized for both numbers. The leveling of singular and plural pronominal prefixes is characteristic of Washo. The pronominal analogies of Washo *ge-* have been already pointed out by Kroeber.

As so often in Chimariko, the Salinan pronominal elements of the first person frequently, if not regularly, displace or contract with the initial vowel of the stem or displace the vowel of a preceding element (e. g. *ko-* NOT ; *k-e-* NOT I, *k-a-* NOT WE). Examples of Salinan forms in *e-* and *a-* are :

<i>e-ki</i> <small>AM I GOING ?</small>	<i>a-kiyal</i> <small>ARE WE GOING ?</small>
<i>k-e-cxai'</i> <small>I WOKE UP</small> ( <i>'icxai'</i> <small>TO ARISE AT DAWN</small> )	<i>n-a-pala</i> <small>LET US DANCE</small>
<i>k-e-k'a-k'a</i> <small>I WILL NOT SING</small>	<i>k-a-suxtax</i> <small>WE ARE NOT AFRAID</small>
<i>m e-yax</i> <small>WHEN I CAME</small> ( <i>iyax</i> <small>TO COME</small> )	<i>m-a-ya</i> <small>WHEN WE GO</small> ( <i>iya</i> <small>SEVERAL GO</small> )

Note that *i-* of *iya* TO GO, *iyax* TO COME (for *i-* cf. Washo *iye* TO GO ; for *-x* < *-k'* cf. Chimariko *-uwa-k-* TO COME < *-uwa-*, *-uwa-m-* TO GO and Yana *-k'i-* HITHER, e. g. *ni-sa-* TO GO AWAY, *ni-k'i-* TO COME) is displaced by first person plural pronominal *a-* as in Chimariko (e. g. *ya-mitcit-ni* WE KICK, *h-imitcit-ni* HE KICKS; stem *-imitcit-*, cf. Hokan \**imi-* LEG).

ABNORMAL TYPES OF SPEECH IN QUILTEUTE<sup>1</sup>

BY LEO J. FRACHTENBERG

THE devices employed in a number of languages, primitive and otherwise, for the purpose of implying something in regard to the status, sex, age, or other characteristics of the speaker, person addressed, or person spoken of, are well known to all students of linguistics. These devices belong properly in the domain of abnormal types of speech, and quite a number of them have been brought together in an interesting paper written recently by Dr. Sapir and entitled "Abnormal Types of Speech in Nootka<sup>2</sup>". Consequently, I am not going to expose myself to the reproach of repetition by quoting the examples cited by Dr. Sapir, but will confine myself to referring all those interested in this subject to the highly instructive and illuminating article mentioned above.

This paper deals only with such abnormal types of speech as have been observed by me in the Quileute language during extensive studies conducted for the Bureau of American Ethnology in the summer of 1915 and again in the summer and fall of 1916. My informants were Hallie George, an intelligent young half-blood Quileute, whose father was a white man, and Arthur Howeattle, a full-blood Indian and the eldest son of the last chief of the Quileute tribe. In justice to Howeattle be it said that he was by far the better of the two informants and that he was still able to recollect and explain the exact function of practically each abnormal type of speech. I do not claim, however, to have

succeeded in collecting every device, owing to the rapid process of disintegration which the Quileute language is undergoing and to its gradual replacement by the English tongue.

A few words concerning the position and distribution of the Quileute language and Indians may not be out of place here. These Indians belong to the Chimakuan family which embraces, in addition to this tribe, also the totally extinct Chimacum division. The differences between the two dialects are very slight, being confined to a certain amount of lexicographic and to some phonetic divergences. There are good reasons to believe that Chimakuan, Wakashan, and Salishan may be proved to be genetically related, representing three linguistic stocks that ultimately go back to a single source. Assuming, for the time being, this to be the case, I would suggest the term *Mosan* for this group of languages, in view of the fact that the numeral for FOUR (*mōs* or *bōs*) is commonly found in the dialects of each of these three groups. Ethnologically little is known of the Chimacum tribe, whose territory lay in the northeastern portion of Jefferson County in the State of Washington. The Quileute Indians lived formerly in the western part of Clallam County, but occupy today a small strip of land around the mouth of the river of the same name. A smaller sub-division, called the Hoh Indians, live some twenty miles farther south. The mythology and culture of these Indians are closely related to the mythologies and cultures of the adjoining tribes, especially those of the Quinault to the south and the Nootka to the north. Particularly close points of contact

1. Published with permission of the Smithsonian Institution.

2. Memoir 62, No. 5, Anthropological Series, Ottawa Government Printing Bureau, 1915.



have been observed between the Quileute and Makah tribes. The members of these two are the only Indians in the United States proper known to have actually engaged in whale-hunting. And, while the Makahs gave up this occupation with the advent of the white man, the Quileutes still pursued it up to about 20 years ago.

One of the forms of abnormal types of speech first observed in Quileute pertains to certain words used by children. These words are distinguished from similar terms used by grown-up people either by means of a certain suffix, or also by the exhibition of internal changes which, to borrow Sapir's terminology, are based upon the principle of "consonantal or vocalic play". A few words have been found which are totally distinct from the stems used by individuals other than children.

In a majority of cases the children add the suffix *-ck!* to each word used by them. This suffix has no other grammatical function. Thus a child says ',

<i>ɔ'lo'ck!</i>	FATHER	for <i>ɔ'lo'</i>
<i>te'i'e'la'ck!</i>	UNCLE	for <i>te'i'e'la'</i>
<i>aba'ck!</i>	GRANDPARENT	for <i>aba'</i>

In addressing its mother, a child uses the term *ka'a'dada* instead of *ka'a*. In this case the reduplicated form of the suffix *-da* merely represents the babbling of a young child and was referred to by my informant as "baby talk."

Some "baby talk" words are based upon changes involving "consonantal and vocalic play." Thus a child calls the DEER *hāwā'yicka'* instead of *hawa'yicka'*; a CAT is referred to as *pu'dā* instead of *pw'e*; while a COW in "baby talk" is *mā'* instead of *bō'sbōs*. In this connec-

tion it is worth while noting that the nasal *m* is foreign to Quileute phonetics, being always replaced by a labial *b*. The inferences that may be drawn from this will be discussed later on.

Among the words used by children only and totally distinct from similar terms employed by grown-up persons the following may be mentioned.

<i>bā'ba'z</i>	FOOD	for <i>ā'lita'</i>
<i>bō'!</i>	WATER	for <i>q!wā'ya'</i>
<i>ā'a'</i>	CROW	for <i>kā'ayo'</i>
<i>dī'dī'</i>	CLOTHES	for <i>yī'sdak'</i>
<i>lā'la'</i>	TOY	

Of a far greater importance, particularly from a comparative point of view, are those abnormal types of speech which are used whenever it is desired to single out some physical trait of the speaker, of the person addressed, or of the person spoken of. For that purpose the native Quileute uses partly certain prefixes, and partly internal changes involving "consonantal play". It will be well to state at the outset that these forms of speech apply only to persons physically abnormal and to mythological beings or animals. Sufficient data from other languages are still lacking to justify even the attempt at explaining or accounting for the psychological reasons underlying this linguistic phenomenon. Attention, however, may be called to the explanation given by one of my informants. According to his testimony, this phenomenon goes back to an ancient custom whereby each individual discriminated his own speech by means of an affix. The individual in question usually had some physical deformity. Now, while this explanation may not be convincing, it is original and, in the absence of weightier reasons, must be taken at its face value.

Most affixes and forms representing an abnor-

1. The phonetic transcription of sounds agrees in the main with the recommendations made by the Committee of the American Anthropological Society.

2. These two terms may be onomatopoeic in origin and character.

mal type of speech are used either by the speaker himself or by another person speaking of the individual whom such a speech-form intends to single out. In few cases only is the abnormal form used in direct address, the reason for this being too apparent to require any comment. In some instances the speaker himself refrains from using the appropriate affix, because such a use would constitute an admission of some deformity.

When speaking of SNAIL or of a cross-eyed and one-eyed person the prefix *L-* is placed before each word; such individuals, when speaking themselves, also change all sibilants (*s* and *c* sounds) to *ʃ* sounds. In this manner *ʃ* is substituted for *s* or *c*; *L* for *ts* and *tc*; and *L!* for *ts!* or *tc!*. These forms are never used in direct address. The following examples may be given for the use of such forms of speech with SNAIL or a cross-eyed person as the speakers or persons spoken of.

<i>L-ʃi'yali</i>	I SEE IT	for <i>ʃi'yali</i>
<i>L-ʃi'quli</i>	I PULL IT	for <i>ʃi'quli</i>
<i>L-iLʃʃli</i>	I INTEND TO DO IT	for <i>ʃtsʃʃli</i>
<i>L-ā'ʃaʃLa'a</i>	WHERE IS IT?	for <i>ā'ʃaʃta'a</i>
<i>L-Lʃi'qā'ti</i>	WORLD	for <i>ʃtsʃi'qā'ti</i>

When addressing a funny person, the prefix *tc-* is used; when speaking to a small-sized man, a sibilant (*s-*) is placed before each word; in talking of a hunchback, the affix *ts!* is employed; while the prefix *tcx-* refers to a lame person. Two other prefixes of this type were mentioned by Arthur Howeattle (*tc-*, *tcq-*) who could not, however, state definitely what kind of individuals they singled out.

Turning now to types of speech peculiar to mythological beings and animals, we find first of all the prefix *sx-* characterizing each word used by Q!wā'ti, the culture-hero of Quileute mythology (Students of Nootka linguistics will recognize in this being the Kwa'tiyāt' of Nootka

and Kwe'ti of Makah mythologies.) Thus Q!wā'ti is supposed to say,

<i>sx-qā'qal</i>	TAKE IT!	for <i>qā'qal</i>
<i>sx-bā'kutax</i>	COME HERE!	for <i>bā'kutax</i> , etc.

In like manner RAVEN prefixes to each word a *c-*, as *c-ki'taxatli* I AM GOING, etc. His wife uses the prefix *ts-* and changes *d* and *l* to *n* and *b* to *m*. Here again I call attention to the fact that these abnormal forms are the only instances in Quileute where the nasals *m*, *n*, occur. These two nasals are foreign to this language, being always represented by *b* and *d* respectively. Examples illustrating abnormalities in the speech of Raven's wife may be given as follows:

<i>ts-tāsk</i>	GO OUT	for <i>tāsk</i>
<i>ts-L!ōxwa'nās</i>	OLD MAN	for <i>L!ōxwa'dās</i>
<i>ts-hē tkuni</i>	I AM SICK	for <i>hē tkuli</i>
<i>ts-mō'yūkwa'tslō</i>	SOMETHING	for <i>bō'yūkwa'tslō</i>

Furthermore, to all words used by DEER or employed when speaking of DEER there is added the prefix *Lk-*, and in such words all sibilants are changed to laterals. Thus *ʃ* is changed to *s* or *c*; *L* is substituted for *ts* or *tc*; and *L!* replaces both *ts!* and *tc!*. The examples follow.

<i>Lk-bawā'yilka'</i>	DEER	for <i>bawā'yicka'</i>
<i>Lk-da'ʃkiya</i>	GIANTESS	for <i>dā'skiya</i>
<i>Lk-Loxō'l</i>	SHOOT IT!	for <i>tsoxō'l</i>
<i>Lk-Libō'd</i>	HALIBUTHOOK	for <i>tcibō'd</i>
<i>Lk-Lliqā'l</i>	KILL HIM!	for <i>tc!iqā'l</i>

Lastly, there are two devices in Quileute which imply a distinction in regard to the sex of the person addressed; one consisting of a prefix, and the other, of syntactic particles placed at the very end of the sentence. These two devices may be the result of the presence, in this language, of sex gender. Thus whenever a man speaks to a woman directly or whenever one woman speaks of another woman who is



absent, each word must be preceded by the prefix *tcx-*. It is rather interesting to note that, in this case, the man is not afraid of giving offense to the addressed person by calling attention to her "abnormality", from which it will be seen that the Quileute Indians were not afraid of their women. In the same manner the particles *tca* and *da* are used in addressing a man and a woman respectively; the first being usually translated by my informant by means of the English term *SIR*, and the latter being rendered by *MADAM* or *LADY*.

The most important problem suggesting itself in connection with the abnormal types of speech in Quileute, to which I wish here to call attention briefly, is their probable relation to a similar phenomenon observed by Dr. Sapir in the Nootka language. This problem becomes more interesting when it is considered that there exist close cultural and linguistic affiliations between these two groups. Very close correspondences have been observed in this respect between these two languages. Thus both have distinct devices indicating the speech of children, small persons, cross-eyed and one-eyed people, hunchbacks, and lame persons. Turning to mythological beings and animals, we find that both single out the speech of the Culture-Hero, of Raven, and of Deer. Furthermore, some of this distinctiveness in speech is accomplished in both tongues by means of certain consonantic changes; a particularly close resemblance being furnished by the change of *s* and *c* sounds into *ʃ* sounds, which is found in both languages to apply to the speech of Deer. These correspondences are certainly close. On the other hand, divergences have been observed which are just as striking. Aside from the fact that the Nootka speech-peculiarities attributed to large persons, left-handed persons, circum-sized people, greedy persons, cowards, and to small birds, to bear, and to elk, are missing in Quileute, the Quileute grammatical and pho-

netic devices are different from those employed in the Nootka language. Suffixation is replaced in Quileute by prefixation, where the phonetic composition of the elements is also different and shows a greater variety of sounds.

The question which confronts us now is this; Are these abnormal types of speech, as observed in Quileute and Nootka, the result of an independent origin and development, or are they due to contact? A categorical answer to this question at the present writing is impossible. However, when we consider that the Quileute language, in using abnormal types of speech, resorts to the borrowing of foreign phonetic elements, we ought to feel justified in the assumption that this phenomenon goes back to a time when these two languages were one, but that in addition it was developed independently and modified through a later close contact between these two tribes. It is safer to hold to this assumption until such time as comparative data shall be made available from the Salish tribes adjoining the Quileute, which may furnish the sole and ultimate proof for the exact origin and distribution of this interesting linguistic peculiarity.

#### TABULAR PRESENTATION OF ABNORMAL TYPES OF SPEECH USED IN QUILUTE

TYPE OF PERSON	LINGUISTIC PECULIARITY
Child	Add <i>-ck!</i>
Cross-eyed ore one-eyed person; Snail	Prefix <i>L-</i> ; change <i>s</i> and <i>c</i> sounds to <i>ʃ</i> sounds
Funny person	Prefix <i>tck-</i>
Small person	Prefix <i>s-</i>
Hunchback	Prefix <i>ʃʃ-</i>
Lame person	Prefix <i>tcx-</i>
?	Prefixes <i>tc-</i> , <i>tcq-</i>

Male to female	Prefix <i>tcx-</i> ; or add particle <i>da</i> at end of sentence	Raven	Prefix <i>c-</i>
Female to male or male to male	Add particle <i>tca</i> at end of sentence	Raven's wife	Prefix <i>ts-</i> ; change <i>d, l</i> to <i>n</i> and <i>b</i> to <i>m</i>
Culture hero	Prefix <i>sx-</i>	Deer	Prefix <i>Lk-</i> ; change <i>s</i> and <i>c</i> sounds to <i>ɬ</i> sounds
<i>Q'wā'ti</i>			



TWO PHONETIC SHIFTS OCCURRING IN MANY ALGONQUIAN LANGUAGES<sup>1</sup>

By TRUMAN MICHELSON

I STATED in the "Journal of the Washington Academy of Sciences", 4: 404, that the interchange of *ō* before consonants, and *aw* before vowels, was universal in Fox. This it not quite accurate, for *aw* shifts to *ā*, not *ō*, before certain consonants. An examination has revealed that the same (or closely allied) shifts occur in many Algonquian languages. Specifically the languages in which I have thus far been able to establish that the shifts take place are Fox, Kickapoo, Cree (see below), Montagnais (see below), Shawnee, Ojibwa, Algonkin, Potawatomi, Peoria, and Delaware. Since these shifts are shared by so many Algonquian languages, and since these languages are in substantial agreement in the shifts, it is clear that these changes must be very ancient, and presumably in their beginnings go back to the Algonquian parent-language. I have derived my examples, for Fox, from Jones's Texts (references by page and line) and my unpublished texts, and notes in a few cases (for the principle differences between Jones's and my phonetics see p. 54 of this Journal); for Kickapoo, Jones's Tales (references by page and line); for Cree, Lacombe's grammar and dictionary; for Montagnais, Lemoine's grammar and dictionary; for Shawnee, Gatschet's manuscripts in the Bureau of American Ethnology and my early Shawnee notes; for Ojibwa, Baraga's grammar and dictionary and Jones's Texts, Volume I (references by page and line); for Algonkin, Cuoq's grammar and dictionary;

for Potawatomi, photostat copies of Gaillard's dictionary; for Peoria, Gatschet's manuscripts in the Bureau of American Ethnology; for Delaware, Zeisberger's grammar. These sources are of greatly varying quality, not to speak of quantity. Moreover, it has not been possible for me to control their phonetics in all cases: hence it is that I cannot formulate definite laws covering all the languages concerned. Nor do I claim to give exhaustive rules for even those languages with which I am tolerably familiar. It would be an easy matter to obtain full data in the field; in the office, it means the reading of hundreds of pages of texts, without being sure of completeness. What I wish to do is to establish the shifts and give such rules as I can, in the hope that others will assist in gathering materials which will enable complete laws to be formulated, and especially to find out whether these same shifts occur in other Algonquian languages. The following table shows the provisional results:

Fox . . . . .	<i>aw</i>	{	> <i>ō</i> before <i>n</i> , <i>k</i> , <i>tc</i> [— <i>dlc</i> ], <i>y</i> , <i>w</i>
		{	> <i>ā</i> before <i>g</i> , <i>k</i> [= <i>g</i> ], <i>t</i>
Kickapoo . . .	<i>aw</i>	{	> <i>ō</i> before <i>n</i> , <i>k</i> , <i>tc</i>
		{	> <i>ā</i> before <i>g</i>
Shawnee . . .	<i>aw</i>	{	> <i>u</i> , <i>o</i> [= <i>ō</i> ] before <i>l</i>
		{	> <i>ā</i> before <i>g</i> , <i>k</i> [= <i>g</i> ]
Cree . . . . .	<i>aw</i> , <i>aw</i> [= <i>aw</i> ]	{	> ?
		{	> <i>ā</i> [ <i>ā</i> ] before <i>t</i> , <i>k</i> [= <i>g</i> ]
		{	<i>tch</i>
Montagnais .	<i>u</i>	{	> ?
		{	> <i>a</i> [= <i>ā</i> ] before <i>k</i>
Ojibwa . . . .	<i>aw</i> , <i>aw</i> [ <i>aw</i> ]	{	> <i>ō</i> before <i>n</i> , <i>k</i> (Fox <i>k</i> ), <i>d</i> <sup>2</sup> , <i>y</i> , <i>w</i>
		{	> <i>ā</i> before <i>g</i> , <i>s</i> , <i>t</i> , <i>d</i>

1. Printed by permission of the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution.

2. Terminally; Gull Lake dialect *-dl<sup>2</sup>* according to Michelson.

Algonkin... <i>aw</i>	{	> <i>o</i> [= <i>ō</i> ] before <i>n</i>
	{	> <i>a</i> [= <i>ā</i> ] before <i>g, t, d</i>
Potawatomi. <i>aw</i> [ <i>aw</i> ]	{	> <i>?</i>
	{	> <i>d</i> [= <i>a</i> ] before <i>k</i> [ <i>g</i> ]
Peoria... <i>aw</i>	{	> <i>ō</i> before <i>l</i>
	{	> <i>a</i> [ <i>ā</i> ] before <i>k</i> [= <i>k</i> , not <i>g</i> ]
Delaware... <i>aw</i>	{	> <i>o</i> before <i>l</i>
	{	> <i>a</i> before <i>g</i>

It will be recalled that Shawnee, Peoria, and Delaware *l* corresponds to *n* of the other dialects. I have not discussed the Cree examples that may be extracted from Horden's grammar, as I do not know how to interpret the forms (see pp. 153, 154, et seq. Note *netoshetowow* but *netoshetwak*, etc.).

### FOX

*ānenō'tawātc*<sup>i</sup> HOW SHE UNDERSTOOD HIM 224.5, *'āgwi p̄wāwinenō'tōnAgwin<sup>ni</sup>* HE WILL NOT FAIL TO UNDERSTAND US, *kenenō'tāgunān<sup>na</sup>* HE UNDERSTANDS US; *netōtawāw<sup>a</sup>* I BROUGHT THIS ON HIM 190.6, *'ā'tōtawāwātc<sup>i</sup>* HOW THEY TREATED HIM; *ā'i'cimenwītōtawiyāgw<sup>u</sup>* BY THE KINDNESS THAT YE HAVE DONE ME 180.13, *'ā'tōtōnAgōw<sup>u</sup>* HOW I TREATED YOU, *āgwi nAnācimyācitōtātīwātcin<sup>i</sup>* THEY NEVER ILL-TREATED EACH OTHER 148.3, *'ā'tōtāgowātc<sup>i</sup>* HOW THEY WERE TREATED BY; *kicisētāwiyāgw<sup>u</sup>* WHAT YE HAVE SET FOR ME 374.19, *keki'cisetāgunān<sup>na</sup>* HE HAS SET IT FOR US, *āneckiselōtc<sup>i</sup>* HE SPREAD IT OPEN 172.10; *ānōtawātc<sup>i</sup>* WHEN HE HEARD HIM 110.16, *netecinōtāgāpen<sup>a</sup>* SUCH IS THE RUMOR WE HAVE HEARD 154.7, *ānōtāgātc<sup>i</sup>* WHEN SHE HEARD THE NEWS 170.19; *nōdāgānitc<sup>i</sup>* WHEN HE HEARD THE NEWS 146.14, *ā'pyātcinōtāgusinitc<sup>i</sup>* HE WAS HEARD APPROACHING 156.22; *inā'pyānutawātc<sup>i</sup>* WHEN HE CAME TO HIM THERE 368.21, *pyānutāgutcin<sup>i</sup>* THE ONE BY WHOM SHE WAS VISITED 154.2,5, *pyānutāgut<sup>e</sup>* SHE WAS VISITED BY 154.10, *wi'pyānutāgōg<sup>i</sup>* [so read] THEY WILL BE VISITED BY 184.14, *wātcipyānutunAgaw<sup>u</sup>* [read *tōnAgōw<sup>u</sup>*] WHY I CAME TO VISIT YOU 178.10; *ā'kiciketeminawiwātc<sup>i</sup>* FOR THEY HAVE PITIED ME 186.18, *ā'kicitcāgiketemi-*

*nawiwātc<sup>i</sup>* THEY HAVE ALL BLESSED ME 184.7, *wiketeminawiyān<sup>i</sup>* THAT YOU WILL TAKE PITY ON ME 380.2, *keketeminōnep<sup>wa</sup>* I BLESS YOU, *neketemināgōg<sup>i</sup>* THEY HAVE BLESSED ME 376.8, *kicitcāgiketemināgw<sup>u</sup>* AFTER HE HAD BEEN BLESSED BY ALL; *ānagiskawātc* HE MET HER 208.19, *ānagiskāgutc* HE WAS MET BY 208.14, *ā'pyātcinagiskākuwātc* THEY CAME TO MEET THEM [a passive in formation] 218.12; *āgwiyāp<sup>i</sup>* *wigelawitcin<sup>i</sup>* HE NOT SO MUCH AS GAVE ME EVEN A REPLY 368.1, *ā'p̄wāwiyāgētāgutc<sup>i</sup>* WHEN HE GOT NO REPLY FROM HIM 365.24; *neneskinawāw<sup>a</sup>* I LOATHE HIM 68.14, *āneskinawātc<sup>i</sup>* FOR THAT YOU LOATHE HIM 68.17,20, *wātcineskinūnān<sup>i</sup>* [read *-nōnān<sup>i</sup>*] WHY I HATE THEE 140.4, *kene'ckinō'n<sup>ne</sup>* I HATE THEE, *kene'ckināgunān<sup>na</sup>* HE HATES US; *ā'kāske'tawātc* SHE HEARD THEM 222.8, *kā'cke'tā'gu'si<sup>wa</sup>* HE IS HEARD, *kā'cke'tāg<sup>kwa</sup>* HE IS HEARD BY; *keki'ci'ta'-wipen<sup>na</sup>* YE MADE IT FOR US, *keki'ci'tō'n<sup>ne</sup>* I MADE IT FOR THEE, *neki'ci'tā'g<sup>kwa</sup>* HE MADE IT FOR ME, *neki'ci'tā'gunān<sup>na</sup>* HE MADE IT FOR US (exclusive); *mō'ki'tāgāwāt<sup>e</sup>* IF THEY MADE A SUDDEN ASSAULT [contrast this with Cree (from Lacombe) *moskistawew* IL FENCE SUR LUI and Ojibwa (from Baraga) *ninmōkilawa* I RUSH UPON HIM SUDDENLY]. In the Algonquian sketch in the Handbook of American Indian Languages, part I, paragraph 34 I mentioned the use of *-Amā-* beside *-Amaw-*, *-Amō-* in the double object construction. At the time I was unable to explain its use. It is now apparent that *-amā-* is simply due to the operation of phonetic law. An example from the sketch is *nīwītāmāgwa-mā* OF COURSE HE WILL TELL ME IT as contrasted with *āwītAmōnān<sup>i</sup>* I TELL IT TO THEE, *kīwītAmawāw<sup>a</sup>* THOU WILT TELL IT TO HIM. Other examples can be readily found in the sketch. It is probable that *-tā-* discussed in the same section is to be explained as being a phonetic reflex, and corresponds to *-taw-* before vowels, and *-tō-* before certain consonants. [It may be observed that *ā'tōtā'utc* HOW HE HAD BEEN TREATED 204.14 is an error for *ā'tōtawutc* as is *ātōtabutc* HOW SHE WAS



TREATED 226.4; *ātdta'o'metc* HOW HE WAS TREATED is an error for *ā'tōtawumetc.*]

### KICKAPOO

[The discussion of variations (PAES 9: 119-123) should be read to understand some of the forms cited below.]

*ānenu'tawātcī* HE HEARD HIM 94.11, *ānenu'taātci* HE HEARD HER 50.20, *ānenō'tō'kiyātuge* HE PROBABLY HEARD THEE 74.20, *wiicinenu'tāgutci* THAT HE MIGHT BE HEARD BY 8.21; *ā'pyānutaātci* HE CAME TO HIM 52.22, *ā'pyānūlāgutci* HE CAME TO HIM [really a passive]; *imetācō'kaitcicāi* HE TRULY TRIED TO RAPE ME 76.11, *nemetācō'kagwa* HE IS RAPING ME 70.18; *āme'kāgutci* HE WAS FOUND 106.7 [contrast this with Fox *āme'kawātcī* THEN SHE FOUND HIM 160.15]; *āuci'tawāteha* HE MADE IT FOR HIM 72.7, *āaci'tōtci* HE THOUGHT IT OUT 94.3, *nekici'lāgwa* HE MADE IT FOR ME 72.17 [contrast -'law-, -'lō-, -'lā-]; *ānāgiskaātci* HE MET HIM 18.13, 20.12, 26.13, 102.18, *āmyāneskāgutci* THEY WERE MADE SICK BY 66.10 [contrast -ska(w)a-, -skā-; Fox, Cree, Ojibwa, also support the variation: see pp. 301, 302, 303]; *āne'taātci* THEN HE KILLED HIM FOR HIM 8.6, *kine'tōne* I WILL KILL FOR YOU 8.5; *witōtauteha* WHAT SHOULD BE DONE WITH HIM 40.4, *witōtō-nāge* WE SHALL DO FOR THEE 42.14.

### SHAWNEE

*meteletamawā'dshi* SHE CREATED FOR THEM, *meteletamako'li* SHE CREATED FOR HIM (really a passive); *ninatama'wa* I HELP HIM, *nenatamagieta* A HELPER (really a participial, *gi* probably represents an anterior palatal *g*); *niwitamawa'gi* I TELL THEM, *ke'hwitamule* I WILL TELL THEE; *nitamwe'tawā* I CARRY IT AWAY FROM HIM, *nitamwetāgwa* HE CARRIED IT AWAY FROM ME, *kitamwelā'gun'* HE CARRIED IT AWAY FROM US (exclusive).

### CREE

*wittamādwew* IL LUI CONFESSE, *wittamātuwōk* ILS S'AVERTISSENT, *wittamākew* IL DÉCLARE; *totamādwew* IL LE FAIT POUR LUI, *totamowin* ACTION, *totamākew* IL FAIT CELA POUR AUTRUI; *totarwew* IL LUI FAIT, *totākew* IL FAIT, *tepiskarwew* IL LUI VA BIEN, *tepiskākew* IL VA BIEN, *takiskākew* IL DONNE UN COUP DE PIED; *nakiskarwew* IL LE RENCONTRE, *nakiskākew* IL RENCONTRE, *nakiskātuwōk* ILS SE RENCONTRENT; *moskistawew* IL S'ÉLANCE SUR LUI, *moskistākew* IL S'ÉLANCE; *tāpwettawew* IL LE CROIT, *tāpwetākew* IL CROIT; *tepittarwew* IL L'ENTEND BIEN, *tepittātchikew* IL ENTEND BIEN, *tepittākusiw* IL EST BIEN ENTENDU; *mamiskotamādwew* IL LUI EN PARLE, *mamiskotamākew* IL EN PARLE.

### MONTAGNAIS

*nitutuan* JE LE FAIS, *nitutaku* IL ME FAIT; *tshiskutamuan* JE LUI ENSEIGNE, *nitshiskutamaku* IL M'ENSEIGNE; *niuitamuan* JE L'AVERTIS, *niuitamaku* IL M'AVERTIT, *niuitamakunan* IL NOUS AVERTIT, *tshiuitamakuan* IL VOUS AVERTIT.

### OJIBWA

(a) *From Baraga.*

*kinondāwimin* THOU HEAREST US, *kinondon* I HEAR THEE, *kishpin nondonān* IF I HEAR THEE, *kishpin nondok* IF HE HEAR THEE, *kishpin nondokwa* IF THEY HEAR THEE, *kishpin nondonegwa* IF THEY SEE YOU, *kinondag* HE HEARS THEE, *kinondagog* THEY HEAR THEE, *kinondagom* YE ARE HEARD, *kinondagowa* HE HEARS YOU, *kinondagowag* THEY HEAR YOU, *kishpin nondāgoiān* IF I AM HEARD; *ningashkitamarwa* I EARN IT FOR HIM, *ningashkitamadis* I EARN IT FOR MYSELF, *ningashkitamas* I EARN IT FOR MYSELF; *ninwindamawa* I TELL HIM, *ninwindamagen* I RELATE IT; *ninwābandamarwa* I SEE HIS, *ninwābandamadis* I SEE MYSELF, *i* SEE MINE; *ninnagishkawwa* I MEET HIM, *ninna-*

*gishkâge* I MEET; *nintangishkawâ* I KICK HIM, *nintangishkâge* I KICK; *nindêbwêtawa* I BELIEVE HIM, *nindêbwêtagos* I SPEAK THE TRUTH, *nindebwetage* I SPEAK THE TRUTH; *nindôdawa* I DO IT TO HIM, *nindodadis* I DO IT TO MYSELF, *nindodas* I DO IT TO MYSELF, *dodâdiwin* MUTUAL TREATMENT, *ninnigitawa* I GIVE BIRTH TO A CHILD FOR HIM, *kinigitagowa* HE IS BORN TO YOU, *ninnigitâg* HE IS BORN TO ME.

(b) From Jones's *Ojibwa Texts*, Part 1

*windamawicin* TELL ME 92.7, *kigawindamôn* I WILL ADVISE YOU 20.1, *uwindamagôn* HE WAS INFORMED 88.18; *ogî'î'jî'a'cânicikawân* HE MADE HIM RETRACE HIS WAY 18.17, *kâ'w'ndci'a'jânicikâgut* HE WAS DRIVEN BACK FROM THAT PLACE 18.18; *kâ'î'jîtangickawât* HE KICKED HIM 34.21, *kîtangickâgut* HE WAS KICKED BY 172.10; *ningatôlawâ* I WILL DO TO HIM 132.19, *kîwqnitôtawanân* WE NEARLY DID A MISTAKE TO HIM 130.14, *tôtâgut* HE WAS TREATED BY 90.21, *wântcitôtawit* WHY HE SHOULD TREAT ME 110.5, *tcitôtâtît* THAT THEY SHALL DO TO EACH OTHER 38.23; *nôndawiyân* IF YOU HEAR ME 254.12, *kinôndawât* SHE HEARD THEM 4.10, *uginôntawâ* HE HEARD THEM 134.9, *unôntawâ* HE WAS HEARD 124.17, *nôndâgusi* HE WAS HEARD 238.17, *ningacki'tôn* [so read] I SHALL BE ABLE TO MAKE IT 224.28, *kîcpin gacki'tôyan* IF YOU CAN MAKE IT 224.27, *kî'kîci'tôwât* THEN THEY WERE DONE WITH IT 226.3 [Fox -'law-, -'lô-, -'tâ-]

### ALGONKIN

*ninondawa* I HEAR HIM, *kinondon* I HEAR THEE, *nondagesi* HE IS HEARD, *nondage* HE HEARS; *nimi-nototawak* I TREAT THEM WELL, *totawidjik* THOSE WHO TREAT ME, *niminototago* I AM WELL TREATED, *minototatilik* TREAT EACH OTHER WELL, *pizindawa* IL EST ÉCOUTÉ, *opizindagon* IL EST ÉCOUTÉ DE LUI, *kîpizindag* TU ES ÉCOUTÉ DE LUI, *pizindatik* ÉCOUTEZ-VOUS LES UNS LES AUTRES; for examples of -*amarw*-, -*amo*-, -*ama*-, of the double object, see paragraphs 222-225.

### POTAWATOMI

*nitô'towâ* I TREAT HIM, *tô'tâ'ké'win* TREATMENT; *ninô'towâ* I HEAR HIM, *nôti'ké'win* HEARING; *nide'bwêtowâ* I BELIEVE HIM, *tê'bwêtâ'kêt* A BELIEVER; *niwîtimo'wâ* I TELL HIM, *wî'tamâ'ké'win* INFORMATION.

### PEORIA

*wendamawatci* SHE ADVISED HIM, *windamakôté* HE WAS INFORMED; *nû'ndawâtc* HE HEARD HIM, *nundako'watch* THEY WERE HEARD.

### DELAWARE

*n'pendawa* I HEAR HIM, *n'pendawawak* I HEAR THEM, *pendawake* IF I HEAR HIM, *pendawite* IF HE HEARS ME, *pendawate* IF HE HEAR HIM, *pendawil* DO THOU HEAR ME, *k'pendolen* I HEAR THEE, *n'pendagun* HE HEARS ME, *k'pendagun* HE HEARS THEE, *pendagol* HE HEARS HIM, *k'pendagunwa* HE HEARS YOU; *n'petawawak* I BRING TO THEM, *k'petawi* THOU BRINGEST TO ME, *petawil* BRING THOU TO ME, *petawik* BRING YE TO ME, *petawite* IF HE BRINGS TO ME, *petawate* IF HE BRINGS TO HIM, *k'petololen* I BRING TO THEE, *petagol* HE BRINGS TO HIM, *n'petaguneen* HE BRINGS TO US (excl.), *k'petagunwa* HE BRINGS TO YOU.

Addition Nov. 1st, 1920. This paper was written nearly three years ago. An abstract will be found in the *Journal of the Washington Academy of Science*, 9.333.334. Ottawa, Passamoquoddy, and Penobscot should be added to the list of languages (given above) in which the changes take place. The inferences regarding Ottawa are drawn from unpublished manuscripts in the possession of the Bureau of American Ethnology; those appertaining to Passamoquoddy from a number of sources; those concerning Penobscot, Speck's material published in this *Journal*, vol. I, p. 187 ff. It may be well to give a few examples showing



the changes in the last : — *uda'dəmi'ka'wən* HE OVERTOOK HIM [exact reference lost], *udadə-mi'kəngun* HE WAS OVERTAKEN BY [203], *uda-dəmi'kəgul* CAUGHT UP TO HIM [really a passive; 213]; *uno'so'karwən* HE CHASED HIM [213], *no'so'kəngotci'djibi* CHASING AFTER HIM [really a passive : THOSE BY WHOM HE WAS CHASED; 213]; *gi'zi'be'su't'karwək* I CAN APPROACH HER [217], *nəbe'sut'kək'go* HE HAS COME NEAR ME [really a passive; 235], *ki'zi'be'sut'kək'w* HE ALREADY HAS BEEN NEAR YOU [235]; *se'ka'wit* HE THAT CONQUERS ME [216], *se'kask'* HE WHO SHALL

CONQUER YOU [216]; *gəna'stolən* I PUT IT ON YOU [241], *unasta'wan* HE PUT IT ON HIM [241]; *udama'skəlo'tarwən* HE MOCKED HIM [205], *udamaskəlo'təngut* HE MOCKED HIM [really a passive; 205]; note also *-əmarw-*, *-əmo-* (Fox *-Amaw-*, *-amō-*): *aləmbe'səmarwi* CUT THEM (INAN.) UP FOR ME [209], *kan'əga'dəmo'lən* I LEAVE IT WITH YOU [223]. From my work among the Plains Cree this summer it would seem that *aw* contracts only to *-ā-*, not to *-ō-*. [Penobscot *-xrg-* (*əg-*) corresponds to Fox *-əg-*.]

## REVIEWS

MASON, J. ALDEN. — The Language of the Salinan Indians. University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, vol. 14, no. 1, pp. 1-154. Berkeley, 1918.

Our previous knowledge of the language of the Salinan Indians, of southwestern California, had been embodied in Sitjar's not easily accessible "Vocabulary of the Language of San Antonio Mission, California" (Shea's Library of American Linguistics, 1861) and in a very brief sketch of Kroeber's published in 1904. The present work is another of those happily increasing studies for which future Americanists will be thankful, studies of aboriginal languages doomed to extinction within at most a few decades. Mason has in this volume given us the linguistic results of two field trips to Monterey County in 1910 and 1916, besides a convenient summary of the older material contained in Sitjar. The whole makes a very useful compendium of the language in both its extant dialects, Antoniaño and Migueleño. To the treatment of the phonology (pp. 7-17) and of the morphology (pp. 18-58) are added a series of twenty-seven Antoniaño and eleven Migueleño texts with both interlinear and free translations (pp. 59-120) and a systematic vocabulary of all extant Salinan words (pp. 121-154). The handling of the language, which is characterized by considerable irregularity, is competent. A number of obscure or imperfectly analyzed features remain, but these are as much due to the fragmentary nature of our material as to any shortcomings on the part of the author. The language is moderately synthetic in structure, with a drift towards analytic methods.

Mason's treatment of the Salinan phonetic system, as a system and without regard to sound relationships, is eminently satisfactory and shows considerable grounding in general phonetics. It is refreshingly unlike the amateurish sound surveys that have generally done duty in American linguistics for "phonetics". The description of *a* (p. 7) as "mid-mixed-narrow", however, is an error, probably an oversight; *a* is a "back", not a "mixed" vowel. Less satisfactory are Mason's contributions to the phonology of Salinan. For purposes of linguistic comparison it is important to know not so much the distinctive sounds found, in their various nuances, in a given language, as the irreducible set of organically, or better etymologically, distinct sounds with which one has to operate. Thus, to say that two languages both possess a given sound, say *x*, is not even suggestive unless we know that the status of the *x* is analogous, in other words, that it is in both a primary consonant or secondarily derived from an identical source. From this standpoint Mason, like most Americanists, leaves something to be desired. It is not altogether easy to be clear, for instance, from his data whether the aspirated surds are an organically independent series or merely a secondary development of the intermediate-surds. The former is the impression conveyed in the phonetic portion of the paper, the latter as the data unfold themselves in the body of the work. In other words, it would seem that the Yana-Pomo-Shastan-Chimariko organic differentiation, say, of older *k* and *k'* has been obliterated (or never developed) in Salinan and that Salinan *k'*, and apparently often *x*, are but secondary developments of *k* (leveled or



original); cf. Salinan *ko-* NOT with Yana *k'u-* and Chimariko *xu-* (from *\*k'u-*). Further comparative research may lead us to modify this view. Meanwhile it seems fairly clear that the great majority of instances of Salinan aspirated surds are merely due to positional causes.

Mason's examples of "metathesis" (p. 15) are not convincing. They seem best explained as due to vocalic syncope, e. g. *lice* YEAR: *elci'-tanel* YEARS in all probability presupposes an originally trisyllabic stem with initial vowel *elici-*, *elice-*. The recognition of this type of stem, which may almost be considered the original norm for the Hokan languages (e. g. *\*ipali* TONGUE, *\*axwati* BLOOD) would, in general, have helped to clear up more than one stubborn feature of Salinan phonetics or morphology. In particular, I am inclined to suspect that many examples analyzed by Mason as consisting of prefixed consonant plus vowel followed by stem with initial consonant would have been more accurately interpreted as consonantal prefix followed by stem with initial vowel. Salinan here offers precisely the same difficulties and perplexities that Dixon met with in Chimariko.

Under reduplication (p. 14) Mason omits to mention several interesting examples of final reduplication in Salinan, e. g. *t-ikelele* ROUND, *k-itspilil* PAINTED, *t'pelel* STRIPED, *exoxo* BRAIN. This would not be so important if not for the presence of analogous forms in other Hokan-Coahuiltecan languages, e. g. Chimariko *le'tretre'* SPOTTED, *-poxolxol* TO PAINT; Washo *tamo'mo* WOMAN, *tewi'wi* YOUTH; Pomo *pololo* ROUND, *matoto* THUNDER; Tonkawa *pilil* ROUND. There are also indications of the former existence in Salinan of a method of forming the plural by final reduplication, e. g. *icxexe* FEET (this is doubtful because *-cx-* seems often in Salinan to act as a single consonant related to *-c-*), *t-icxeplip* FEET (apparently old plural *\*-icxepip* later re-pluralized by infixed *-l-*). This is very

suggestive, as final reduplication to express plurality of the noun is much in evidence in Esselen and Washo.

There seems some evidence for a diminutive suffix *-la-*, though this is not explicitly recognized by Mason, e. g. *cxapa-la-t* PEBBLE (cf. *cxap* STONE); *t'o-l* HEAP (cf. *t'oi* MOUNTAIN); *lua-ne-lo* SLAVE (cf. *lua* MAN); *k'eke'-l-e* TO HAVE A FATHER (cf. *ek* FATHER); *ito-l* BROTHER, plur. *ito'-la-nel*; *mace-l* GREAT-GRANDCHILD. The establishment of a diminutive suffix *-la-* would receive its due significance by referring to the common Chimariko diminutive *-l-(la)*, *-la-*; this element is also frequently found in Chimariko terms of relationship.

One of the most interesting and irregular features of Salinan is the formation of the plural of nouns and of the plural and iterative of verbs. No less than a dozen distinct types and a large number of irregular formations are discussed and illustrated by Mason, the great majority of them involving a suffixed or infixed *-t-*, *-n-*, or *-l-*. Significantly analogous plurals, often of great irregularity though of less frequency, are found in Yana; e. g. such Salinan plurals as *t-eteyitinai* ARROWS (sing. *t-eteyini'*) and *anetem* SEVERAL REMAIN (sing. *anem*) offer more than a cursory parallel to such Yana forms as *mul'djau'ti-wi* CHIEFS (sing. *mul'djau-pa'*), *k'uru'-wi* SHAMANS (*-r- < -d-*; sing. *k'u'wi*), *sa'dimsi-* SEVERAL SLEEP (sing. *samsi-*, *sams-*). The Salinan type with infixed *-h-*, *-x-* (e. g. *mehen-* HANDS, sing. *men-*; *kaxau* SEVERAL SLEEP, sing. *kau*) may be analogous to such Yana forms as *dja'li-* SEVERAL LAUGH (from *\*djabali-*?), sing. *djal-*.

The most striking feature of Salinan noun morphology is the prefixing of an element *t-* or *t-*. This prefix occurs both in primary nouns and in nominal derivatives of verb stems. When the noun is preceded by possessive pronominal prefixes, the *t-* sometimes appears before the pronominal element, at other times

it is lacking. It seems highly probable, moreover, that a number of other *t*- prefixes (verbal and local) that Mason discusses in the progress of his sketch are etymologically identical with the nominal *t*- (e. g. conditional *t*-, *ta*-, p. 44). It is most plausibly interpreted as a kind of nominal article of originally demonstrative force (cf. Hokan demonstrative stem \**ta*; this fuller form seems to be found in Salinan enclitic *-ta* NOW). It offers a striking and probably significant analogy to Washo *d*-, similarly prefixed to both primary and derivative nouns. The possessive pronominal prefixes of Salinan offer important analogies to the corresponding elements of other Hokan languages, notably Chimariko and Washo; the lack of a distinct pronominal prefix for the first person singular is paralleled, it would seem, in Yuman.

In discussing the pronominal system of Salinan, Mason points out the presence of six more or less distinct series of elements: the independent personal pronouns; the "proclitic" series, which might better have been frankly recognized as constituting true prefixes (they occur only as verb subjects and are closely connected with the stem, whose initial vowels they sometimes displace); the objective elements, suffixed to the verb; the locative series (e. g. NEAR ME, TO HIM); the possessive prefixes; and the enclitic subjects. The last of these, however, are merely a secondarily abbreviated set derived from the independent pronouns. Of the others, the objective series stands out, for the most part, as distinctive; the others show considerable interrelationship. The locative series, in particular, is evidently closely related, not, as Mason remarks, to the independent series, but to the "proclitics" and possessives. It is compounded of the pronominal element proper and a preceding *k*-, *ke*-, evidently an old locative or objective particle (cf. Yana objective and locative particle *gi*); hence, e. g., *-k'e* ME (locative) and *-keo* HIM (locative) are to be analyzed

as *k(e)-'e* TO-ME and *ke-o* TO-HIM (such a form as Mason's *tewa'kok'e* NEAR ME is most easily interpreted as *t-ewa'ko k'e* THE-PROXIMITY TO-ME). The close parallelism between the first person singular and plural forms in Salinan is characteristic of other Hokan languages; the contrast of the *e* (*i*) or zero of the singular with the *a* of the plural is strikingly reminiscent of Chimariko.

In the section on "temporal proclitics" (pp. 34, 35) there is betrayed a certain incompleteness or haltingness of analysis which is in evidence also elsewhere in the book. Phonetically, this comes out in the author's treatment of the pronominal prefix or initial vowel of the stem, which is often mistakenly, I imagine, drawn to the proclitic. To say that "the prefix *ma*- probably differs only phonetically from *me*- [WHEN]" (p. 25) is misleading. Such examples as *me-yam* WHEN I SEE and *ma-yal* WHEN WE GO suggest strongly the analysis *m-e-yam* and *m-a-yal* with the regular "proclitic" pronouns *e*- I and *a*- WE. Morphologically, Mason does not seem to realize the probable denominating, in part demonstrative, origin of his temporal proclitics. They are only secondarily subordinating elements. Such a form as *be'-ya* WHEN I WENT (better *b-e'-ya* or contracted *be-eya*) is, without doubt, an indicative *-e'-ya* I WENT subordinated by the demonstrative stem *pe*, *pa* "the, that"; THAT I-WENT, whence WHEN I WENT, is a method of subordination that seems to be paralleled by like constructions in Yana and is strongly reminiscent of Siouan.

The use of the perplexing verbal prefixes *p*- and *k*- (pp. 38, 39) suggests a fundamental generic classification of verbs. Mason himself doubtfully describes the *p*- verbs as transitives, the *k*- verbs as intransitives (e. g. *k-enai* TO HURT ONESELF, *p-enai* TO WOUND). This is the most obvious explanation but there are many difficulties in the way of its acceptance. That



*p-* verbs embrace such ideas as TO THINK and TO CIRCLE AROUND seems to suggest that the proper basis of classification is not so much transitive and intransitive as active and static, as in Haida-Tlingit, Siouan, and Chimariko. A more intensive study of the Salinan material, supplemented eventually by comparison with Chumash, Yuman, Seri, and possibly Coahuiltecan-Tonkawa (cf. Comecrudo *pa-* verbs and Seri, like Salinan, adjectives in *k-*), will doubtless clear up this fundamental problem of Salinan morphology. The *t-* verbs (pp. 39, 40) seem most intelligibly explained as subordinates (conjunctives), morphologically nothing but nominalized forms, the *t-* being identical, as Mason suggests with reserve, with the common nominal *t-* prefix. This explanation gains force from the fact that the *t-* forms regularly replace *p-* and *k-* forms after "proclitic" and other prefixed elements. Thus, such a form as *ram-t'-xwen* THEN (HE) ARRIVED is really THEN-THE-ARRIV(ING), THEN (IT IS) THAT (HE) ARRIVED; similarly *me-t-amp'* WHEN (IT) CAME OUT must be understood as TIME-THE-COMING OUT. Such constructions, it need hardly be added, are common in America.

The negative verbal prefix *ko-*, *k-* (pp. 41, 42) offers many points of similarity with the Chimariko negative *xu-*, *x-*. The pronominal element follows in Salinan, regularly precedes in Chimariko. Dixon, however, remarks that the first person singular negative of verbs with *y-*, *i-* as first person singular pronominal prefix is generally *xe-*, the *-e-* replacing frequently the initial vowel of the stem. This feature is so isolated as to appear archaic; it strongly, and perhaps significantly, parallels Salinan *k-e* NOT I.

The locative adverbs and prepositions (pp. 55-57) are frequently characterized by certain prefixed elements (*ma-*; *tuma-*; *um-*; *tum-*; *umpa-*, *tumpa-*; *tu-*, *ti-*) which seem to me not quite fully understood by Mason. The most likely analysis, it seems to me, assumes a

petrified noun \**uma-* PLACE, THERE, which may appear abbreviated to *ma-* or *um-*, according to phonetic, perhaps accentual, conditions. To this element may be prefixed the article-like *t-*, while the demonstrative *pa* THAT may follow. The correctness of this view is corroborated by such an independent adverb as *tumpa* THERE, evidently *t-um-pa* THE-PLACE-THAT; similarly, *rum-t'-ca'* IN THE WATER is to be understood as *r-um-t'-ca'* THE (*r-<t-*)-PLACE-THE-WATER. The element *um-*, *ma-*, *-uma-* is cognate to *ma-* forms in Yana, Chimariko, and Pomo.

A detailed linguistic analysis of the first text (pp. 64-67) makes concrete in the mind of the reader what has been given in analytic form in the grammatical survey. This analysis is convincing in the main. The chief misunderstandings, if I may be allowed the term, are due to a failure to recognize in all cases the nominal *t-* prefix and to a tendency to cut loose the initial vowel of the stem or the pronominal "proclitic" vowel and attach it to the preceding consonant. Thus, the form *tiyaten'*, translated as (THEN WHY) TO GO ALSO? (freely, WHY SHOULD I COME?) is analyzed as consisting of a general preposition *ti-*, the stem *ya*, and the iterative suffix *-ten*. Far more plausible is the analysis *t-iya-ten* (WHY) THE-GOING-ALSO? (stem *iya*, *ia*; cf. Washo *iye* TO GO), possibly *t-i-ya-ten* (WHY) THE-I-GO-ALSO? The "preposition" *ti-* is probably a phantom.

In view of the rapidly increasing importance of lexical comparisons in American linguistics, the full Salinan vocabulary included by Mason is in the highest degree welcome and will eventually constitute not the least valuable part of the book. It is precisely because of the growing importance of comparative work that I have in this review emphasized points of relationship between Salinan and other languages of its group, for that it belongs to the group provisionally known as "Hokan" is now abundantly clear. Much more might have been

advanced on this point than I have touched upon, but a review is not the proper place for a full discussion.

E. SAPIR.

RENWARD BRANDSTETTER. — *Die Reduplikation in den indianischen, indonesischen und indogermanischen Sprachen* (Beilage zum Jahresbericht der Luzerner Kantonschule): 1917.

In this treatise the author gives a survey of those phenomena of reduplication which are found in each of the three groups of languages mentioned in the title. Types found in only one or two of these groups, however interesting they may be, are left out of consideration. Each type mentioned is represented by one example drawn from each of the three groups. When the author assures us that his examples are taken from the best texts we are, of course, quite willing to believe him; but still we should have been much obliged to him if he had taken the trouble to mention his sources in each separate case. Especially regarding the origin of his Indian examples some more information would not have been superfluous, since even an americanist can hardly be supposed to recognise these sources by intuition. The paper is purely descriptive throughout: it is an enumeration of parallels, and even the relations between forms and functions have hardly been taken notice of. So the reader who expects to learn something about the essential character of this interesting phenomenon will be sorely disappointed: what he does learn is that, even after Brandstetter's list of parallels from a great number of linguistic stocks published in 1917, Pott's well-known book on reduplication, printed in 1862, remains our best starting-point for further inquiry. Evidently Brandstetter himself is not aware of this fact; at least he never shows that he is, though it is hardly to

be supposed that the imposing array of data presented by that eminent scholar has not materially facilitated his own investigations.

As Brandstetter's study practically contains neither new facts nor new ideas, the task of his reviewer is not a grateful one.

It might have been otherwise if the author had made an effort to penetrate a little deeper into his subject. That he has not done so is the more astonishing because some valuable preparatory work has already been done. Already Pott had perceived that the numerous and very divergent functions of reduplication (in its widest sense) may, all of them, be traced back to the same psychic motive. He speaks of "quantitative steigerung", which, however, may lead to a qualitative change of meaning (Pott, *Die Reduplikation*, p. 22). About 45 years later the same idea was much more technically expressed by van Ginneken when he demonstrated that all reduplication is a manifestation of psychic energy (Jac. van Ginneken, *Principes de linguistique psychologique*, see Index s. v. redoublements). Pott distinguished further between intensive and extensive "steigerung": the former manifesting itself e. g. in reduplicated interjections, "lallwörter", onomatopoeia; the latter in reduplicated plurals and distributive numerals. Thus far these two groups of Pott correspond to van Ginneken's general classification, which distinguishes between extrinsic and intrinsic energy; but Pott's conception of the essential character of each group is rather superficial. As to this point van Ginneken's argument opens a new aspect. According to him the difference between e. g. "lallwörter" and plurals consists in this that the psychic energy manifesting itself in the reduplication in the former case originates from the emotional attitude of the speaker and in the latter case is stimulated by the meaning of the grammatical form itself. In his opinion the types of reduplication belonging to group I



(extrinsic energy) represent a period in the development of language when people *used to speak with more sentiment* or to articulate less clearly. He might have added that both factors may easily be observed in modern child language, though I am far from asserting that this *proves* anything. In group I are also classed the reduplicated forms of numerous very old roots which could not possibly be classified according to their meaning, but which generally belong to the most indispensable part of the vocabulary. As usually, van Ginneken, after stimulating our interest to the utmost, leaves the subject; attempting to construct a well thought out theory out of his sporadic remarks is quite as useless as trying to read by an occasional flash of lightning. In the first place his explanation of reduplications resulting from extrinsic energy is rather vague. That uncivilized peoples speak with more sentiment than we do, is not to be denied, but about the statement that they articulate less clearly we should be glad to hear something more. Further, does van Ginneken mean that there has been a period in the development of language when all words occurred in a reduplicated form only? This must be our inference if it is true that the meaning of the words themselves had nothing whatever to do with the circumstance that they were reduplicated. But in this case it is obviously impossible to distinguish between the two groups, as *any* reduplicated form may have originated in the period when reduplication was universal. It is evident that van Ginneken's theory cannot quite satisfy us, but this does not imply that his classification is wholly wrong. It will be admitted, I think, that at least one of his groups is really suggestive of a definite semantic category. This category comprises those cases of reduplication whose functions may be summarized by the general term *increase*: plural forms, distributives, intensity of action, continuity of action, repetition

of action, customary action, superlatives etc. (for American examples see the Handbook of American Indian Languages I). With a view to the mental attitude of the speaker we may perhaps call them *emphatic* reduplications. If we now consider the numerous reduplications which are not immediately recognizable as belonging to the emphatic group, we meet with a striking variety: thus we find a. o. onomatopoeia, "lallwörter", adjectives of color, shape and surface quality, nomina actoris and acti; further reduplication may express unreality, imitation, playful activity. Among these various functions the last mentioned group seems to present itself as a semantic category indicating the idea of *unreality*. According to van Ginneken, this group has about the same function as the Indo-European *vrddhi*-derivatives, which he calls "allongements d'hésitation" in contradistinction to the "allongements d'emphase", which seem to be (psychologically) akin to our emphatic reduplications. Further the onomatopoeia and "lallwörter", whose common characteristic seems to consist in their *emotional* nature, cannot well be separated from the foregoing group, though here the emotional element is less obvious. No doubt van Ginneken's first class, with which the "lallwörter" group brings us into touch again, is large enough to embrace both of them. However, there is no reason to regard these reduplications as "survivals" belonging to a period when reduplication was well-nigh universal because people used to speak with more sentiment: even to our "civilized" conceptions the character of the concerned words is quite sufficient to explain the sentiment with which they were pronounced. The only kind of reduplications which undoubtedly originate of extrinsic energy are those found among the interjections; but these belong to all times and all peoples.

It is quite true that there remain a great



number of reduplications, especially in Indo-European, whose functions we cannot even guess, but the very fact that these roots belong to the most primitive part of the vocabulary (as van Ginneken argues) would seem to suggest the possibility that we are here confronted with an ethno-psychological problem which the present state of our knowledge does not enable us to solve. Some types may be less mysterious than they would seem to be at first sight. If e. g. the adjectives of color, shape, and surface quality are really to be regarded as iteratives (red here and there), as Gatschet thought (*Contributions to North American Ethnology* II, part 1, p. 276), they belong to our emphatic group; and this author's valuable information about distributive nomina actoris and acti in Klamath whose distributive meaning ("action done at different times or occasions repeatedly, habitually or gradually"; Gatschet, *ibidem*) suggests the idea that perhaps all reduplicated nomina actoris, agentis, and acti may originally have had this meaning.

These few remarks about some of the most common types of reduplication may suffice to show that a careful inquiry into the psychological background of the phenomenon considered in its entirety may be expected to yield important results. However, such an inquiry should be founded on a somewhat complete set of data and not on a number of facts arbitrarily selected. A very valuable foundation would e. g. be afforded by a survey of all the types reduplication of found in languages of North America, whereas a comparative treatment embracing such an enormous field as the one represented by Brandstetter's short paper cannot be but both incomplete and superficial.

Finally I may be allowed to remind the reader of the existence of a highly important morphological problem connected with our subject, viz. the relation between reduplica-

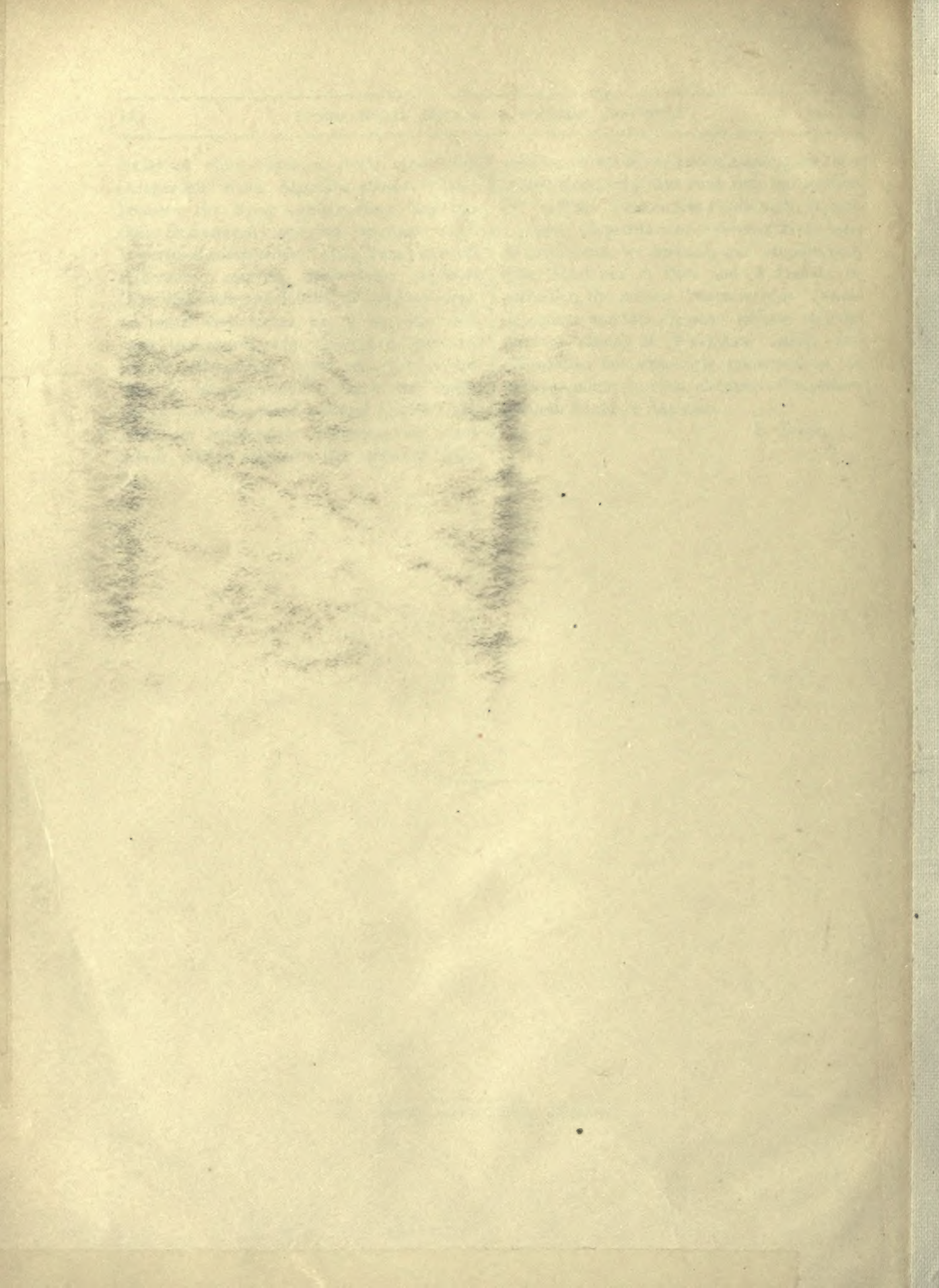
tion and vocalic intermutation ("change") in North American languages. Several years ago Uhlenbeck pointed out the probability that, wherever it presents itself, this vocalic intermutation has originated of reduplication attended with vocalic differentiation (C. C. Uhlenbeck, *Grammatical distinctions in Algonquian* demonstrated especially from the Ojibway-dialect, Leyden, E. J. Brill, 1909, pp. 10-20). Though the available evidence is perhaps not yet conclusive it is not to be disputed that more recent data point in the same direction. So Boas is inclined to think that certain plural forms in the Nass river dialect which show modifications of length and accent of stem syllables have originated by secondary modification of reduplicated forms (*Handbook Amer. Ind. Lang.* I 373). The same may be said of modification of the vowel replacing distributive reduplication in Kwakiutl (Boas, *ibid.*, 519, 522). An interesting example of how this process may take place is to be found in Sapir's paper on noun reduplication in Comox (Canada Geological Survey, *Memoir* 63: type IV on p. 16), in which language we also meet with nouns reduplicated to begin with and substituting for plural reduplication a change of the first stem vowel (*ibid.*, p. 18). If it could be proved that Uhlenbeck's suggestion is true, this would be a discovery of the greatest importance, not only with regard to the North American languages under consideration, but also with a view to the problem of the qualitative "ablaut" in Indo-European, although the psychological relation between the latter and the North American "change" is still obscure.

It is to be hoped that Brandstetter's descriptive essay is to be regarded as the precursor of a thorough inquiry in which full justice will be done to every side of the problem.

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